'STRANGERS IN OUR MIDST:' TOURISM AS A DEVELOPMENT STRATEGY IN NEWFOUNDLAND

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JULIE O'HOLLAREN

'STRANGERS IN OUR MIDST':
TOURISM AS A DEVELOPMENT STRATEGY IN NEWFOUNDLAND

by

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A thesis submitted to the School of Graduate Studies in partial
fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of
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Abstract

The subject of this thesis is how tourism, particularly cultural tourism, is used as a development strategy in Newfoundland, using the town of Trinity as a case study. I examine the possible consequences of manipulating the culture of a people to create a particular image for the promotion of tourism. Finally, I seek to place the study of tourism within the discipline of anthropology at the Memorial University of Newfoundland, and encourage further research.

Keywords: commoditization, commodity, cultural, culture, development, dependence, Newfoundland, tourism, tourists, Trinity, underdeveloped, underdevelopment.

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A Note on Punctuation Used in this Thesis

The reader will notice that I use both single and double quote marks within the body of the thesis. A word of explanation is in order. I use single quotes as a form of emphasis, especially when I am calling the meaning of the term into question. For example, the word 'traditional', while it is in common use in tourist literature, in anthropological works, and elsewhere, is seldom defined for the context in which it is used. Therefore, I point out this term in the thesis to show that it is often used in a manner which contains a certain set of assumptions about a culture or aspect of culture which are ill-defined.

Double quote marks are used for direct quotes, in which case they are followed by a citation, or when the term used is common to a particular people or theory, but may not be understood elsewhere. For example, "a good scoff" means a good meal in Newfoundland.

For references within the text, I use the common social sciences citations method of the author's last name, the date of the publication, and the page number (if applicable), in brackets, following the citation.

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Chapter 1 Introduction

The Nature of Tourism

> Tourists will be welcomed in almost all countries, socialist or capitalist, as the inadvertent financiers of development plans... They will assimilate and destroy cultures; they will cause roads to be constructed and settlement patterns to be re-orientated. [Burkart and Medlik, 1975, p.182].

Tourism is the largest international export in the world, a phenomenon which occurs in virtually every country on the globe, and which directly involves millions of people. It is an export because revenues from tourism accrue to the host country, even though no product is being physically exported. Instead, the recipients of the product (the tourists) go to the host country to receive the product (sight-seeing, relaxation, exotic cultures, sunshine and endless beaches, etc.). In Canada alone, the tourism industry is "earning 16.5 billion a year for Canada and contributing over five per cent of our Gross National Product. This means jobs for over one million Canadians." [Canadian Government Office of Tourism pamphlet, based on 1982 figures].

Despite the impressive statistics, tourism was not considered as a topic worthy of serious academic study until the 1960's and 1970's. Since then, academic studies of tourists and tourism have tended to focus on four main areas:

1) The promotion, planning, and development of tourist attractions and resorts consumes a major portion of the literature. Such studies would include those by economists and advocates of the tourism industry, who argue that the development of a tourist industry will benefit the nation's balance of payments in the import-export sector, as well as providing regional (especially rural) employment, and the like.

2) Infrastructural developments and standards tend to be a major concern to government agencies dealing with tourism. Infrastructure, or "plant", as it is called in the industry, refers to accommodations, restaurants and bars, gift and souvenir shops, museums, man-made attractions, and so forth. These facilities are not used exclusively by tourists, but they may be developed with tourists in mind.

3) Studies in the geography of tourism include systems for measuring the flow of tourist traffic, such as "exit surveys", which count passengers departing from a plane, ferry, or car. These surveys may also ask the passengers a variety of other questions having to do with their motivations for travelling, their previous travel experience, and their expectations for their vacation. This information is significant in determining how well marketing strategies are working, as well as in aiding the social scientist to chart behaviour patterns and motivations of tourists. Geographers are also concerned with the location of the tourist resort within the host community, and how this might affect access to resources for the community members. The relative density of tourist to host populations has also been studied, as well as more ecological or environmental concerns, such as pollution, erosion, and the survival of native flora and fauna.

4) Social scientific studies of tourism in fields such as anthropology, sociology and social psychology tend to focus on tourist behaviour, the relationship between tourists and host communities, and the impact of tourism on host communities and cultures. Of particular concern to anthropological studies of tourism is the impact that tourism has on the host culture, especially when "institutionalized" tourism—characterized by resorts, often run by foreign entrepreneurs, which accommodate large numbers of tourists on all-inclusive package tours—is present in underdeveloped regions, nations, and cultures.

The literature in these areas has become prolific in the past two decades, marking a growing concern with the place of tourism in local-level and national economies and cultures, its impact and, in some studies, its future implications. In addition, some studies have focused, in part or in whole, on definitions and categorizations of tourists, on "the touristic experience", and so forth [notably Erik Cohen, 1979, 1972, 1974]. The study of tourism as a development strategy has only recently come into its own. As this area is of such vital importance to a significant number of countries and regions which list tourism as one of the dominant (if not *the* dominant) factor in their economies, it is clear there is more work to be done.

Considering the now obvious impact that cross-cultural (and cross-class tourism) can have on both the host cultures and the tourists, it is perhaps surprising that anthropologists and sociologists did not sooner take up the academic study of tourism. Perhaps tourism, like play, was not considered a serious subject. It was thought to be a peripheral activity, not part of the 'real' lives of cultures that the social scientist should study [c.f. Nuñez, 1977, p.207]. Yet, tourism by its very nature is an inter-disciplinary subject, and can have quite dramatic effects on host populations and cultures; hence the title of this thesis, "strangers in our midst", which was how one of my informants described the tourists in her town.

For the anthropologist, perhaps the tourist's wanderings evokes an image uncomfortably close to his or her own self-image: the anthropologist takes pride in being a professional, scientifically aloof and objective with the subject matter. The tourist, on the other hand, is undeniably an amateur, who believes indigenous cultures are put there for his or her amusement—the hosts are just 'quaint' people whose function is to entertain, to serve, and to produce souvenirs [see MacCannell, 1977, p.210].

The anthropologist has had a corner on the market of the exotic; now, anyone can experience what the anthropologist saw as his specialty. As a result, perhaps the mystique of the anthropologist has suffered. [Inglis, personal communication]. Ironically, it is often the anthropologists' accounts of exotic cultures and earthly paradises which have opened up faraway places to the tourists' imagination. Mead's Samoa and Bali are now tourist meccas, along with Malinowski's Trobriand Islands and Arensberg's Ireland. Where the anthropologist entered, the tourist has followed; the anthropologist has opened the floodgate of change, and there can be no turning back.

Tourists were also lured by the accounts of conquerors, as well as those of traders, missionaries, and journalists. American and Japanese World War Two troops fighting in the Pacific brought home stories of lush tropical islands full of pretty girls, palm trees and endless sun-splashed beaches, good food, and easy living. The post-war era also brought the commercial jet plane, which made long-distance travel more comfortable and affordable. For their part, the islands and other sun-belt regions soon saw the potential in tourism for restoring their fragmented economies. It appeared that tourism, like bananas, coffee, sugar, and other crops, was to be resource-oriented. The tourists came to 'consume' the view, the climate, and the culture, which were seemingly constant entities. But the view is soon obliterated with high-rise hotels and casinos; the environment put at risk by pollution, erosion, and over-exploitation of resources; the culture is irrevocably altered by commoditization, acculturation, and the problems stemming from catering to a highly variable, demanding clientele.

Though there certainly were tourists before the advent of jet travel, the overall numbers of tourists descending upon a given area, as well as the impact of tourists on the host culture, were small in comparison to today's world-wide industry. This perhaps accounts for the fact that tourism as a subject of

academic study did not come into its own until around the 1970's. So it is a new field, with much ground yet to cover. Already, however, theories are being postulated and tested, several journals have been devoted to the topic, and university and trade schools are developing curricula on the various aspects of the tourism industry. As Valene Smith notes:

> Anthropology has important contributions to offer to the study of tourism, especially through a neo-traditional approach that includes the basic ethnography and its national character variant, as well as the acculturation model and the awareness that tourism is only one element in culture change. [Smith, 1980, p.15].

Theron Nuñez adds:

> In the newly developing countries of today's world, when the larger society (particularly the formal apparatus of the state) takes special interest in previously overlooked rural communities, for whatever reason—tourism, nativism, or nationalism—the anthropologist should be alert to the consequences. [Nuñez, 1963, p.352].

Tourism and Development

The study of tourism is multi-disciplinary by nature, because the phenomenon of tourism broaches all subject areas. Tourists come from all walks of life now (it is no longer the exclusive realm of the upper classes), and engage in a great variety of activities around the globe. Economists have seen the potential that tourist dollars can have for stabilizing resource-dependent economies whose traditional crops are no longer in demand. Following the Second World War, imperial powers were granting independence to former colonies, and the new wave of protectionism and trade barriers in the recovery years made it doubly hard for newly independent small nations to stand on their own economic feet.

Tourism has the advantage of being labour-intensive (which is significant in areas of high unemployment), and of not requiring highly educated or skilled labour, and can be established in marginal areas (which are often attractive to

tourists for this very reason: their 'pristine' condition has been preserved) where other industries could not: "Ironically, the very consequences of lack of development, the 'unspoilt' character of the landscape and distinctive local cultures, become positive resources as far as tourism is concerned." [Duffield and Long, 1981, p.409]. For a region in which the traditional economic base has eroded, tourism presents a lucrative, and seemingly simple solution, as a paper by UNESCO argues:

> Tourism generates employment; this is the main argument that has been invoked, on good grounds, in favor of establishing tourism facilities, not only in underdeveloped countries, but also in the developed countries, in regions where the traditional economic activity is suffering a regression (fishing, agriculture, stockraising). Where the 'classic' type of tourist resources and attractions do not exist, an attempt is made to invent a kind of tourism based on a return to nature and country life, which usually serves to lull the doubts of those who are concerned by the prospect of a decline [in the traditional sectors] [UNESCO, 1976, p.77].

In addition, tourism is an export industry in which the consumer comes to the resource, so transportation costs, tariffs, and other costs are borne by the consumer, not the producer. Perhaps most importantly, tourism brings in the vital foreign exchange necessary to improve the balance of payments account and to stimulate the economy. Furthermore, economists have claimed that not only does a single dollar (or whatever unit of currency may apply) spent benefit the recipient, but that the dollar will be recirculated—"multiplied"—to benefit other businesses and members of the community, thereby supposedly increasing the benefits many times over.

All of these promises were swallowed up by regional and national governments eager to take advantage of such a lucrative package. It seemed too good to be true. It was. Recent studies [see bibliography] have been much more realistic and critical of pipe dreams of unlimited benefits with tourism development. They have documented the real costs to the host country's self-determination, environment, culture, and internal stability (ill effects to traditional morality,

political structures, class and regional relationships, etc.), and have debunked the myths of economic salvation. As the economic benefits promised are the most attractive to underdeveloped regions and countries, it is here we must take a careful look. However, other aspects are often glossed over and equally deserve our consideration, as C. L. Jenkins notes:

> ...although tourism planners involved in development projects in the Third World are not unmindful of the social, cultural and environmental impact of the projects, they tend to accept the economic case for investment in tourism as the prime reason supporting tourism as part of a development strategy. In most, if not all, developing countries, governments tend to support this view. Although there is now available well documentated evidence to illustrate the non-economic disadvantages of tourism as a development option, in many countries these options are so limited as to cause—almost instinctively—a lower priority to be given to social and cultural considerations in the investment and development decision. [Jenkins, 1982, pp.230-231].

The use of tourism as a development strategy by underdeveloped countries and regions is a vital area of study, precisely because tourism can be a 'one-crop economy', and total dependency on it is just as hazardous as dependency on any other export 'crop'. While Newfoundland does not rely on tourism to this extent, it is increasing the emphasis on tourism development. In order to examine how tourism—particularly cultural tourism—is used as a development strategy in Newfoundland, I will explore the concepts of Newfoundland as an underdeveloped region, the 'culture' of Newfoundland, the history of regional development in Newfoundland, and how tourism has become a major development strategy for Newfoundland.

Fieldwork in Trinity

As mentioned above, tourism is often established in rural areas where other industries (farming, fishing, mining, etc.) have declined or are not feasible. My fieldwork focused on tourism in the small seacoast village ("outport") of Trinity, Trinity Bay, during the summer of 1984 (from 1 June-15 September). This thesis

will examine how tourism is used as a development strategy in Newfoundland, with particular emphasis on its effect on Trinity.

In particular, I was interested in examining the effects of government-funded tourism development on a small town. As Trinity's population is only 375, and as it is slated by the Department of Development (Tourism Sector) as a key location for tourism, I decided to base my study there. Trinity, a merchant town of some import in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, was selected for restoration and tourism development largely because many of its old buildings were still standing. Its picturesque setting acts as a fitting backdrop for the houses and other buildings which mark its heritage.

In 1978, the town of Trinity received a grant from the Federal-Provincial Tourism Agreement (under the Department of Regional Economic Expansion) of $1.5 million for restoration of historic buildings and for other aspects of tourism development. Before this grant, Trinity had received funding from the Federal Government for the creation of a heritage village. It had also been aided by the Neighbourhood Improvement Program (under the Central Mortgage and Housing Corporation). Despite all this attention, no follow-up study was ever done, to my knowledge, to assess the impact of tourism on Trinity.

Now, five years after the DREE grant came into effect, and with another grant pending, I have chosen to study Trinity and the results of its present course of development. The development of Trinity reflects the development of Newfoundland. Trinity has declined from its former glory, and few options were open to it to provide employment for its residents. As a result, the young people were migrating to St. John's or to the mainland in search of work. The town's economic base was eroding. Tourism was seen as a way of reversing the tide through the strengthening of the indigenous economy.

Newfoundland is an underdeveloped region of Canada. It is part of the larger underdeveloped region of Atlantic Canada, but it is separated both by distance and by history. Though Labrador is part of the province of Newfoundland, it is attached to the mainland, and has had a slightly different history of settlement and development. For the most part, this thesis will address the island of the province of Newfoundland (though Labrador has also been affected by various regional programs, by tourism development and so forth).

Anthropology in Newfoundland has been based mainly at Memorial University in St. John's, at the Department of Anthropology, as well as at the Institute for Social and Economic Research (ISER). During the 1960's and 1970's, studies tended to consist of monographs of outport life, particularly as it centered around the fishery [c.f. Andersen and Wadel, Brox, Chiaramonte, Faris, Nemec, Szwed, et al.]. Since the period in which most of those studies were done, many changes have occurred which have fundamentally altered the nature of the outports. The Trans-Canada Highway now spans the Island, and many communities previously accessible only by sea now have roads (though not all are paved). Piped water and sewers are replacing wells and septic tanks, and many homes have televisions, telephones, and even video cassette recorders.

With the decline of the fishery, other avenues have been traversed in search of a livelihood, though the best that some communities are now able to provide is ten weeks' work—to enable the worker to gain enough "stamps" to collect Unemployment Insurance (UI). With the pending development of offshore oil and gas, new technology entering the fishery, and the development of tourism, it is clear that the nature of Newfoundland society is changing, and anthropologists and other social scientists must keep pace. It is hoped that this study of tourism in Newfoundland will encourage other social scientists to continue to expand upon the present data.

The new scope of anthropology, still the study of human culture, is carving out a place for the anthropology of tourism. Tried and true theories need not be discarded, as they remain valuable tools. Nelson H. H. Graburn comments: "...our understandings of the social, cultural, and economic effects of tourism may contribute to the anthropology of ethnicity, acculturation, development, expressive culture and ecology." [Graburn, 1983, p.3].

Most peoples in the world have come in direct contact with tourists: they have either acted as "hosts" [V. Smith, 1977], or as tourists themselves. Hence, isolated cultures are disappearing, as they are incorporated into the wider world economies and cultures; or they are encouraged to remain "primitive" (at least in appearance) to lure the tourist dollar. It is a paradox: how does one "develop" by fulfilling an illusion of primitiveness for the entertainment of outsiders? What does it really mean to develop? Development for whom? Can tourism—particularly cultural tourism—ever achieve a country's goals of development, (seeing as it is a paradox)?

Before I address these questions, perhaps a definition of what is meant by "tourists" is necessary here, if we are to understand how to examine the phenomenon.

A Definition of Tourists

Definitions in the academic literature on tourism vary in their descriptions of the dimensions of tourist roles. Seldom are two definitions exactly alike, and there is substantial debate on where to draw the boundaries on who is and isn't a tourist, and what constitutes a touristic attraction, activity, or experience. Most definitions of tourists tend to include two factors: travel and leisure. Valene Smith comments:

> Tourism is difficult to define because business travelers and convention-goers can combine conferences with tourist-type activities; but in general, a tourist is a temporarily leisured person who voluntarily visits a place away from home for the purpose of experiencing a change. [V. Smith, 1977a, p.2].

Tourists may also be defined differently depending on who is giving the definition: tourist, host, government official or hotelier. [Definitions from Trinity will be explored later]. In addition, a person who engages in touristic activities (such as sightseeing) may not wish to be identified as a tourist, because his or her image of the tourist is one-dimensional and negative. But just as there are many types of touristic activities, there are many types of tourists.

Erik Cohen has devoted an article to this topic, titled: "Who Is a Tourist? A Conceptual Clarification". [E. Cohen, 1974]. In the article's opening paragraph, Cohen argues that the concept of the stereotypical institutionalized tourist is so widely accepted that few studies clearly define the tourist, if they attempt to do so at all. [E. Cohen, 1974, p.527]. Cohen, therefore, sets out to define the tourist, first rejecting simplistic, unidimensional definitions which leave many exceptions or "fuzzy areas" out. [E. Cohen, 1974, p.528]. He comes up with a "conceptual tree" for the definition of the tourist role which, in descending the 'trunk' of the 'tree', moves from traveller modes (which are listed in the right-hand column) to tourist role descriptions. The traveller roles are thus separated out from touristic roles. The model is as follows:

A Conceptual Tree for the Definition of the Tourist Rôle

Dimensions of the Rôle	*Rôle*	
	TRAVELLER	
1)Permanency	Temporary	Permanent (wanderer, tramp, 'nomad')
2)Voluntariness	Voluntary	Forced (exiled, refugee, prisoner-of-war, slave)
3)Direction	Round-trip	One-way (emigrant)
4)Distance	Relatively long	Relatively short (tripper, excursionist)
5)Recurrency	Non-recurrent	Recurrent (weekend house owner, summer house owner)
6a)General Purpose	Non-instrumental (pleasure)	Instrumental (business traveller, guest worker)
6b)Specific Purpose	Novelty and Change	Other (student, 'thermalist', family visitor)
	TOURIST	

[E. Cohen, 1974, p.534].

I found Cohen's diagram one of the most helpful in laying out the characteristics of tourists as distinct from other sorts of travellers, although his model has its limitations, as Cohen is the first to admit. The model may not include all possible variations of traveller modes, nor does it indicate that these groupings need not be mutually exclusive. Each term in itself could serve to define varying role situations. For these reasons, Cohen states that his diagram focuses on tourists, and that other 'trees' might be constructed for specific traveller modes, with as many 'branches' as is deemed necessary. [E. Cohen, 1974, p.534]. It should be clear, then, that the model above (or any other) is not free from criticism, nor is it necessarily applicable to all studies of tourism.

Why do people become tourists? The following section will explore several theories.

Tourists' Behaviour and Hosts' Reactions

Clare Gunn, in his book *Tourism Planning*, remarks that tourists' behaviour changes when they 'step out' of their daily lives and take on the tourist role:

> Even though tourists are a segment of the society from which they spring, and therefore reflect all the same cultural characteristics of society, the act of being tourists creates a slight change in their behavior...So even though he carries his same cultural baggage with him, the tourist moves about in an attitude unlike his work routine. Advertisers and promoters have exploited this fundamental very well. [Gunn, 1979, pp.164-165].

Why does the tourist change, and how? I will briefly discuss three concepts of the 'why' of tourism: "play", "escape attempts", and "time out".

Play

According to Jafar Jafari, the anthropological study of tourism could benefit greatly by an "association with an established anthropological concern, the anthropology of play". [Jafari, 1981, p.471]. However, one difficulty that plagues studies of play and tourism alike is that there are no clearly accepted, universal definitions for either. In addition, the concept of play tends to be defined in terms of children, whereas adult play, ranging from certain rituals, to leisure activities and sports, to tourism, is ignored, or not identified as being play. [Jafari, 1981, p.472].

Anthropology is in an ideal position to study play (and, consequently, tourism), Jafari argues [1981, p.472], because it can not only relate aspects of play cross-culturally, but can also compare play to other dimensions of culture: "Unique to each culture, play represents a color-changing thread of continuity in human life and an amplifier of cultural expressions." [Jafari, 1981, p.472]. In comparing play to tourism, Jafari notes the following:

> As a culture/time-bound manifestation of human energy, play takes place mostly in one's home or community. The culture which gives it its form of expression is often the culture which sees it in action. One often participates in his own culturally bound play or leisure activities, with his own friends, in his own community. The play, players, audience (when appropriate), and playground (setting) are all familiar. In the case of tourism, in contrast, often play, players, audience, and playground are *not* familiar, but, like home-bound play and leisure activities, tourism also often takes its form from its culture. Special temporal and spatial zones of tourism distinguish it from other forms of play at home. [Jafari, 1981, p.471].

Harry Matthews explains how "especially in sunspot destinations such as the Caribbean and the Pacific, the growth of tourism promotes a playground mentality among visitors and residents alike..."

> There are two rather important accusations within the playground scenario. One is the idea that metropolitan promoters of tourism and some tourists have come to view Third World destinations not as sovereign countries striving to preserve their culture and identity, but rather as socially uninhibited places where metropolitan visitors can 'unwind' amid an abundance of sun, sea, sand, and sex—the four s's.
>
> A second accusation is that because of the pervasiveness of this playground attitude, local residents begin to view themselves as part of the holiday culture, thus abandoning their own values and traditions. [H. Matthews, 1978, p.81].

Escape Attempts

Cohen and Taylor [1976], [also in Pearce, 1982, pp.17-18] also relate tourism to studies of games and other pastimes, in that "one of their chief purposes is identity establishment and the cultivation of one's self consciousness". [Pearce, 1982, p.18]. Tourism is an escape attempt from the harried, oppressive nature of the work-a-day world in technological society, as Pearce comments:

> Holidays are culturally sanctioned escape routes for Western man. According to their [Cohen and Taylor's] view, one of the problems for modern man is to establish an identity, a sense of personal individuality in the face of the large anomic forces of a technological world. Holidays provide a free area, a mental and physical escape from the most immediate reality pressures of the technological society. Thus holidays provide scope for the nurturance and cultivation of human identity. [Pearce, 1982, p.17-18].

Time Out

The "escape attempts" theory is somewhat similar to the "time out" motif discussed by Nelson Graburn [1977, pp.17-31], Anne Akeroyd [(with reference to Graburn), Akeroyd, 1977, p.468], and Valene Smith [1981, p.475]. Tourists' behaviour changes (as Gunn noted above), because they are in a different sphere of life, a "sacred" space as opposed to the "profane" level of the work-a-day world. [Graburn, 1977, pp.20-21; Turnbull, 1984]. By travelling away from home in pursuit of "an experience" [Graburn, 1977, p.28; MacCannell, 1976], the tourist goes through a "rite de passage", with clear distinctions between the two role sets (work; tourist), ritualized behaviours ("putting one's affairs in order" before departure, "culture shock" upon return from the vacation), and so forth. [Graburn, 1977, pp.20-23].

Akeroyd, in viewing Graburn's contribution to the study of tourism as a rite of passage between 'ordinary' and 'non-ordinary' states, comments:

> The tourist is in a liminal period, in a state of existence which is out of space (often literally 'abroad'), out of the normal, everyday social structural and cultural environment and beyond its social and moral constraints, frequently between two states of work (not simply at leisure), and out of (structural) time. [Akeroyd, 1981, p.468].

As with Akeroyd, above, Smith notes that tourism studies can add a great deal "to an understanding of the human use of *noncompulsory* time". [Smith, 1981, p.475]. This view may also be compared with the discussion of play (and its connections with tourism), above. [Pearce, 1982, pp.17-18; Jafari, 1981, p.472].

It should be noted that while it may be true that tourists, to some extent, are free from the mores of both the host society and their own native cultural constraints, they can never be truly free of the imprint of their own culture, and thus, consciously or unconsciously, carry their 'cultural baggage' with them.

Tourists may also expect all the amenities of home anywhere in the world, and assume that the host culture will provide these (often vaguely defined) considerations.

The Stranger

Another aspect of this alleged change in behaviour is the impact that travelling to a foreign country, which may well have a different way of defining the tourists than the tourists would, may have on tourists' views of themselves. How categories are formed depends largely on previous experience: if an appropriate category for a new entity is not immediately apparent, often the new entity must be fit into an existing category, at least until the new entity becomes established in its own right.

Georg Simmel, as early as 1908, recorded perceptions of "the stranger", which may be used in viewing host-tourist interactions. The stranger is feared and mistrusted because there are aspects of him or her that are both familiar to and different from the experience of the host. The stranger has the quality of mobility, which gains him or her a certain element of freedom, but also detaches him or her from any bonds of responsibility and rights. He or she also possesses an apparent quality of objectivity, which again signals both "indifference and involvement". [Simmel, 1971, pp.144-145].

While the member of the host community has certain characteristics in common with the stranger (if only a common *humanity*), there is but an abstract or generalized similarity or familiarity. Many more characteristics of the stranger may be perceived as being foreign and strange to the hosts. Strangers are thus generalized by characteristics which distinguish them from the in-group and which they may have in common with other strangers (for instance, alien origin, appearance, language differences, etc.). [Simmel, 1971, pp.144-145]. Simmel

writes:

> Between these two factors of nearness and distance, however, a peculiar tension arises, since the consciousness of having only the absolutely general in common has exactly the effect of putting a special emphasis on that which is not common. [Simmel, 1971, p.148].

Martyn notes:

> Tourists are seldom able to avoid the suspicion aroused by their foreignness; but being on holiday they do not feel the need to try to please others. Even if aware, some would not want to bother being considerate: 'caelum, non animum, mutant, qui trans mare currunt'—they change their skies, not their nature, who travel overseas. (Horace, *Epistles*, XI, to Bullatius, line 27). [Martyn, 1970, p.44].

If this aura of tension exists with the presence of a single stranger who comes to town, what happens when great numbers of strangers (in the form of tourists) arrive? Even more importantly, what is the impact when comparatively well-to-do tourists visit small villages in underdeveloped areas? In order to address these questions, we must first understand something of the background of development in Newfoundland, and how it is that tourism was selected as an alternative form of development, particularly for rural areas in economic decline, such as Trinity. The following chapter will review some of Newfoundland's past development strategies, and how the legacy of these strategies colours the fabric of Newfoundland life today.

Chapter 2 The Legacy of Dependency

> "Mainlanders of all stripes are inclined to unite in the view that Newfoundlanders have no cause to grieve: rather than slipping from greatness, it is thought that the Island has been raised to underdevelopment from a state of barbarity." [Alexander, 1974, p.4].

In considering tourism as a development strategy for Newfoundland, one must examine both what we mean by 'development', and also, in what ways Newfoundland constitutes a unique region.

Newfoundland was never meant to sustain a lasting population. David Alexander comments:

> The burden which Newfoundland has carried is to justify that it should have any people. From the Western Adventurers of the seventeenth century to Canadian economists in the twentieth, there has been a continuing debate as to how many, if any, people should live in Newfoundland. the consensus has normally been that there should be fewer Newfoundlanders—a conclusion reached in the seventeenth century when there were only some 2,000 inhabitants, and one which is drawn today when these are over 500,000. [Alexander, 1976, p.56].

The British, French, Portuguese, Spanish, Norwegians and others exploited her waters for their wealth of fish, but largely ignored the rocky shores. Permanent settlement was forbidden by the British government (for her own people), until the point when upholding that edict became ludicrous—the growing resident population belied the fact. Servants 'jumped ship', fishermen began 'over-wintering', and settlements sprang up around the coastline.

Two factors are significant in the pattern of this early settlement: firstly, Newfoundland has always been seen as a bundle of raw materials to be exploited by colonial powers; and secondly, those who settled when settlement was forbidden naturally wished to avoid discovery, and so went to remote inlets which were often accessible only by sea. The 1978 *Report of the People's Commission on Unemployment* states: "For most of its history, Newfoundland has been an 'underdeveloped' part of some empire or nation" [p.62].

Despite the harsh conditions of the Newfoundland climate and terrain, settlers were able to eke out a subsistence living, while many continued to produce salt cod for European and North American markets. Some settlements such as Trinity were dominated by merchants, at least until the advent of the twentieth century. The wave of industrialization that swept Britain, the eastern United States, and eventually the majority of countries of the western world in the nineteenth century by-passed Newfoundland. As the colonial powers 'developed', Newfoundland remained a resource base which supported their development.

In the last half of the nineteenth century, things began to take a turn for the worse in Newfoundland. Britain had granted it Responsible Government, so its fate was now in the hands of its inhabitants. The ties to Britain remained strong, and Britain was again to resume control in 1933, under Commission of Government. The Depression dealt the death blow to an economy crippled by declining world market for salt cod coupled with increasing competition, the corruption of successive government members, (who padded their own pockets at the expense of the country's fragile economy), and a number of other factors.

In a world that was rapidly becoming industrialized, Newfoundland's socio-economic system seemed an aberration. At the heart of the ethos of industrialization was centralization, urbanization, and specialization. The industrialization of one region requires other regions to remain open to resource extraction (because the industrialized regions are no longer—if they ever were—utilizing their own natural resources). In this sense, then, what does 'modernization' mean, if one region *must* remain 'underdeveloped' for another to 'develop'?

The vast majority of Newfoundland settlements at the turn of the century had fewer than 1000 people. [R. Matthews, 1983, pp.172-173]. Furthermore, these settlements were scattered around a coastline of some 6000 miles. Because

most of this coastline was blocked by ice (or obscured by fog) in the winter, fishing was chiefly confined to the summer months. Some seal hunting went on in the spring months, and there was some limited whale hunting, but the majority of people relied on making their living from some aspect of the cod fishery.

As in any single-industry economy, Newfoundland was vulnerable. In this sense, it may be compared to Third World countries and underdeveloped regions—its vulnerability at the hands of outside forces, especially when coupled with internal mismanagement and corruption, left Newfoundland in the position of underdevelopment, compared with most of mainland Canada, to which it confederated in 1949. Furthermore, Newfoundland's history since 1949 has not alleviated its troubles, but exacerbated them.

The Power and Rhetoric of Smallwood

The single most influential person in recent Newfoundland history is, without a doubt, Joseph ("Joey") Roberts Smallwood. He engineered Newfoundland's confederation with Canada, and served as its first premier for over twenty years. So powerful was his influence that now, over a dozen years after the end of his rule, Newfoundlanders are still living with the legacy of Joey Smallwood. He latched onto growth-pole economics, consolidating the widely dispersed population of Newfoundland into labour pools, standing at the ready for mainland and foreign capital to build the factories, develop stagnant resources, and to bring Newfoundlanders "kicking and screaming into the twentieth century". [Matthews, 1983, p.169].

With Confederation in 1949, Smallwood wielded the balance of power in determining which course of development Newfoundland would follow. Newfoundland was emerging from the deepest depression of its history, and the people were desperate for quick relief. The charisma and self-confidence of

"Joey" appealed to them. The Commission of Government did little to pave the way for long-term development, being overwhelmed by the immediate problems at hand, and having the added difficulty of trying to administer Newfoundland's affairs from across the Atlantic. Smallwood saw confederation with Canada as the end to Newfoundland's woes. While a measure of self-sufficiency might be the ultimate goal, for the short-term he counted on an endless supply of funds from Ottawa.

With a wealth of natural resources at hand, and a population behind him, Smallwood had all the advantages he could need. But Smallwood and his government were faced with the difficult task of deciding what to do with the revenue coming in from the Federal Government. Matthews comments:

> The government of any country, region or province which is lacking in development is torn between spending its limited resources on services which will provide immediate comforts for its people but little long term security, or on those developments which offer the possibility of long term employment but little in the way of immediate creature comforts. Smallwood and his government were immediately faced with this dilemma.
>
> In his own assessment of his career, Smallwood would have us believe that he chose the latter course of industry before services. [Matthews, 1978, p.94, also 1983, p.169].

The legacy of the Smallwood years has shaped the ability of Newfoundland to utilize its resources, including those which apply to tourism. The way in which resources were developed during his term also has determined, to some extent, the way in which tourism is viewed as a development strategy today. It is therefore appropriate to examine three aspects of the Smallwood legacy which have had lasting effects on the development of Newfoundland: regional development, resource development, and human development.

In 1949, the population of Newfoundland was still widely dispersed. Obviously, the cost of bringing 'modern conveniences' to each community would be enormous, particularly as most communities were, at that time, only accessible

by sea. The economists of the day (and of subsequent decades) dictated that the *only* way to 'develop' was through centralization and "growth-pole" industries. The two worked together: a centralized population provided a ready labour pool for industry, which would be attracted by so many people desperate for work (the industry could exploit a desperate population with low wages and no-strike policies).

The theory was that one industry located in an area of high unemployment would attract other industries (especially those industries which are horizontally- or vertically-linked, e.g. resource extraction, processing, manufacturing, etc.), hence the "growth-pole" phenomenon. Smallwood saw growth-pole economics as the path to *self-sufficiency* for Newfoundland. Furthermore, he did not have confidence in the ability of Newfoundland entrepreneurs to finance his grand plan, and so encouraged foreign and mainland-Canadian investors by offering Newfoundland's abundant resources in exchange for aid in 'development'. He argues in the following passage:

> And that's the whole secret: *that's* the cure. That's how we Newfoundlanders must solve Newfoundland's problem, that's how we must solve *the* Newfoundland problem. We must make Newfoundland *self-supporting.* This means industries, new industries, industries to give jobs. Jobs and wages; wages and jobs. Productive industry—that's our hope. Our only hope. [emphasis in original].
>
> But Newfoundland is **not** the first part of Canada that springs into the mind of a businessman in any part of the world if he decides that he would like to start up somewhere in Canada. Not the first. In fact, one of the last. So, if we are to bring them to Newfoundland, we will be forced to offer them inducements. We will be forced to attract them with special concessions. Unless, of course, we happen to have have what they happen to be looking for: some kind of mineral, or oil, or natural gas, or timber.
>
> But even then, because we're an island, we will still have to offer attractive terms and conditions. We will have to compete with other parts of Canada and other parts of the world. And we must be prepared to take chances. We must be prepared to gamble. [Smallwood, 1969, pp.141-142].

Smallwood did not give *discounts* to industries to set up in Newfoundland; he didn't even *give away* rights to unlimited use of natural resources. He *paid*

them to take it. The package was so beneficial to industries that they risked little or nothing: not only did they have the raw materials and energy sources at their disposal, but also full tax holidays such that they could pull out after several years, without having put any money back into the Government's coffer. [See Chodos, 1972; Goulding, 1982; R. Matthews, 1978, 1983]. Business has never been so profitable. Smallwood gambled, all right. He gambled away the very prize he claimed to seek: Newfoundland's self-sufficiency.

Smallwood's "develop or perish" [Smallwood, 1969, p.34] program was largely funded by grants from the federal Department of Regional Economic Expansion (DREE), which was founded by Pierre Trudeau shortly after he was elected as Prime Minister in 1968, to "end" regional disparities. [See Chodos, 1972; Goulding, 1982; R. Matthews, 1978, 1983]. DREE was a departure from previous regional planning, which had emphasized rural planning as well as urban-industrial planning. DREE subsumed all previous programs, such as PFRA (Prairie Farm Rehabilitation Act, 1935); MMRA (Maritime Marshlands Rehabilitation Act, 1948); ARDA (Agricultural and Rural Development Act, 1961); and even FRED (Fund for Rural Economic Development, 1965), which included some concessions to growth-pole economics in the form of "adjustments" (for instance, calculations to include out-migration from rural areas, and farm consolidation). Smallwood naturally was sympathetic to DREE's supposed intent, as he indicates in the following:

> Is it vanity, immodesty, on my part to claim that I helped to lay the foundation of the present Canadian Government's policy?
> What is this new policy of the present Government of Canada?
> It is called 'doing away with regional disparity'. Of, if not 'doing away with', then at least reducing it, so that in the end there would not be so much disparity between the different regions of Canada.

Other views were not so sympathetic nor so hopeful. Ralph Matthews comments on the new emphasis of DREE as follows:

> With its focus on industrialization and urbanization, DREE programming was the embodiment of the growth centre-strategy. Canadian regional development policy had made a 180-degree turn from 1930 to 1969. Moreover, its dominant consideration was economic development and relatively little effort was spent in examining the social structure and social vitality of the areas affected by DREE programs. [R. Matthews, 1983, p.108]; [See also Alexander, 1974, pp.9-12].

Thus DREE sought to wipe out regional disparities by ignoring regional differences, treating all areas as potentially uniform in their ability to support industrialization, which was seen as the only successful economic strategy. Industrialization was equated with 'modernization' and 'development', and hence, prosperity. [R. Matthews, 1983, p.108]. The industrial growth, resulted, however, in little change in income or employment rates in underdeveloped areas. DREE was criticized for not having clear goals, for its over-centralized bureaucracy which provided little room for input on the provincial level and which generated incredible volumes of red-tape. [R. Matthews, 1983, p.113].

Ralph Matthews notes that according to dependency theory, centralization and growth-pole policies both act to perpetuate the underdevelopment of the periphery. Industry seeks to be 'efficient', which often means that it tends towards capital-intensive, rather than labour-intensive measures, and thus does *not* serve the purpose of reducing unemployment. In addition, employees of such industries seldom reach management levels, but receive minimum-level wages, with profits accruing to the already-developed areas and their businessmen and entrepreneurs. R. Matthews notes, "Underdeveloped regions are exploited for natural resources, labour, and even the capital required for their own exploitation." [R. Matthews, 1983, 113; see also pp.43-55]. Raw materials are sent to developed regions for processing, then returned to underdeveloped areas to be sold at high prices; the profits remain in the developed areas, and the system perpetuates the dependency of the underdeveloped region on the developed region. Matthews comments:

> Thus DREE regional policies have been directed at assisting those interests [*of the elite*] that have helped create regional underdevelopment in the first place and benefit most from it. Such a strategy of development fails to deal with the underlying structural conditions which create regional underdevelopment. Until a policy able to counterbalance the power of these dominant interests is in place, it is extremely unlikely that the pattern of regional inequality in Canada will be altered appreciably. [R. Matthews, 1983, p.114].

Stratford Canning adds:

> One member of Government [Smallwood] insists that Newfoundland cannot afford to be strictly logical in its economic planning and must industrialise as fast as possible or else be 'washed down the economic drain'. In spite of repeated warnings that the Province is close to insolvency, the Government remains pre-occupied with gigantic industrial ventures that promise to benefit private promoters at the expense of Newfoundland. [Canning, 1971, p.10].

Ralph Matthews agrees that the measure of development is self-sufficiency. But he clearly disagrees with Smallwood and growth-pole advocates over the route to be taken to achieve that goal. Matthews argues:

> The fundamental goal of regional development policy should be regional self-sufficiency, not industrialization and urbanization. Yet there is little evidence that the federal government will ever adopt such guidelines to regional development. If it is not forced to do so by the provinces, our peripheral regions are doomed to a future of underdevelopment perpetuated by our regional development policies. [R. Matthews, 1983, p.117].

Stratford Canning, while he does not identify the *causes* of underdevelopment (he blames the symptoms for the disease), does feel that it is poor planning that is at the root of Newfoundland's troubles. He comments:

> Policy has lacked a clear definition of goals being pursued, and inadequate planning at all levels of government has been a severe limitation. As a result, public expenditures have not been as effective as possible. The various Federal and Provincial agencies operation in Newfoundland have never agreed upon a suitably articulated development plan. [Canning, 1971, pp.8-9].

The same lack of long-term planning and goals plagued the resettlement program in Newfoundland. Resettlement was part of the ethos of "adjustments" in growth-pole economics. As mentioned above, the idea was to consolidate the

scattered population so as to avoid having to provide services to remote areas on the one hand, and to attract industries with ready labour pools. Resettlement programs were in existence before DREE in Newfoundland, but not on the same scale. In any case, existing programs were centralized under DREE in 1969.

Certain "growth centres" were designated, and entire communities slated for resettlement could receive funding only if they moved to approved centres, and only if the whole community moved. These criteria were later to change, but it is obvious that peer pressure within communities slated to move played a strong role in the resettlement program in its heyday. The overwhelming charisma of "Joey" Smallwood certainly was instrumental in influencing many communities to resettle. Jay Goulding cites Smallwood in saying:

> In the 1950's, Smallwood's promise to create 'two jobs for every Newfoundlander' was supplemented by a suggestion that 'fishermen burn their boats and take the less arduous and more lucrative factory jobs that would soon be provided for them'. [Goulding, 1982, p.52].

However, the "growth centres" were often little better off than the original communities in their opportunities for employment. In fact, men often travelled over the much greater distance to return to their familiar fishing grounds. They left behind homes that they owned to go to homes that they must buy or rent. Native food sources in the original community (fish, game, berries, etc.) and local lumber for building and for fuel had to be abandoned, and their equivalents purchased in the new community. These factors were not taken into account. It seems that resettlement was viewed as an end in itself. [R. Matthews, 1983, p.122].

Smallwood believed industries would swarm to the growth centres to supply jobs to the resettled population. For every job in industry created, other jobs would be supported, or "multiplied". Smallwood estimated the overall provincial multiplier to be two-and-a-half to one; that is, two-and-a-half jobs created in

other sectors (for instance, teachers, doctors, shop workers, and other service personnel) for every job generated in new industries. The multiplier varies from town to town and according to the industry.

Still, the concept is alluring. Smallwood saw it as the great solution: attract industries by resettling the population and providing tax holidays, cheap energy, and other concessions; the jobs created by the new industries—plus the multiplier jobs—would cause more people to come off "the dole" and to become tax payers, and the province's growth would know no bounds. [Smallwood, 1969, pp.119-134]. There were two problems with Smallwood's projections: the figures included an unrealistic multiplier, and the jobs generated did not last because the industries did not last.

Smallwood heralded the attachment to Ottawa for the financial relief it would bring to Newfoundlanders, in the forms of Unemployment Insurance, Family Allowance, welfare, and other transfer payments. Yet at the same time, he cheered at the booming population growth, and claimed that it was a sign of success for the Province—not a path to further impoverishment and increased dependence on the Federal Government. On the Family Allowance program, he remarked:

> I think it is true to say that Family Allowances have done more good than any other one thing in all our history.
>
> They have fallen like 'the gentle dew of heaven', on the just and the unjust...
>
> And how much healthier are *hundreds of thousands* of young Newfoundlanders today who grew up these past 20 years, thanks to Family Allowances?
>
> Did you ever stop to wonder how much more disease there would be today, how much more physical disability there would be, if the HUNDREDS OF MILLIONS of dollars paid out in Family Allowances had not been paid? [Smallwood, 1969, p.45]; [emphasis in original].

With regard to the population boom, he said:

> On the day I became Premier our population was 347,000.

> Today it is 510,000.
>
> I am Premier today for 163,000 more Newfoundlanders than I was that first day.
>
> Because: Newfoundland, since Confederation, has had the highest birth-rate in Canada.
>
> And the lowest death-rate.
>
> And I have been successful in keeping most of our people home...keeping them here in Newfoundland.
>
> It took a lot of improvements, a lot of progress in many directions...but these did create an air of hope and confidence.
>
> But the mad rush away from Newfoundland was stopped. Too many left, but it was not the mad rush that everyone expected.
>
> And so today we are 163,000 more numerous than we were on that first day of Confederation.
>
> What are we going to do with them?
>
> What are we going to do with our 510,000 population? [Smallwood, 1969, p.137].

Good question. Yet he said:

> This is the real measure of our future: will our population increase, or decrease?
>
> *Increase* spells prosperity, health and happiness.
>
> *Decrease* spells failure, poverty, misery.
>
> Tell me whether our population will go up or down, and I will tell you whether we are going to have a good and happy Province. This is the test!
>
> There is no other way to measure it. [Smallwood, 1969, p.151]; [emphasis in original].

Critics of "The Great Canadian DREE Machine" [to borrow Chodos's phrase, 1972], and of Smallwood's policies, have claimed that Newfoundland is no more 'developed' in the positive human sense (full employment, self-sufficiency, lack of poverty, etc.) than it has been since its original settlement. Today, Newfoundland has the highest unemployment rate in Canada (unofficially around 30%; higher in some regions and generally higher in the winter) and the highest percentage of its Provincial Budget funded by Ottawa (around 47%). Most of the industry that Smallwood credits himself with bringing to Newfoundland is no longer functioning, having gone bankrupt on Provincial coffers. Ralph Matthews makes the ironic comment: "At this juncture, it seems impossible to separate

Newfoundland's economic problems from the programs which have attempted to overcome them." [R. Matthews, 1978, p.94].

The present government pins its hopes on offshore oil development, accompanied by the secondary sectors of other resource extraction (fishing, logging, and some mining), the service sector (including tourism, mercantile and professional occupations, and the like), and civil service jobs. Oil development will provide few permanent, well-paying positions for Newfoundlanders. Tourism, on the other hand, has the potential to take jobs to outport Newfoundland, where they are needed most. (It is ironic that tourism does *not* require populations to be concentrated in urban areas—thus, it is a shift away from the growth-centre strategy). Greater proportions of the Provincial Budget continue to be allotted to tourism development. The time has come to take a hard look at tourism development in Newfoundland so far, and the direction it must take to be successful. The following chapter will examine the particular case of tourism development in Trinity.

Chapter 3 Trinity's Past

The town of Trinity has been selected for historic restoration by the Department of Development, in part, because 'modernization' has not clouded the aura of its living heritage. There are still numerous houses and buildings that date from the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, such as the Catholic church, which celebrated its 150th anniversary in 1983. Because Trinity has been slated for continued development as a "heritage village", it is necessary to understand a little of the history of Trinity.

Government's Role in Tourism Development in Trinity

In 1974, the federal government gave the province of Newfoundland one million dollars to develop a heritage village. Two villages that were prime locations (as many of their houses and buildings of historic importance have been preserved) were Brigus (in Conception Bay) and Trinity. Brigus declined the offer, so Trinity was slated for preservation and development as a national historic area. The Director of Urban and Rural Planning in Newfoundland had had a "Townscape" of Trinity done in 1973, and the Provincial Government used this document in their application for the heritage grant. [M. Allston, personal communication]; ["Trinity, T.B.: A Townscape Study", 1973, hereafter called Townscape].

The Townscape is the most important and comprehensive study to date. It outlines the history of Trinity, and argues for the restoration of houses and other buildings in Trinity which are of historic and architectural merit. Furthermore, it identifies these buildings by description, photographs, and maps, explains why they should be preserved, and makes suggestions for restoration plans or

revisions. The Townscape comments that the economic structure of the town has greatly declined from the nineteenth century peak of merchant activity (fishing, sealing, trading, etc.), and remarks that financial assistance will be needed to aid in the restoration of the town.

The Townscape cites three reasons for the restoration:

1) to provide dwellings for community members which are structurally adequate, while maintaining the architectural merit of older houses, [Townscape, 1973, p.15]: "...more than one-third of the entire community was built prior to 1880. This fact alone makes Trinity unique." [Townscape, 1973, p.15]. However, these old houses were being demolished at the rate of one a year, and the Townscape calls for a halt to this alarming process:

> This is a very serious state of affairs because the fine architectural heritage could soon be lost for ever unless measures are taken to prevent further emigration and the consequent abandonment of dwellings. In practical terms, this means that the economy in the region must be stimulated [Townscape, 1973, p10];

2) to preserve the heritage of the outport as an architectural and historical entity, [Townscape, 1973, pp.10, 26]:

> It is important to preserve Trinity as Trinity and not to let it merely become just another Newfoundland outport. Its charm lies in its unique setting, its historical background and in its character engendered by a remarkable collection of old dwellings which have architectural charm and character. It is vital to retain this overall picture and day to day modifications and improvements to the buildings and townscape generally must be of first concern because they represent our early architectural heritage and must be kept for Canadians to visit and enjoy in the future. [Townscape, 1973, p.26];

3) to promote tourism to stimulate the local economy, [Townscape, pp.23-24, 34]: "Certainly the historic significance of Trinity, its intrinsic charm and its magnificent setting must lead to greater tourist interest and we believe that this interest will stimulate building in the community and encourage owners to revitalize their present dwellings and other assets." [Townscape, 1973, pp.23-24].

The Townscape suggested that funding for restoration of buildings, as well as other capital works (such as the improvement of roads), might be obtained through the Neighbourhood Improvement Program (which was under the Central Mortgage and Housing Corporation). While some funding may have been received from this source, the five-year Federal-Provincial Tourism Agreement of 1978 (under the Department of Regional Economic Expansion) specifically notes as one of the key projects: "Historic restoration within the community of Trinity." The total grant from the DREE program was $1,547,600.

A "Trinity Community Plan" was done in 1977, and a "Trinity Municipal Plan" in 1983. They were chiefly progress reports on the suggestions made in the Townscape, and they traced the restoration project through its phases. In 1984, the "Trinity Historic Area Regulations" were written, which established a zoning system for Trinity, and laid the boundaries for the Historic Area. Buildings in the Historic Area are protected under these Regulations, and building codes prohibit, for example, making alterations to houses which are not in keeping with the original architectural structure. The emphasis in all of these reports (the Townscape, the Community Plan, the Municipal Plan, and the Historic Area Regulations) is preserving the *visual* aspect of Trinity, and the development of tourism is clearly stated as the goal.

Of the 105 households in Trinity (1981 census), approximately 40 houses of historic merit were renovated. The "Trinity Municipal Plan", (1983) says: "Most of these improvements were done to roofs, clapboard, windows, wood sills, porches, foundations, corner boards and doors." Other buildings which were renovated are: the Anglican and Catholic churches, the Parish Hall, the Ryan Building, and the Hiscock House. The latter two were not completed. (These projects will be discussed in greater detail below).

As Trinity was selected for renovation and tourism development because its

historical record (in buildings) was preserved, and because these buildings are representative of outport life in past centuries, it is important to understand a bit of Trinity's past, and the events, people, and structures which are left as its heritage.

Setting

Trinity Bay is bordered on the north by the Bonavista Peninsula. The town of Trinity is located on the south side of this horizontal peninsula, in a deep natural bay of three "arms" of water, capable (in the days of sail) of harbouring hundreds of ships. Because of the favourable conditions of the harbour, Trinity has been described as one of the best natural harbours in Newfoundland.

The historical community was concentrated in what is now known as the Historic Area, or "old Trinity". The Townscape describes the layout as follows: "...the main part of the community lies concentrated in one particular sector below Rider Hill on its east side. This sector contains over 80% of the dwellings and almost all the community functions and occupies about 60 acres." Rider Hill (or Gun Hill, as it is now commonly called, because of the canon there), rises imposingly to a height of about 400 feet behind the town. The town is further defined by "The Nuddick" (a low-lying hill between the government wharf and the Hiscock House), the Fort Point peninsula which protects the mouth of the harbour, and the hills which border the roads and highways leading into Trinity.

The origin for the place name of Trinity is a matter of some dispute. The historian W. G. Handcock, who has done a considerable amount of research on the history and development of Trinity, argues against the popular notion that Trinity was named by the Portuguese explorer, Gaspar Corte Real, on Trinity Sunday (4 June) 1501. [Handcock, 1981c, pp.1-8]. Handcock feels it is more

likely that it was named by the English in the mid-16th century, for the geographical feature of three arms of water that surround the harbour, or in commemoration of an English ship, church, or institution of the same name. He also postulates that the harbour town of Trinity was named before Trinity Bay. [Handcock, 1981c, p.8].

Early Settlement

Trinity, in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, was chiefly a temporary settlement for the English summer fishery. Handcock refers to records of fishing voyages from Plymouth and Devon in 1558 and 1561, respectively; and in Sir Richard Whitbourne's record of his visit to Trinity in 1580, he noted that Trinity was, at the time, nearly the northern limit of the English fishery. Whitbourne evidently found Trinity populous enough and busy enough to hold the first Court of Admiralty in the New World there in 1615. [Handcock, 1981c, p.19].

Handcock notes that: "The earliest evidence of an inhabitant or 'planter' population residing in Trinity Harbour is a census taken in 1675 which records five planters..." [Handcock, 1981c, p.11]. From their surnames, Handcock believes they came from the Channel Islands. Later inhabitants were chiefly from Poole, in Dorset, the area that produced the founders of the merchant class in Trinity, such as the Whites, Lesters, Garlands, and Slades, as well as others.

It is important to understand something about the contribution of this merchant class, which dominated the life of Trinity in the nineteenth century, in order to understand the subsequent development of the town. Permanent settlement in Trinity was sparse throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, but by the early decades of the eighteenth century, the population was sufficient "to warrant appointment of local magistrates and the construction of a church."

[Handcock, 1981c, p.19].

The population growth was chiefly due to settlement by fishermen who came off English ships, including Irish labourers, or "youngsters" (although age may have nothing to do with it). Merchant families with surnames of White, Taverner, Jefford, Harvey, Davis, and Roberts, were also beginning to frequent the Harbour, and to build structures there to accommodate their businesses (for example, flakes, stages, storage sheds, buildings for rendering seal oil, forges, cooperages, salt stores, offices, dwellings, and so forth).

The Rise of the Merchant Class—The 18th Century

The first half of the eighteenth century was characterized by growth in the size and prosperity of the merchant class, all of whom prosecuted the Banks fishery, sealing, and the inshore fishery as well. In the days of sail, it was also necessary to have good ships at one's command, and several shipyards were kept busy throughout this period, producing the desired craft. In the winter, when ice clogged the waters, the men went to the woods to procure lumber, not only for the construction of ships and buildings, but also to supply the coopers, who made barrels, kegs, and various other containers for seal oil, seal skins, dried fish, and all the staples necessary to eighteenth century existence.

By the 1740's, Trinity had grown in importance and trade, still maintaining a strong connection with England (indeed, quite a few of the merchant families routinely went back to Poole during the harsh Newfoundland winters, leaving their Trinity affairs in the care of agents), but also building up a trade network in Trinity Bay and elsewhere. Trinity was ideally located between the Banks and the seal fisheries, and an added attraction was its expansive, deep harbour with its defensible entrance. Indeed, by 1744-45, the merchants deemed it necessary to

mount a battery at "Admiral's Point" (currently called "Fort Point"—the peninsula of land that buffers the harbour from the open bay), to protect their interests from marauding pirates and, later, from the French. [Handcock, 1981c].

The intentions were good, but the discipline slacked off to the point that when the French did invade in July of 1762, no resistance was given. Due to a bit of "diplomacy," Trinity was spared much destruction at the hands of the French. It is recorded in the Lester diaries that Benjamin Lester (one of the dominant merchants of the time, and the progenitor of the Lester-Garland business in Trinity), upon hearing of the invasion, promptly sent an eloquent invitation to the commander of the French ship, Admiral de Tierney, to dine with him ashore that evening.

Apparently, de Tierney accepted, and during the course of the evening, Lester negotiated with de Tierney to spare the property of most of the town (including Lester's business rivals). Lester asked that he be allowed to dismantle ships, flakes, stages and the like, rather than having them burned—thus sparing the townspeople and himself great losses, both in time and money. At the end of their sixteen-day occupation, the French sailed away with only a small amount of damage done, and the Trinity inhabitants began to rebuild, with many probably bewildered at the ingenuity of Benjamin Lester. [Handcock, 1981b, pp.22-24].

The Reverend Doctor Clinch

"Trinity was one of the few settlements in eighteenth century Newfoundland that had a resident surgeon". [Handcock, 1981c, p.29]. There were three doctors before the most famous doctor in Trinity's past, John Clinch, came in 1783. Clinch was born in Gloucestershire in the same year as Edward Jenner, who invented the smallpox ("cowpox") vaccine. The two attended medical school together, and were close friends. In 1800, Jenner sent Clinch some vaccine—the

first to be administered in the New World—with which Clinch experimented first on his own family and then, testifying to its success, went on to inoculate 700 more. [Handcock, 1981b, p.42].

Clinch, besides his medical duties, was ordained in 1787, and served as the Anglican minister of the town. He also compiled a Beothuck dictionary, perhaps using the native man "John August," who was the servant of the merchant firm of Jeffrey and Street, as a source. ("John August" is buried in the old Anglican cemetery in Trinity). Clinch also served as a naval officer and as justice of the peace. [Handcock, 1981c, pp.41-46].

Nineteenth-Century Trinity

The Lester-Garland firm was perhaps the most prominent merchant business in the history of Trinity, though other firms such as Robert Slade's (which was the successor of Jeffery and Street, who, in turn, bought out Joseph White's firm) occasionally produced stiff competition. Benjamin Lester's estate passed onto the hands of his son-in-law, George Garland, who was responsible, in 1819, for the building of the brick house (which is now in ruins), the office (shop building—now called "Ryan's Store"), and for sending the first fire engine to Trinity, from England, to protect his premises.

John Bingley Garland was the next chief member of the family to run the firm, and he juggled business and political careers on both sides of the Atlantic. He dealt cooperatively with his chief rival, with Slade's most important agent, William Kelson, in fixing trade, wages, and prices. This arrangement was challenged, however, by the political reform movement led by William Carson and Patrick Morris, who demanded a locally-elected assembly, and reform in the government and business operations. This boded ill for many merchants' vested

interests (e.g. trade monopolies). John Bingley Garland was quick to see a way to protect his interests, however, and formed a partnership with Robinson (his cousin), and Brooking of St. John's, as he could see that the trade centre was shifting away from Poole and merchant towns such as Trinity, to be consolidated in St. John's. Garland joined the new political order, and was elected the first Speaker of the House of Assembly. [Handcock, 1981b, pp.40-43].

The Decline of the Merchant Class

Because Garland had aligned his business with the increasing centralization of trade in St. John's, the firm was able to last longer than Slades, for instance, which had been more conservative, and were thus powerless to prevent the "outportization" of Trinity. That is, as St. John's became the centre of trade, and especially when the ship-building industry declined with the advent of steamships in the 1860's, Trinity gradually lost its claim as a rival of St. John's and became an outport. [Handcock, 1981b, p.44].

David Alexander has written on the change from the vertically-integrated (production, processing, marketing) outport fishery, to the outportization of the mid-nineteenth century, when the marketing firms "where capital was accumulated and profits concentrated" withdrew to St. John's. The remaining family industries were "ill equipped" to meet new opportunities in market trends,

> because their knowledge of distant market opportunities and requirements was very imperfect and because in any case, they had no access to the capital for investment that was necessary for a response. The withdrawal of the merchant houses from the outports and their direct involvement in production together with the absence of any rural banking structures, meant that the countryside was denuded of capital other than the short-term financing provided to fishing families by the agents or dependents of the St. John's firms to pursue the traditional fishery. [Alexander, 1974, p.19]
>
> Newfoundland began a steady march towards stagnation and dependence. [Alexander, 1974, p.19]

The Trinity Townscape has called it a freak of geography that, indeed, Trinity did not become the capital. St. John's, however, was equipped with more suitable ground for urban expansion—one of the reasons it emerged as the dominant city, and, eventually as the capital. [Townscape, 1973, pp.2-3].

John Bingley Garland and his family returned to Poole in 1834. In 1840, he dissolved his partnership with Robinson and Brooking, and in 1849 he sold "a considerable part" of his properties in Newfoundland. [Handcock, 1981b, p.44]. The business and properties passed through various hands, lastly under the ownership of E. J. Ryan Brothers. Slade and Company went bankrupt in 1861, due to the failure of a Poole bank with which they had business, and increasing competition from St. John's merchants. [Handcock, 1981b, p.123].

While in its heyday as a centre of commerce, the merchant families controlled not only the business transactions, but also influenced much of the social and 'cultural' life of the town. Many members of the planter and servant classes were deeply in debt to merchant firms, and relied on them to provide them their "diet" during the sparse winter months. From time to time, Irish servants who had no master to turn to for support were given passage back to Ireland. This may also have applied to English servants.

Among the social elite (the merchant class), life in Trinity presented some different concerns, as well. Handcock comments:

> In that it was the main centre of commerce, Trinity attracted to it social and political functions and thus became a centre of regular visitation by dignitaries of church and state. Additionally it had in the 1830's a fairly large number of individuals who were both well-educated and well-circumstanced [among them John Bingley Garland]. [Handcock, 1981c, pp.78-79].

Transportation and Communication in Trinity

Hunt notes that over three hundred years after "discovery," the only transportation in and around Trinity was by sea, or by rugged trails ashore. [Hunt, 1981, p.33]. In 1835, Trinity had its first "Commission of Roads" (which was also believed to be one of the first in Newfoundland). [Hunt, 1981, pp.33-35; also Townscape, 1973, pp.4-5]. Circa 1895 (according to Prowse's history, published in that year), "a forty-mile road linking Trinity to Shoal Harbour, via Goose Bay" (close to the present-day road, route 230) was constructed. It was described as a "good waggon road." [Hunt, 1981, p.33].

Prowse claimed that this road opened up a large quantity of good land for settlement and secured access to the railway for a considerable population. Prowse also suggested that the opening up of the railway provided a vital link for Trinity with St. John's, especially during the winter and spring months when ice deterred normal sea travel. [Handcock, 1981a, p.93]. The first paved road, however, did not enter the community until 1970. [Townscape, 1973, pp.5-6].

Rupert Morris, who opened the first tourist cabins in Newfoundland (in 1947), remembers what it was like in the early days of tourism. At that time the road to St. John's was all gravel and dirt, and went through every town along the way. The trip from the city to Trinity took nine hours—three times as long as today's trip. There were no restaurants along the way, so one had to pack food and beverage, and perhaps bring a propane stove for cooking. Perhaps it is not surprising that most of the visitors to the Trinity Cabins in the 1940's and 1950's came by train!

The Bonavista Branch railway was begun in 1910. A line was to come into Trinity, turning around at the present-day playing field. Local opposition (mostly from women who objected that the train smoke would soil the freshly-washed clothes on the line), and political bungling prevented the train from coming directly into the town. Instead, it was rerouted towards Goose Cove, outside Trinity, where it was necessary to construct an unusual feat of engineering: "the Trinity Loop." Because of the steep grade the train had to negotiate, the track had to loop around itself. [Hunt, 1981, pp.36-37]. The train ceased operation in the early summer of 1984.

Ferries operated for nearly one hundred years, from the mid-nineteenth through the mid-twentieth centuries, servicing the northwest and southwest arms of Trinity. The average ferry operating out of Trinity was capable of carrying twenty passengers and/or livestock and freight on each trip. Hunt notes:

> This was a time when Trinity proper, or the west side so-called, was the only centre of trade for all places between English Harbour and Bonaventure, and beyond. Thus the ferries were a necessity to the people. [Hunt, 1981, p.35].

The first steamship visited Trinity in 1842, the *John McAdam*, which had previously been running between Cork and Liverpool. The 1842 arrival of the steamer in Trinity carried "a party of excursionists,"—some of Trinity's early tourists.

The first regular mail service entered Trinity in 1850, via the schooner *Xiphias*, which plied between Trinity and Carbonear, and later (1857), between Trinity and New Perlican, which was a shorter route. [Hunt, 1981, p.38]. A lighthouse was opened on Fort Point in 1874, and Trinity, Catalina, and Bonavista were connected by telegraph in 1877. [Handcock, 1981, p.94]. From 1886 to 1900, the first weekly newspaper, the *Trinity*

Record, was in operation. About 1908, the *Enterprise* was published, which was replaced by the *Trinity Enterprise*, which functioned until 1924. Trinity has not had a major paper in publication since then. [Hunt, 1981, p.38]. The Trinity Historical Society was formed in 1961, the the Community Council in 1969. [Townscape, 1973, p.6].

The Trinity Community Plan states:

> Trinity was incorporated with a Community Council in May 1969. In April, 1976 the settlement of Goose Cove was added to its boundaries. Additionally, there may be the future possibility of adding Lockston and Dunfield, and also Trinity East when the present boundary dispute with Port Rexton has been settled. In this way an incorporated town could be formed which approximates more to the original historic entity. [Trinity Community Plan, 1977, p.3].

Public services provided by the council include snow clearance and road maintenance, street lighting, garbage collection, fire protection (through the Trinity Volunteer Fire Brigade) and library facilities. The school in Trinity closed in 1974. The school children are now bussed to Port Rexton. There is a resident doctor and nurse in Trinity, but the closest police protection is either Bonavista or Clarenville.

The Recent Past—The Twentieth Century and Tourism

It is notable that little history of non-merchants is available, though this is not an unusual phenomenon. The current residents of Trinity have their own history to cite, and great changes have occurred in the present century.

The first tourist facility in Trinity was the "Garland Hotel", located by the government wharf. The building was erected circa 1890, and functioned as a hotel until around 1968. (It is still owned by the same family, but is now a private home). The building originally had three storeys, but the top

storey was taken off sometime between 1935 and 1967. The hotel was quite a bustling venue in its heyday. The hotel clientele consisted mostly of St. John's people on summer holidays, and of salesmen, who would arrive on the coastal boat or via train. The salesmen would set up displays of their wares in the Parish Hall, and the news of the sale would quickly spread among potential customers.

The hotel had a regular boarder in the bank manager, and the Ryan brothers (E. J. and Dan) would stay there when they came in to check on their business. The adjoining shop was used by the doctor as a clinic and residence, and the front section of the building housed a smoke shop. At one time, the town's telegraph office was located in the living room (probably in the 1920's or earlier). The telegraph was the most important link with "the outside world" in obtaining daily news, as newspapers arrived at least a day late through the mail, which came by train (along with the barrels of flour, molasses, and other staple supplies). When news came over the telegraph, the operator would write it down in a book. At lunchtime, the townspeople would go to the telegraph office to read the news.

Trinity harbour has long been known as one of the finest natural harbours in Newfoundland, being both deep and spacious, as well as protected. Ships of various sizes and nationalities often came into the harbour to wait out a storm or a foggy spell in the open bay or the wild Atlantic. One of my informants remembers days when the harbour would be literally full of boats. His father used to row from boat to boat to conduct Sunday school for the captains and crew. The sounds of accordians, fiddles, and voices would drift over the water, as the boats' lanterns shone through the murky darkness. It must have been a happy, warming time to see and hear, from the perspective of a child standing on the shore. It is reminiscent of the

description in *Captains Courageous*, where the abundance of schooners on the Grand Banks appeared to the boy in the story as "a city on the sea."

Local schooners plied the northern waters to fish off Labrador. They would take their catches to St. John's, where it was sold, and the holds of the ships were then filled with provisions for the winter to supply the shops and residents of Trinity. In those days, supplies were bought by the barrel, and kept in pantries in each house.

Ryan's premises, and other firms such as Morris's employed carpenters, coopers, blacksmiths, sail makers, and many other trades essential to the shipping industry. The several shipyards, abundant shops and trades kept many of the townspeople employed. Three to four women were employed at the Garland Hotel as maids and kitchen help. As is true today, a considerable number of men went to work on the Great Lakes boats, or sought other employment 'outside'.

Several of my informants expressed the opinion that the seclusion of the town promoted self-sufficiency, rather than being a handicap. Most all of the essential services (shoemaking, carpentry, blacksmithing, clothiers, etc.) were available. Everyone had a vegetable garden, and kept a milk cow, sheep, or goat, on the common in the centre of town. Many people kept chickens, and occasionally pigs. Townspeople visited one another, went mumming at Christmastime, and helped one another out.

Electricity came in 1955, and the road to the village was paved in 1971. But these modern conveniences had the effect of opening up the community, while making it more dependent on the outside. With the advent of an improved road into Trinity, community members obtained cars and started patronizing businesses in the larger towns on the Bonavista Peninsula, such as Catalina, Port Union, and Bonavista. As a result, local shops failed.

There is at present only one small "corner store" in Trinity.

The various shops in Trinity used to employ quite a few people. There is little opportunity now for permanent, full-time employment in Trinity. Two boatyards supply labour for approximately 12 men. There is also a small sawmill and a foundry, though they each employ only one to three men. Only one man fishes on a more or less regular basis (which dispels the myth of Trinity as a 'typical outport' based on fishing). The one bar employs about four people, and The Village Inn, Trinity Cabins, the museum, the gift shop, and the Hiscock House together employ around 20 people on a seasonal basis. Can it be said, then, that tourism has *saved* the town of Trinity from collapse? Let us examine the attraction of Trinity.

Trinity has a variety of natural and man-made attractions to lure the tourist. Rugged countryside ends abruptly in the sea, and the town of Trinity is lodged between the tiered slopes of Rider's Hill (or Gun Hill, as it is more commonly called, now), and the three-armed body of water which nearly surrounds it. Flora and fauna are typical for the climatic and geographic conditions of this part of the island, with low spruce, fir, various bushes, berries, and barrens, countless "ponds," and rocky soil. Moose can be found in the immediate area (except, perhaps, in hunting season!), and hares and other rodents abound. There are numerous species of birds which have established colonies on outlying rocks (such as the rock at the mouth of the narrows to the harbour, Admiral Island).

The town has drawn some international publicity among cetology (whale, dolphin, and porpoise) enthusiasts, as humpbacks, minkes, and other species can be found in the immediate area. The managers of the Village Inn are actively involved in research on cetaceans, and also provide guide services for tourists to the nearby abandoned villages of Kerley's Harbour

and British Harbour, going out on the ocean to encounter not only whales, but sea birds and other forms of life. (One should note, however, that the majority of the residents of Trinity do not take a great interest in the whales).

The whales have come in close to Trinity—sometimes even entering the mouth of the harbour—in pursuit of the tiny, silver-sided capelin, which migrate into shore during the June spawning season. The last remnants of the fishery in Trinity also occur in this period, when longliners unload their catches of Trinity Bay capelin onto eighteen-wheeled trucks, which transport the fish to factories to be processed mainly for the Japanese market. I watched the unloading during the three-week season in June, and stocked my freezer full of capelin to be pan-fried during my stay in Trinity. The unloading was a great tourist attraction as well. In fact, some Taiwanese businessmen-tourists wanted to "help" with the unloading, and clambered aboard the trucks and boats to lend a hand, amid the guffaws and clicking cameras of their compatriots.

The local people get enough capelin for "a good scoff" (i.e. a good meal) once or twice in the season, but otherwise pay little attention to it. There is only one local fisherman, but otherwise there is little benefit accruing to Trinitarians from the capelin fishery. The firemen get a bit of practice when they hose off the wharf to clear it of rotting fish after the season is over. The woman who lives in the house beside the wharf is glad when the end of the season comes, as the big trucks produce a considerable amount of noise, vibration, and exhaust, and often are present into the early hours of the morning.

After the capelin season, the government wharf is the domain of children, who fish for "tommy cod" and connors (both of which are rarely edi-

ble) and who throw rocks at jellyfish and mink. But it is also after the close of the capelin season that pleasure craft inhabit the docksides, as Trinity is apparently a popular spot among them. They come as sailboats and motorized craft of all descriptions, from sleek tall-masted sloops (including a cement-hulled schooner from British Columbia) to speed boats and cabin cruisers. The wharf has recently (summer of 1984) been supplied with electrical hook-ups for these pleasure craft, and well water is available near by. It is hoped that a separate marina will be built for them in the next few years, which will probably be located adjacent to the Ryan Building. Plans for the marina have been proposed previously (in the 1977 Trinity Community Plan), but were stymied by a lack of funds, government "red tape," and the like.

Boat building is a centuries-old tradition in Trinity, and continues to be the most active indigenous occupation. There are currently two functioning boatyards, both located on the southwest arm. The bigger of the two, located near Fisher Cove, builds longliners out of British Columbia fir and some local woods. These boatyards together provide employment for ten to twenty men, depending on the contracts' needs. Not too many tourists know about, nor visit these boatyards, except perhaps those who are staying in the area and wander by, or hear through word-of-mouth. Yet, this is a vital tradition in Trinity and would most likely be of interest to many tourists. I watched the launching of a longliner (fishing boat)—a tedious, backbreaking process where the boathouse in not far above the waterline.

Restoration Projects

The Heritage Grant, the Neighbourhood Improvement Project, and the DREE grant provided the funds to restore several buildings of historic merit:

1) the Catholic church, built in 1833, (which is the oldest wooden church in Newfoundland still in use); 2) the Parish Hall, built from 1898-1905; 3) the Hiscock House, built in 1881; 4) the Anglican church, built in 1892; 5) the Ryan Building, built circa 1819, and others. Eventually, around forty private homes were assisted with renovations, especially to their exterior facades. This plan had the two-fold effect of preserving the heritage character of the community, while assisting residents with repairs.

One recommendation that was made in the 1973 Townscape which has not yet been done is the installation of water and sewerage systems into the main part of the town. Presently, residents obtain their water from dug wells, and waste is disposed of into septic tanks, or pumped directly into the sea, in a few cases. The tourist season coincides with the dry season, which often overtaxes the existing water supply, causing grave shortages and sometimes unsanitary conditions.

I addressed the owners of the various tourist homes about this problem, and all were in agreement that something must be done, especially if tourism is to grow in Trinity. Most of the places outside of the congested historic area have enough wells dug that they do not have much of a problem with shortages currently. However, the Village Inn, which is in the historic area, has experienced shortages. The proprietor said to me, "It is difficult to tell guests that they must restrict their water use during the dry periods. They are understandably upset that they cannot take showers as often as they please, especially when they are paying $20.00 to $30.00 per night." [Chris Beamish, personal communication].

A piped water and sewer system would be expensive, taking into account the rocky terrain. But it must be considered as a real need, especially if tourism is to expand. The residents could not be expected to bear

the cost by themselves. Indeed, there is some local opposition to installing sewer and water, as some people have just put in expensive new wells or septic tanks, and are chagrined at the thought of their investment becoming obsolete so soon. For others, the basis of their opposition is the perceived increased "government intervention" in the form of water bills and taxes. The funds would most likely be obtained from a government grant, such as the Neighbourhood Improvement Program. (However, this program generally stipulates that the present water supply is unsanitary, before they will step in to fund the installation of piped water and sewer systems). With the present budget cuts, it may be difficult to obtain the necessary funding.

Living History: The Hiscock House

The purpose of the restoration of Trinity should not only be to attract tourists, but also to give the residents a sense of heritage and pride in their own community. The Hiscock House and the Trinity museum are two current examples of 'living history'. The Hiscock House, which is located on Church Road near the post office, was built in 1881, for Richard and Emma Hiscock. They had seven children, six of which survived into adulthood. Richard was a blacksmith, but was also involved in political affairs. Tragedy struck in 1893, when Richard was drowned in a storm while on his way to Shoal Harbour, "to canvas for the re-election of Robert Bond, M.H.A. for Trinity." ["The Hiscock House", pamphlet]. Emma and her children managed to make a living by raising and selling farm produce (vegetables, milk, eggs, etc.), and by running a shop and post office from their parlour.

The last surviving member of the family, Florence ("Floss"), one of the younger daughters, lives in St. John's now, but still comes "home" every summer for a visit, to recount her memories to whomever will listen. Her

sight is failing, but she still manages to work pieces of linen by the complicated art of tatting. She agreed to sell the house to the Historic Resources Division. It has been restored to circa 1910, as a "typical merchant's house." Many pieces of furniture which are there now had belonged to the Hiscocks; other pieces have been found or made to accord with the period. Floss, though now in her nineties, worked with the restoration team as advisor, and continues to be a valuable source of information, both about her family's house, and about Trinity in the twentieth century.

The Hiscock House is open to the public, from early July to Labour Day weekend. There are three young women employed to give tours from ten in the morning until six at night. They are dressed in period costumes (long, sweeping skirts and aprons, and ruffled blouses). There is a parlour and a dining room on the first floor, and four bedrooms on the second. The third floor, which is not yet restored, also contained bedrooms, which Emma rented to boarders to supplement the family's income.

The kitchen and back rooms on the main floor are not restored yet either, but it is hoped that they soon will be open to public view. In addition, the guides have come up with the idea that they could set up a tea room in the space behind the craft shop, and bake cakes and pies in the rustic kitchen to serve with tea to the visitors. This would probably require the hiring of one or two more people (not including the construction on the rooms), providing more jobs for Trinity residents. This kind of local initiative is needed if tourism is to survive and be successful in Trinity.

The Craft Shop

The Craft Shop, which is in the building adjoining the Hiscock House, is run by a local co-operative, which employs one woman to run the shop.

Hand-made clothes, foods, toys, and other crafts are brought there by Trinity residents, as well as by a few "outsiders." Some "tourist items" such as postcards, souvenir plates and key chains with pictures of the two Trinity churches on them, and other things are brought in from other areas, but are modified specifically for Trinity. Home-spun wool yarn from Prince Edward Island and the Codroy Valley of southwestern Newfoundland is bought by tourists and local people alike. The shop is open during the tourist season. Before or after the season, one can get in by knocking on the door of the saleslady, who lives across the street.

Many tourists have commented on the surprisingly low mark-up on the goods in the Craft Shop (compared with urban prices), especially for knitted, crocheted, and quilted items. One tourist, an economist, could not believe that the Craft Shop could survive on such a low profit margin. She felt it should "be run more like a business, with strict adherence to market demand. If [urban] fashions dictate a desire for purple sweaters, then all the women here should be making purple sweaters." What she failed to understand is that, not only are there different markets for the crafts (Newfoundlanders and mainlanders often have different tastes in souvenirs, according to the woman who runs the Craft Shop), but craftspeople in Trinity are motivated by factors other than those governing model market economies.

Crafts are made in Trinity in accordance with the interest and spare time of the creator, and the materials available. In the winter, there is little to do, so the women fill the empty hours by knitting, crocheting, or sewing articles which will be put up for sale in the summer (they also supply their own families with sweaters, hats, mittens, etc.). Men may contribute by crafting model dories, or by making dollhouse furniture out of popsicle sticks. A sweater may suddenly take on a new pattern, if not enough wool

of one colour is available. Similarly, local potters improvise with available materials, and may change a glaze from one piece to the next. They also may simply grow bored with producing many similar items and decide to change. Most tourists like the variety of items available. But it is usually possible to order a different colour, pattern, or size of a sweater, for instance, which will be sent to the customer as soon as it can be made.

So it is clear that there is a different motivation for the creation of Trinity crafts than that which governs goods which are mass-produced. What may appear to be illogical to an economist does, in fact, suit the needs of Trinity community members, who produce crafts to make a bit of cash, but also to pass the time, or perhaps because they have an extra bit of yarn...

The woman who runs the Craft Shop says she enjoys working there because it gives her something to do, brings in extra money, and gives her the opportunity to meet many different people. She takes personal pride in her sales record (the summer of 1984 has been the best ever, she thinks), and believes that her ability to talk with people encourages them to linger a little longer, and perhaps buy something. She would like to get a guest book in the shop to keep track of where visitors come from. She feels that tourism "livens up" Trinity in the summer. However, she expressed her concern that the development of summer homes which are only opened for a few weeks of the year presents a depressing sight, as well as contributing to a shortage of affordable housing for young families.

The Museum

The Trinity Historical Society was founded in 1961 by a group of individuals interested in preserving the heritage of Trinity for future generations,

and to give tourists a better idea of what Trinity was like in the past. The DeGrish house (built in 1870), is located on Church Street, near the Anglican church. It was purchased in 1963 by the Historical Society, and, with the aid of a federal grant, the museum was established. In 1967, the first floor was opened, and in 1969 the second floor became available to the public. There are currently over 2000 artifacts, and many more are being temporarily stored in the old schoolhouse on the lower slopes of Gun (Riders) Hill. [M. Allston, personal communication]. It is clear that more display space is needed. It is hoped that the Ryan Building will be completed soon, so that archival material, as well as large items such as sleighs, wagons, and a reconstructed schooner can be stored and displayed there, as well as some of the overflow from the current museum.

Most of the artifacts are donated, and are native to the area, thus giving a good portrayal of aspects of Trinity life in the past century. The rooms are arranged according to theme, for instance: whaling (there was a short-lived plant at Maggoty Cove), shoemaking, coopering, sealing, sailing and fishing, guns, and household items.

The museum receives most of its operating budget from a Provincial Government Heritage Grant. There is a donation box inside the front door of the museum, the revenues of which help to pay the electricity bill, which is assessed at three times the residential rate, even though the museum is only open three or four months a year. The annual attendance at the museum was 5621 for the 1984 season, which includes several troops of Boy Scouts and Girl Guides who toured the facility. Viewing of the museum outside of the regular season is by special arrangement only, through contacting the local caretaker. The museum received a Canada Works Grant this season, to employ three local students to do maintenance on the museum and

grounds. They also erected street signs throughout the town. [M. Allston, personal communication].

There is hope to establish an Interpretation Centre in an old wooden building next to the government wharf, which would be another aid to tourists, and a sign of the initiative of the community members towards developing tourism in their town. It is also possible that the Society of United Fishermen Hall, which is one of the oldest buildings in town and which used to be the schoolhouse, might be restored and put to use, perhaps as a schoolhouse museum.

The Need to Restore the Ryan Building

One of the prime locations of historic interest and the key building that was to be restored, according to the 1973 Townscape (p.26), was the Ryan Building. The Townscape argues: "The most important of the individual structures is the Ryan Building. Its unique dutch Barn [sic] roof and its long connection with the Trinity Business [sic] activity of the eighteenth and nineteenth Century [sic] make the preservation of this building essential.". However, when the grant money arrived, completion of the restoration of the Ryan Building was apparently not a priority, as only structural improvements (such as repairing the roof, foundation, and exterior siding) were done.

Restoration to the interior could provide needed storage and display space for the artifacts and documents currently being held in the old schoolhouse (which was formerly the courthouse, on the lower slopes of Gun Hill), which is now in a state of serious disrepair. These materials are at risk of being destroyed if a better storage place is not soon found. At least one floor of the Ryan Building should also be restored as merchants' offices similar to those which occupied the premises throughout the eighteenth and

nineteenth centuries. The Ryan Building could thus serve not only as a tourist attraction but also as a tool of education for school children in the region, and as a source of pride and visual history for the town.

Shane O'Dea marks the significance of the restoration of the Ryan Building by saying:

> The most important building being restored is the Ryan Store because it contains the offices originally used by the Garlands when they ran the business in 1819. The retail store will be restored to its turn of the century appearance and, by virtue of the fact that there is no comparable early 19th century mercantile interior in Newfoundland, this structure will be an important representation of the era in which Newfoundland, as well as Trinity, was at its highest point. [O'Dea, 1984, p.35].

Accommodations

The first tourist cabins in Newfoundland were the Trinity Cabins, run by Rupert Morris. He saw the need of some cabins, and so built them in 1947, (five years before the first Tourist Board was established), on the site of the present trailer park (he later moved the cabins across the street). There are currently twelve cabins (accommodating sixty people) and thirteen trailer sites with electricity and water hook-ups. There are six wells on the premises, with a capacity of 5,000 gallons per day, so his water supply is generally adequate. The Trinity Cabins are located just off Route 239, about one mile from the Historical Area of Trinity, and near to the railroad tracks.

He keeps a record of how many people he must turn away, as well as how many he books. He said he rejects almost as many people as he accommodates. Clearly there is a need for more cabin and trailer space in the area, though as it is a seasonal operation, it is difficult to find someone to run such an operation. Mr. Morris also keeps a record of where his clients come from. The great majority (87%) are Newfoundlanders, mostly from

the St. John's area. He says that the cabins were built for Newfoundlanders and have always been patronized by them, generation after generation. [Rupert Morris, personal communication].

Mr. Morris is president of the Trinity Historical Society. He is also president of Zone C (which includes Trinity) of the Tourism Industry Association of Bonavista, Burin, and Eastport Peninsulas (TIABBE). TIABBE now comes under the umbrella organization of "Hospitality Newfoundland" (which also incorporates the hotels and motels association, the restaurant association, and the bars and lounges association). Hospitality Newfoundland is based in St. John's, and is designed to provide services for tourism industry personnel, such as booking reservations, inquiring what complaints, concerns, and ideas people in the tourism business have, and acting as a lobbying force for their needs. [Rupert Morris, personal communication].

The Village Inn is located on West Street, in the historic area of Trinity, and was renovated for use as an inn around 1975. It has been run by Chris and Peter Beamish since 1979. (The Beamishs came to Newfoundland from Nova Scotia, though they have lived elsewhere.) The Village Inn has seven rooms, accommodating twenty-three persons. The Inn employs ten local people as maids and cooks. As of late summer, 1984, the Beamishes have decided to convert the space that was the lounge into three more rooms.

While Chris runs the Inn, Peter is engaged in research on cetaceans (whales, dolphins, and porpoises), and leads "whale contact" tours, with the help of five guides (who are mostly biology students from Guelph University in Ontario). They have two boats at their service: a sailing sloop, and a "Zodiak" motorized rubber raft. They sometimes employ the services of a seaplane to spot the location of whales.

There is a research centre in a little building adjacent to the Inn, where sonar and computer equipment aid in whale research. Peter has a one-hour presentation for interested parties, in which he shows slides, demonstrates how the technical machinery works, displays various whale 'paraphernalia' (such as an ear bone), and plays a tape of this year's humpback song. (He says the humpbacks change their song every year). [Peter Beamish, personal communication, 22 August 1984].

Peter Beamish sees whale contact (not just looking at whales, but *contacting* them—having them look at *you*) as the premier attraction of Newfoundland, along with the scenery (including flora and fauna) and the culture, or 'local colour'. He is chiefly interested in booking seven-day package tours which include room and board, whale contact, and tours of abandoned villages, nearby outports, seabird colonies, and other attractions. He holds St. John's in disdain, as he says: "If I have a [client] that has a flight back to the mainland at 12, I'd tell him to be there at 11...St. John's is a convention and business centre, little different from other North American cities. It has little to interest me and I spend as little time as possible there." [Peter Beamish, personal communication, 22 August 1984].

Instead, Peter sees the value of Newfoundland in the outports, and tourism should concentrate on selling the history and culture of the outport people. He is fond of taking his clients to see 'the real Newfoundland': "salty fishermen mending nets or traps, wrinkled old ladies tending to the potato patches..." [Peter Beamish, personal communication, 22 August 1984]. He encourages his clients to talk to these people, to feel a part of their lives. He believes Newfoundlanders are just as curious to find out about the lives of the tourists, and so will invite the tourists into their homes for a cup of tea and a chat. [Peter Beamish, personal communication,

22 August 1984].

Peter sees the wave of future tourism in Newfoundland as catering to the well-to-do: "Newfoundland will be 'the Serengetti' of the 21rst century"—a place for photograph safaris of wildlife, scenery, and culture. Tourists will fly in ("the ferries are worthless and there is nothing to see on the Trans-Canada Highway") and then expertly trained guides will take over, having planned out every detail in advance, so the tourists won't have to worry about anything. [Peter Beamish, personal communication, 22 August 1984].

While there may be a demand for that sort of tourism, there are certainly many people who neither desire, nor can afford it. This is why it is essential that funding and other support be given to many aspects of tourism, to meet the different needs of tourists, and the different interests and capabilities of those people in the tourism industry. There will always be a need for places like the Trinity Cabins, which has been catering to generations of Newfoundlanders since 1947, as well as a need for hospitality homes, luxury hotels, inns, and other possibilities.

In addition to the Trinity Cabins and the Village Inn, there are two hospitality homes near Trinity: the Crossroads (in neighbouring Goose Cove) and the Riverside Inn (in nearby Trouty). The Crossroads Inn and Superette (a small store) has been run by Bernie Skehen (the mayor), and his wife, Susan, for the past four years. They have four rooms, accommodating nine persons. As is true of other hospitality home owners, they had a few spare bedrooms, and enjoyed talking with people, so decided to go into business. However, the Skehens impressed on me that owning a tourist home is no light venture. It takes all one's money, time and patience, for small rewards. "The unexpected becomes typical." [Bernie Skehen, personal com-

munication, 26 August 1984].

Regulations (especially the stringent and costly fire safety regulations) and taxes make many potential entrepreneurs think twice about investing in a hospitality home. Grant money is sometimes available, but there are usually stipulations on how much money must be spent before the grant will reimburse the owner. With regard to the new five-year tourism agreement, Bernie is not optimistic that much of it will go to small, rural operations such as his, as the larger hotel chains have the lobbying power and the organization necessary to successfully bid for the funds. In addition, with the change of government, a region that votes for the minority party could well be last on the list for political (i.e. financial) favours. [Bernie Skehen, personal communication, 26 August 1984].

Bernie feels that the potential for tourism development in Trinity is great. As mayor, he is able to implement some of his ideas: he single-handedly put in the electrical connections on the government wharf so that pleasure boats can be provided with hook-ups. He is proud of the fact that the Trinity festival was extended to three days this year (it had previously been only one day). The festival went from the the twentieth to the twenty-second of July, and included opening ceremonies, various beauty contests, and a teenagers dance on the first night; dory races, games of chance and skill, a fish-and-brewis dinner, boat tours of the harbour, and an adult dance on the second day; and a softball game, puppet show, and fireworks show (put on by members of the Trinity Volunteer Fire Brigade), on the last day. [Bernie Skehen, personal communication, 26 August 1984].

Advertising for the festival was quite extensive. Brochures were sent to neighbouring communities and to the tourist chalets on the Trans-Canada Highway. To Bernie, the festival was a big success, and already has a dos-

sier of modifications for next year's festival which is three times as thick as the plans for this year's festival. He hopes it will continue to grow and expand as the biggest event of the year for Trinity. [Bernie Skehen, personal communication, 26 August 1984].

Bernie would like to have Fort Point restored, and as 1985 is the 100th anniversary of Parks Canada, he is hoping funding will be made available. He would also like to see a slipway and a marina built by the Ryan Building. He feels there is a need for more accommodations and restaurants in the Trinity area, and expanded marketing and advertising. He believes Trinity could become the hub of tourism in its region. [Bernie Skehen, personal communication, 26 August 1984].

Lloyd and Annette Miller, who run the Riverside Inn in Trouty, also got into the hospitality home business because they enjoy meeting and talking with people. Lloyd explained that they used to invite tourists they encountered into their home for "a feed". When the Riverside Inn came up for sale last year (1983), they decided to buy it. The previous owners, the Bradburys, had converted it to an inn and had run it for five years. There are seven rooms there, which accommodate sixteen people. Their business is best in July and August (the height of the tourist season), and the majority of their clients are from St. John's. Like the Crossroads Inn, they rely on referrals from the Trinity Cabins the the Village Inn, but they have been steadily building up their own clientele. [Lloyd Miller, personal communication, 11 September 1984].

While Annette does most of the business of attending to the inn and the adjoining take-out, Lloyd still fishes. He has a longliner fishing boat, and a cod trap. Some of the fish he catches go to the dinner table, others find their way into fish and chips served at the take-out (the potatoes for the

chips come from their garden). Surprisingly, there are few sport fishermen who stay there, even though the inn is on a licenced salmon river. Lloyd explains this by saying that the river is not listed in the guidebooks. He does get tourists who ask to go out with him in his boat to watch (and sometimes help with) the hauling of the cod trap. He also takes out boat tours to the abandoned communities (including Kerleys Harbour, where he was brought up), for cod-jigging, and so forth. [Lloyd Miller, personal communication, 11 September 1984].

In addition to the accommodations discussed above, there are tourists who come to Trinity via bus or boat, or even with a "caravan" of "Airstream Trailers" which were touring the United States and Canada. The tourists who come by bus are part of package tours in which they fly to Newfoundland and tour the province with guides. They generally stay in the large hotels on the Trans-Canada Highway (such as the Holiday Inn), and are not in Trinity more than an hour or so. The boat and trailer tourists provide their own accommodation, but are in need of electricity and water hook-ups, as well as groceries, laundry, and other services. Improvements are needed in these areas.

Looking Toward the Future

Whether or not the town of Trinity *initiated* tourism development, it is clear that if it is to continue to grow and be successful, local involvement is needed in decision-making. Long-term planning must be implemented. For the most part, my informants indicated that they were generally pleased with tourism development in their town. *Their* ideas must be given heed, in order to make development their own. The Townscape gives the following

warning:

> Excessive capital sums poured into Trinity could be most damaging if deployed in a commercial sense solely aimed at attracting tourists—soon no recognizable community might be left and the very reason for being attractive in the first place might well disappear. This has happened in many places in the United States and Europe where rising living standards and better communications have made it possible for many people from all the great cities to swamp the originally quiet, attractive and simple seaside villages.
>
> There is no real danger of Trinity being swamped in the immediate future. The changeable climate and the cold sea will continue to protect Trinity from an invasion of holidaymakers. However the community desperately needs aid in providing local industry of which the tourist trade is one; only in this way can the drift away of population be arrested. Individual enterprise including the preservation and restoration can then be guided to ensure the continuity of this traditional outport. [Townscape, 1973, p.34].

Trinity is an unusual town in many ways. Because of the funds that allowed renovations to buildings and homes (new clapboard and paint, structural repairs, etc.), the zoning of the old section of Trinity as a "historical area" and the enforcement of building codes, Trinity is a picturesque village. Tourism advertising for Newfoundland stresses that it is one of the key locations for ~~tourism~~. However, one must ask, what are the dangers for Trinity in becoming a tourist town? How is Trinity representative of Newfoundland's history and culture? Is it possible to 'develop' by acting rustic?

The next chapter will examine how culture is used as a tourist attraction, and the inherent dangers in isolating certain aspects of the culture of Newfoundland for special treatment in advertising for tourism development.

Chapter 4 Culture as Commodity

Newfoundland as a Tourist Attraction

Because Newfoundland does not have extensive beaches and a long summer, it must find other attractions to market. It has done so, since at least 1890 (Williams, 1980), by promoting its unique culture, mild climate, hunting and sport-fishing, and scenery. These factors have been upheld as major attractions since that time, and the provincial tourism department still uses this image ("the Happy Province", "the friendly Newfoundlander", etc.) in its promotional literature and other media. [Department of Development, Tourism Marketing, March 1984, personal communication and pamphlets]. A survey of "Reactions of First-Time visitors to the Maritimes and Newfoundland—A Depth Study" [Traveldata, 1969, pp.10-14] supports these images, as does a study of earlier (1890-1914) "Images of Newfoundland in Promotional Literature". [Williams, 1980, pp.200-209]. Richard Brown confirms the image in his 1880 travel guide, *Notes on the Northern Atlantic for the Use of Travellers.*

There are some attractions of world-wide historical or social significance, however. The recent excavations at the "Viking burial ground at L'Anse au Meadow and the sixteenth-century Spanish Basque site" at Red Bay (discovered by Selma Barkham), which "provided unrivalled opportunity to promote Newfoundland as the original centre of European settlement in Canada" are exceptions. [Seymour, 1980, p.39]. Signal Hill in St. John's was the site where the first trans-Atlantic telegraph message was received by Marconi. The history of French and English settlement is marked around the coastline, and the native peoples of Newfoundland and Labrador (Inuit,

Innu, Micmac, and the now extinct Beothuck) have their own rich history to relate. Colonies or rare seabirds attract ornithology enthusiasts, and other flora and fauna draw naturalists and photographers.

However, the capability of Newfoundland to support its image of 'Sportsman's Paradise' is now fading. As stocks of Atlantic salmon, caribou, and moose (which are not native to Newfoundland) are depleted, licences and successful hunts become more difficult to obtain. Residents of Newfoundland and Labrador understandably resent the limited number of licences going to tourists, particularly when the game is a supplementary source of meat for residents—or even a staple, as is the case with the native peoples of Labrador. Overton has written on the conflict between native peoples struggling to protect their food sources, and the Tourism Sector of the Department of Development, which is trying to restrict native hunting in order to preserve stocks for visiting hunters. [Overton, 1980b; also Kennedy, *Globe and Mail*].

Increasingly, then, Newfoundland's culture is emphasized as the major tourist attraction. As tourism is seen as a way to alleviate unemployment (particularly in the outports), it is necessary to assess the validity of this plan. What are the implications of using 'culture' as an attraction? Can tourism in Newfoundland be successful as a development strategy? What are the costs? As MacCannell comments, there is a fundamental difference between previous forms of regional or community development, and that of adopting tourism as a development strategy, especially when *culture* is the pawn:

> Traditional people and things, ethnic groups and social practices which are exotic from the standpoint of modern values are being incorporated into the global network of modernity as tourist attractions. This version of 'community development' is quite different from the previous models which stressed that the economic advancement of an 'underdeveloped' group required hard

> work and the copying of cultural practices of [a] group already in the mainstream. Traditional peoples who are dependent on tourism, or who want to be, now base their economic advancement on the opposite of cultural assimilation, that is, on making a show of their own distinctive qualities, of their own cultural uniqueness. [MacCannell, 1977, p.211].

If we are to look at how tourism (particularly cultural tourism) is used as part of a development strategy in Newfoundland, it is necessary to first examine present-day Newfoundland as a tourist attraction, to review concepts of culture, and to explore what aspects of Newfoundland culture are used as tourist attractions. The two greatest attractions for tourists to Newfoundland are its natural environment (still of interest to hunters and sports fishermen, as well as to collectors and photographers, hikers and campers), and its culture. The natural environment is pretty well able to sustain the present level of tourists (with the possible exception of hunting, as noted above). Culture, as an attraction, is in greater danger. How is 'culture' expropriated? The following section will examine this question.

Commoditization of Culture

Tourism advertising (and advertising in general) makes use of symbolic representations of objects, ideas, and relationships desirable to the consumer in order to sell their products. The purpose of this advertising is to appeal to the emotions, the intellect, and the senses, to make the consumer desire products he or she might not ordinarily (or specifically) have thought of, "for reasons that go beyond our material needs". [MacCannell, 1976, p.20].

With tourism, as with some other advertising themes, often *intangible* (non-material) elements such as 'an experience', 'pleasure', 'tradition', 'hospitality', and 'local colour', are the commodities around which other touristic activities cluster. Aspects of the host culture may become exploited,

particularly when those aspects of culture become highly desirable to tourists. Forster gives the following definition, which he calls "commercialisation":

> One major effect of tourism is 'commercialisation'. The term has no precise definition but its reference is clearly to taking money for something which, under other conditions, would be given willingly. The moral nexus becomes a cash nexus as services, for handling baggage or giving information, become transformed from a normal exchange of courtesies governed by reciprocity to a financial transaction. [Forster, 1964, p.222].

This process has been examined by MacCannell [1976], Greenwood [1977], and Overton [1980], on a Marxist model called the "commoditization of culture" (after Marx and Engels theory on the commoditization of the value of labour). MacCannell's examination of the Marxist model comments on how this concept of commoditization may be applied to tourism marketing and expectations.

MacCannell notes: "Increasingly, pure experience, which leaves no material trace, is manufactured and sold like a commodity" [MacCannell, 1976, p.21], and therefore, "the commodity has become a means to an end. The end is an immense accumulation of reflexive experiences which synthesize fiction and reality into a vast symbolism, a modern world". [MacCannell, 1976, p.23]. Dayvdd Greenwood remarks:

> A fundamental characteristic of the capitalist system is that anything that can be priced can be bought and sold. It can be treated as a commodity. This offers no analytical problem when local people are paid to perform for tourists. Like the symphony orchestra of economics textbook fame, they are being reimbursed for performing a service consumed on the spot. It is not so clear when activities of the host culture are treated as part of the 'come-on' without their consent and are invaded by tourists who do not reimburse them for their 'service'. In this case, their activities are taken advantage of for profit, but they do not profit, culturally. The onlookers often alter the meaning of the activities being carried one by the local people. Under these circumstances, local culture is in effect being expropriated, and local people are being exploited. [Greenwood, 1977, pp.130-131].

Perhaps this theory of the commoditization of intangible elements of culture can help explain why it is that tourists may be seen by hosts and critics of tourism as seeking to 'collect experiences' as readily as they collect souvenirs. Clare Gunn comments on this point as follows:

> The caricature of the tourist as a shallow-minded, impatient and selfish individual is not merely the product of the cartoonist. Observations of tourists suggest that they are always in a hurry, collect experiences at attractions as one collects trinkets and must be constantly kept busy...But this may only be an overt expression of the tourist's recognition of his finite vacation time and the low probabilities of his ever seeing these sights again. Hence, the intensive drive to fill every moment with fulfillment of high expectations. Every travel day is a special day—not so for the native observing the tourist in harried flight through attractions. [Gunn, 1979, pp.166-167].

The image the tourist has in mind, though, may be slightly different from others' (particularly that of the hosts') views of the attraction. Tourists adopt the idealized version presented to them through advertising, and expect 'the real thing' to match up. MacCannell notes that these "cultural experiences are somewhat fictionalized, idealized or exaggerated models of social life that are in the public domain..." [MacCannell, 1976, p.23]. MacCannell argues that the tourist is in search of an "authentic experience", to fulfill spiritual and psychological needs displaced by capitalist, modern society.

Since industrialized man is alienated from the 'worth' and 'meaning' of his own production and all other aspects of his life, 'real life' and 'authentic' experiences, are to be found 'out there'—particularly among those 'unspoiled' [?] cultures which are not caught up in the industrial/technological rat race. [MacCannell, 1976, passim; especially pp.91-107, and pp.145-160]. This theory, however, does not explain why millions of tourists flock each year to such '*inauthentic*' attractions as Disneyland [c.f. Boorstin, 1961]. Mathieson and Wall comment:

> In some destinations the demands of cultural tourism have outstripped the supply. To compensate for the lack of real cultural experiences, many destinations stage attractions so that tourists can view and experience cultural aspects of host communities. This development has become an accepted outgrowth of contemporary tourism.
>
> The staging of cultural attractions can have both positive and negative consequences. It is positive when the staged activities divert tourists from and relieve pressures upon local people and their culture...
>
> In other cases, the staging of contrived attractions has negative implications for local culture. Tourism has been accused of being 'culturally arrogant' for manipulating the traditions and customs of people to make tourist experiences more interesting and satisfying. [Mathieson and Wall, 1982, pp.172-173; see also Jafari, 1974, p.251].

Both material objects (statues, buildings, structures, works of art, etc.) and nonmaterial elements (experiences, hospitality, tradition, local colour, etc.) are tourist attractions and are marketed as such. As elements of a culture, these attractions may come to lose their intrinsic meaning to the host culture as they become increasingly commercialized to meet tourist demand. This may come as a mixed blessing: tourism may serve as the impetus for a revival of 'traditional' art forms and skills, but tourist demand for souvenirs may encourage the production of cheap, mass-produced arts. The souvenirs, or "airport arts" [Graburn, 1977a; Pearce, 1982, p.15; McKean, 1977, p.103] trivialize the cultural meaning of the object, which may have had considerable "symbolic and spiritual importance" in the host culture. [Pearce, 1982, p.15]. The same trivialization may occur with rituals and ceremonies. Even funeral rites may be desecrated into tourist events, as in Toraja (Sulawesi, Indonesia) [Crystal, 1977, pp.120-122] and in Bali. [Turnbull, 1984, p.390].

The impetus for the commoditization of culture may come from the tourists, from the tourism departments and advertising agencies, or from the hosts themselves. This commercialization is not necessarily just another negative aspect of the 'tourist package' imposed from the outside. Indeed,

the host culture may incorporate new demands into their 'traditional' framework through a process of "involution" that both preserves and promotes 'traditional' forms of culture. [McKean 1977, pp.98-104]. McKean observes this dynamic process in action in Bali, and states:

> Field data suggest that Balinese cultural traditions may be preserved by involution. This contrasts with the assertion by both anthropologists and tourists that culture is a static entity, self-contained and isolated, that will wither like a fragile flower when exposed to chilling exterior influences. [McKean, 1977, p.104].

Clearly, one must not consider any accculturative process as a static, measured package imposed by a dominant culture onto a receptive one.

Marketing Culture

No culture is stagnant. 'Traditional' Newfoundland culture, based on outport fishing, has not gone unchanged from the sixteenth through the twentieth centuries. But other cultures are, or were, also based on subsistence or small-scale commercial fishing. For this reason, some critics might say that present-day Newfoundland culture has little that distinguishes it from other maritime cultures (especially those in the North Atlantic). Hence, it will become increasingly difficult for the tourism industry in Newfoundland to base their marketing strategies on cultural tourism, and even more difficult to get "the rubber-tire trade" to cross the Gulf of St. Lawrence if tourists do not think they'll experience anything different than that which exists much closer at hand in the Maritime Provinces.

Herein lies the fundamental paradox of cultural tourism: it is based on a fixed image of what a culture is, but in reality, cultures are constantly changing. Perhaps the greatest irony is that tourism itself can be one of the greatest agents of change. Theron Nuñez states:

> Tourism is seen as an avenue, along with others, depending on the countries' resources, toward development and modernization. This situation indicates an interesting irony: in order to survive and perpetuate their cultural identity and integrity, emerging new nations or quite traditional cultures caught up in a competitive world economy encourage and invite the most successful agents of change (short of political or military agents) active in the contemporary world. This kind of initiative on the part of a host culture introduces a novel variable into the traditional equation of acculturation. [Nuñez, 1977, p.209].

And Mathieson and Wall add:

> When tourists purchase a vacation as a package they also buy culture as a package. Regardless of how ancient or complex the destination culture, it is reduced to a few recognizable characteristics, such as arts and crafts, dance, music, buildings and special functions or ceremonies, and is promoted as a commodity. [Mathieson and Wall, 1982, p.171].

The Concept of Culture

What do we mean by "culture"? There are practically as many definitions as there are individuals who study it. Kroeber and Kluckhohn addressed the question in their landmark work, *Culture: A Critical Review of Concepts and Definitions* (1952). While they do not commit themselves to an absolute definition, they suggest the following summary:

> Culture consists of patterns, explicit and implicit, of and for behavior acquired and transmitted by symbols, constituting the distinctive achievement of human groups, including their embodiments in artifacts; the essential core of culture consists of traditional (i.e. historically derived and selected) ideas and especially their attached values; culture systems may, on the one hand, be considered as products of action, on the other as conditioning elements of further action. [Kroeber and Kluckhohn, 1952, p.181].

A definition of culture which is perhaps easier to understand can be found in the following:

> Culture is the world made familiar. It exists, first of all, as a collective orientation chanelling the individual mind in a certain direction; at this level, culture exists as an unconscious agreement in judgments allowing individuals to live and work together through reference to a common reading of the world and one another. It is,

perhaps, this sense of the familiar and the agreeable that constitutes the foundation of what we mean by 'community'.

To belong to a particular culture is 'to know one's way about' in the totality of a certain form of human life... Cultures, like languages, are above all, instrumental; they exist for the *use* of the living and extend through time and space in so far as there exists a continuity (or tradition) of custom (or usage)... [Calder, 1979, p.49].

The 'Culture' of Newfoundland

Can we say that Newfoundland possesses a distinct culture? If so, what is it that makes the people of Newfoundland unique? I would suggest that it is not any one factor, but a specific combination of factors that make up what we will call, for the sake of convenience, "Newfoundland culture". For instance, the other Atlantic provinces were founded on resource extraction (specifically the fisheries), but they confederated with Canada much earlier. The longer period of relative independence perhaps allowed the Newfoundland culture to develop on its own, aided by the isolation of most Newfoundlanders from mainland North America.

What do tourists really come to see? It's certainly not endless sun-splashed beaches. The scenery and flora and fauna do attract some tourists, but others come to experience the culture. They've heard the "Newfie jokes" (most of which the Newfoundlanders themselves claim to have composed, leaving themselves the last laugh) and perhaps want to see the real thing. Writers and labourers on self-induced exile to the mainland found Newfoundland clubs in Toronto and Boston and reify (reinvent) a culture of nostalgia:—hardship becomes legend or bitterness, the more mundane aspects of life gain flourishes. Newfoundlanders are certainly not alone in this phenomenon—many migrants do the same. But, as Overton comments,

For many emigrants the Newfoundland of the mind is a metaphor: it represents tradition, the past, community, the sacred. In a temporary visit, one can celebrate the positive aspects of community,

> even though this may be a largely mythical community constructed in the memory of the exile. [Overton, 1984, pp.91-92].
>
> The small, workless community is very different for a temporary visitor in summer than it is for the people who struggle to survive there year round. Yet returning migrants themselves have a profound effect on the local scene and local perceptions of their community. as studies of the Highlands and Islands of Scotland also suggest, returning exiles praise the special qualities of life in rural communities, and, while local residents may be skeptical of such praise, the emigrants do speak with authority—for after all they have been away and seen the world outside. [Overton, 1984, p.92].

Whether or not we can delimit just what we mean by Newfoundland culture, it is important for study, as it is used as a commodity for the promotion of tourism in Newfoundland. Therefore, it is more significant to ask: what is the definition of Newfoundland culture used by the tourism promoters? Furthermore, if tourism is to be considered a strategy for regional development, what are the implications of using culture as a 'come on'?

Some aspects of culture are easier to understand than others. Obvious aspects of a culture include its material forms, such as clothing, artifacts, housing styles, art, and so forth. 'Culture' often means the performing arts (dance, theatre, music), and these, too, are fairly easy to identify, categorize, and analyze. But the non-material aspects of culture, the hidden aspects, are less easy to identify: To what extent do material forms of culture represent non-material aspects? Can we assume that peoples of the same culture have a shared understanding of the world (and their place in it)?

According to Calder (cited above), this is *precisely* what culture means: "...an unconscious agreement in judgments allowing individuals to live and work together through reference to a common reading of the world and one another...". [Calder, 1979, p.49]. It is not the place of this paper to answer that fundamental question (though it certainly warrants discussion). However, assuming for the moment that such a common understanding exists within a culture, how can one examine it? In what ways is it manifested?

Let us look at two concepts that are assumed to be integral parts of culture: lifestyle, and tradition.

To some extent, the two concepts go hand-in-hand: traditions are shaped by one's lifestyle, or may represent the (generally) more favourable aspects of a past lifestyle. The lifestyle, in turn, incorporates, reinforces, and initiates traditions. Traditions may outlast the lifestyle, until the original context is lost, though the inherent value of the tradition is intact (hence, the justification for its survival). For instance, Grandfather may have insisted on a family reunion every year. Now that he is dead, the 'tradition' is perhaps no longer necessary, but other family members have come to enjoy it, and see it as a way of strengthening family bonds, resolving disputes, and visiting with distant relatives. Traditions are not rigid; they are capable of changing, growing, and gaining new meaning.

In the Newfoundland context, the 'traditional lifestyle' of most people was centred around inshore and bank fishing from the outports. It was a difficult way to eke out a living, and the memory of hardship has been passed down to children who today have never experienced similar hardship, yet still consider themselves to be 'hardy Newfoundlanders'. The age-old rivalry between city-dweller ('townie') and outporter ('bayman') continues unabated. [cf. Laba, 1978, pp.7-16].

Despite the fact that the fishery has experienced a great decline in the past century, and Unemployment Insurance (UI) is now the most common source of income for many Newfoundlanders, it is the traditional lifestyle of outport Newfoundland which continues in mythical form, if not in reality, and which is exploited for tourist consumption. Hence, the difficulty with promoting 'traditional Newfoundland' as a tourist attraction is that it no longer exists. Ralph Matthews comments:

> The popular image of Newfoundlanders [today] as primarily fishermen, loggers and miners does not reflect reality. By 1970 these primary producers together comprised less than a quarter of the labour force. [R. Matthews, 1978, p.93].

But symbols of tradition arouse nostalgia, and continue to prove useful as rallying points for 'development' and, paradoxically, 'modernization'. Eisenstadt comments:

> Traditional society was viewed as a static one with little differentiation or specialization as well as low levels of urbanization and literacy. Modern society, in contrast, was characterized as having thorough differentiation, urbanization, literacy, and exposure to mass media... Traditional society had been conceived, above all, as being bound by the cultural horizons set by its tradition, and modern society as being culturally dynamic, oriented to change and innovation. [Eisenstadt, 1973, p.1].
>
> This does not mean, of course, that modern or modernizing societies are traditionless—that within them there is no attachment to customs and ways of the past or to various symbols of collective identity in which primordial elements combine with strong orientations to the past. It means, rather, that modernization has greatly weakened one specific aspect of traditionality—namely, the legitimation of social, political, and cultural orders in terms of some combination of 'pastness', 'sacredness', and their symbolic and structural derivatives. At the same time, however, modernization has given rise to the continuous reconstruction of other aspects of tradition, often as a response to problems created by the breakdown of traditional legitimation of sociopolitical and cultural orders. [Eisenstadt, 1973, p.6].
>
> ...in many countries modernization has been successfully undertaken under the aegis of traditional symbols and by traditional elites. [Eisenstadt, 1973, p.2].
>
> Rarely are such symbols taken as given from the existing tradition; rather, a process of re-constitution or re-construction of such symbols tends to take place. In all situations of far-reaching change, cultural traditions, symbols, artifacts, and organizations become more elaborate and articulated, more rationally organized or, at least, more formalized.' [Eisenstadt, 1973, p.21].

Creating Culture: The 'Real' Newfoundland

In Newfoundland, intangible cultural symbols, such as 'tradition', 'authenticity', and 'hospitality' are used as 'come-ons' for tourism advertising. The impression one gets is that the 'real' Newfoundland exists in the

outports. [Overton, 1980a]. Several authors have written on this phenomenon [see Overton, 1984 and 1980a; Seymour, 1980; Williams, 1980]. Indeed, despite the fact that the current federal Minister of State for Tourism, Tom McMillan, advocates St. John's as a "historic city" tourist attraction, evidence of the past (in the form of historic buildings and the like) is rapidly giving way to parking garages and condominiums. As St. John's begins to look like any other major Canadian city, more focus is put on the outports as tourist attractions.

Of the three authors cited immediately above, Susan Williams writes on early (1890-1914) accounts of Newfoundland in promotional literature. The section on "The Outport as a Tourist Attraction" is especially interesting, as Williams concludes that descriptions of "typical outport life" are a bundle of stereotypes and contradictions:

> The depiction of the Newfoundland fisherman and communities was often a misrepresentation of actual conditions. This is evident by the many stereotypes which contradict one another in support of different themes: communities were isolated and backward, or protected and socially complete. People anticipated progress or were content in their quaint views of the world. They were industrious and versatile in work, or lacking enterprise and susceptible to laziness. They were poor and in need of new income sources, or living a simple, self-sufficient life. The misrepresentation was also evident in the whitewashing of hardship and conflict, and in the fact that human complexity was left out, making the people appear one-dimensional. [Williams, 1980, pp.208-209].

Overton, in debunking the myth of "the 'real' Newfoundland" (that is, the outports), also shows how the promotional literature presents a stereotyped, fictionalized image of Newfoundland life. He comments:

> "The Real Newfoundland" is said to be those parts of the Province which are remote from towns and highways of major importance. To find "the Real Newfoundland" visitors are urged to "go down the side roads" and "poke into the bays", to "turn to the ocean and 'test' the breeze; smell the salt, the wave torn kelp, the spray washed air, the saturated, aged sand". "The real Newfoundland" is the outports and "the people", "the fishermen knitting their nets, caulking their boats, or building a wiggly garden rod fence".

In short, it is a vision of rural Newfoundland, but only a *certain* kind of rural Newfoundland, one which is idealized and romanticized. [Overton, 1980, p.119].

The *Real* Newfoundland: Underdevelopment

The *real* Newfoundland is the Newfoundland of underdevelopment. Overton presents this other side of the coin:

> Behind these images of Newfoundland is a very different reality, one which is suppressed as a romanticized, timeless, traditional society is created. This is the Newfoundland of massive unemployment...It is the Newfoundland of poverty for many people...It is the Newfoundland of dependence on government transfer payments. It is the Newfoundland of outmigration and rural decay...It is the Newfoundland in which the merchant system locked "peasant" producers into the world market, a Newfoundland characterized by exploitation and oppression. It is the Newfoundland in which people in a variety of individual and collective ways have struggled and continue to struggle against this "heritage" of underdevelopment. [Overton, 1980, p.120].

What is the attraction of underdeveloped areas to tourists? One reason is that these areas are generally cheaper to visit. Overton explains: "Uneven regional development is the context for attempts to use tourism as a development tool, while it also provides the raw material for tourist trade based on the attributes of underdevelopment". [Overton, 1980a, p.115]. But there are other reasons, as Overton and others explore [cf. E. Cohen, 1979; S. Cohen and Taylor, 1976; MacCannell, 1976; Seymour, 1980; Turner and Ash, 1976]. Tourists are perhaps looking to enter a utopia of happy natives living a carefree existence in harmony with nature—a throwback to romanticism. [Overton, 1984].

Lee Seymour [1980] also provides supporting evidence on the presentation of the image of Newfoundland as being a rustic frontier, and escape for urban North Americans, who come to observe the *authentic* way of life of the hardy fisherfolk. This 'hardiness' and 'rusticity', however, have been

molded by poverty and underdevelopment, with severe unemployment rates. Yet, tourists must be shielded from the harsher realities, in order to maintain the imagery which lures tourists to the province. Seymour notes: "Some of the less desirable aspects of Newfoundland life have to be eliminated: car wrecks and garbage have to be removed, and blatant visible poverty must be screened from the tourist's view". [Seymour, 1980, p.34].

This factor is certainly true for Trinity, where building codes are in effect to maintain the image of outport housing, and houses and cars may not be abandoned or let to decay where they are in plain view. One might well question the right of government (from town council to the Provincial and Federal governments) to maintain a fictionalized image of outport life which restricts the freedom of residents in the use of their own property.

As in the Marxist model used to describe the "commoditization of culture", what is being bought and sold is not always a material object, but may be some intangible element. Urban capitalist labourers, alienated from all that is meaningful in their work, are urged to come to Newfoundland, (that is, to the mythical 'traditional' outport), to forget their cares and be restored, body and soul, in an "authentic environment". [Overton, 1980a, p.127].

When Tourism Becomes 'Development'

Advertisements for the tourist industry may promote this stereotypical imagery and produce little real harm to the people it claims to portray. But when imagery *becomes* reality, when vagueness gets transferred into policy, there is more cause for concern. Though a process of "cultural involution" [McKean, 1977, p.104], or reification, the host culture (Newfoundlanders)

may come to adopt this imagery; especially as the provincial department of tourism widely encourages conformity to the images they promote. Overton notes that,

> Programs are developed to 'educate' people as to how they should behave towards tourists (hospitable, happy, kind and helpful) and to smarten up communities and the landscape. In this context, it becomes the personal responsibility of every individual to ensure that this happens. This is clear in advertisements placed by the Newfoundland and Labrador Department of Tourism:
>
> 'Tourists will continue to visit us as long as they are made to feel welcome. Therefore the continued success of our Tourist [sic] industry is the personal responsibility of every one of us'. [Overton, 1980a, p.130].

Also:

> Tourism is Good Business
> Tourism is Big Business
> Tourism is Your Business
> Tourism is Everybody's Business
> [(Government of Newfoundland and Labrador, Department of Tourism Advert, 1977), in Overton, 1980a, p.116].

Advertisements were also put on the radio by the Department of Development during the summer encouraging people to be friendly to tourists (the implication being that they bring money into the province, and expect the 'natives' to live up to the imagery in the advertisements). The stress put on hospitality as a tourist commodity is of particular interest. How do Newfoundlanders feel about having to be friendly? How do they perceive the changes that have come about in their towns under the aegis of tourism development, such as renovations? Neil Windsor, Minister of Development with special responsibility for tourism, has commented,

> We are not greatly developed [in Newfoundland] and that's our real weakness. We have to expand our tourism plant [infrastructure such as accommodations, restaurants, gas stations, attractions, shops, etc.] but I wouldn't like us to build artificial tourist attractions...In terms of future development we have to look at our strengths. We want the tourist's money but we don't want to take it from him by artificial means. We have to stress natural activities. ["Travel Trade Manual '83", Department of Development,

Tourism Marketing].

A Penny for Your Thought-fulness

The passage above raises the question: what constitutes artificiality as opposed to authenticity in Trinity from the hosts' points of view? from the tourists' points of view? One example of a commoditized aspect of Newfoundland culture (hospitality) may serve to illustrate. An informant ("Mary") went to Trinity for a brief holiday, and was befriended by a young man who offered to take her out for a boat ride. However, the young man was employed as a boat guide in a commercial enterprise, whale watching. The employer intercepted the guide and Mary just before they left the dock, and notified the guide that he would have to charge full fare for the boat ride. The guide objected; he had offered the boat ride out of hospitality, not as a commercial contract.

Here, the concept of hospitality has been used by the tourist industry in a way that differs from a 'traditional' meaning for the host—that of a non-commercial gift. Instead, members of local communities in tourist areas have been encouraged by tourism personnel to charge a fee for what used to be freely given. [Department of Development, Tourism Marketing, personal communication, March 1984]. Another case is that of a man who runs a tourist home (ironically, also called a "hospitality home") on a trout river near Trinity. He said that he used to invite tourists into his home for a meal, or even to stay over night while they fished, because he enjoyed talking with people. He is a fisherman, and would take visitors out with him in his boat to check the cod trap. Now, he gets paid for these same activities.

Certainly it is not intrinsically *bad* to enhance one's income by doing activities one enjoys. The question is, who decides to make this transition?

The young guide did not have the freedom to choose whether or not he would charge a fee for his hospitality. An illustration from a study of tourism in Cyprus illuminates this change:

> Commercialization is a basic change which, if not brought about entirely by tourism development, is at least accelerated by it. In Cyprus most people not directly engaged in the tourism industry are said to see the encounter not as 'a cash-generating activity', but as an opportunity for genuine human rapport. In areas of mass tourism, tourists may be seen as 'cashing in' on traditional attitudes of hospitality, which in the host society were firmly embedded in patterns of reciprocal behavior. [deKadt, 1979, p.62].

And,

> Tourism brings certain informal and traditional human relations into the area of economic activity, turning acts of once spontaneous hospitality, for example, into commercial transactions. [deKadt, 1979, p.14].

In a study of Catalan tourism, Pi-Sunyer, too, notes how the traditional dynamics of relationships adjust to increased tourism by objectifying it:

> Catalans of all classes maintain great pride in their language, culture and national heritage, but their traditional culture also places substantial emphasis on the concept that each individual is a person, to be evaluated in terms of his or her merits...the Catalan has a sensitivity to good manners and a consciousness of the duties inherent in the role of the host, and, conversely, expects the guest to know his reciprocal obligations. Costa Brava communities traditionally viewed outsiders as individuals in a true host-guest relationship, but large-scale tourism now necessitates the use of ethnic stereotypes. [Pi-Sunyer, 1977, p.150].

And finally,

> The host culture has learned their lesson well. If tourism commodicizes culture, natives categorize strangers as a resource or a nuisance rather than as people. The wheel has turned full circle, at least conceptually. [Pi-Sunyer, 1977, p.155].

The Death of Culture: Caveats

At its worst, tourism usurps the very meaning of the host community's culture. 'Culture' becomes packaged and conveniently reshaped to suit the

purposes of advertisers. The host community or country is a shell of its former self, bewildered, anomic, uneasy. Pseudo-culture fills the void. Culture is not, of course, quantifiable. It is also quite capable of sustaining change without collapsing. But when virtually every aspect of a people's culture undergoes complete and rapid change (especially when leaders are ineffective in resisting change, or are part of the nexus of change themselves), there is little hope of cultural survival. Dayvdd Greenwood has written on the commoditization and destruction of culture, and says:

> Worldwide, we are seeing the transformation of cultures into 'local color', making peoples' cultures extensions of the modern mass media.
>
> The culture brokers have appropriated facets of a lifestyle into a tourism package to help sales in the competitive market. This sets in motion a process of its own for which no one, not even planners, seem to feel in the least responsible. Treating culture as a natural resource or a commodity over which tourists have rights is not simply perverse, it is a violation of the peoples' cultural rights. While some aspects of culture have wider ramifications than others, what must be remembered is that culture by its very essence is something that people believe in *implicitly*. By making it part of the tourism package, it is turned into an explicit and paid performance and no longer can be believed in the way it was before. Thus, commoditization of culture in effect robs people of the very meanings by which they organize their lives.
>
> And because such a system of belief is implicit, the holders of it are hard pressed to understand what is happening to them...
>
> That is the final perversity. The commoditization of culture does not require the consent of the participants; it can be done by anyone. Once set in motion, the process seems irreversible and its very subtlety prevents the affected people from taking any clear-cut action to stop it... [Greenwood, 1977, pp.136-137].

What are the dangers of the commoditization of culture for Trinity, and for Newfoundland? A most important point to keep in mind is that Trinity is not a 'typical' outport (if there *is* such a thing). There is only one fisherman there. The houses and buildings must comply to the specificities of a building code. The two major attractions, the Hiscock House and the museum, represent aspects of the *past*, not the present. Furthermore, while the museum is more classless (holding articles from everyday life of villagers,

as well as tools of the various trades), the Hiscock House represents the lifestyle of the merchant class. To any historic representation, one must put the question: *whom* or *what* does it intend to represent? Are all aspects of the culture, history, or village life given fair treatment?

We would prefer to see and hear about the pleasant, glamorous details, and be shielded from unpleasantries, strife, hardship (except as it becomes romanticized fable). [Note Seymour, above]. Tourists, especially, do not want to be burdened with too much reality, as it is precisely this that they are seeking to escape. Is it fair to ask some people to live in a dream world to provide entertainment for the other half? Is it possible at all to maintain the integrity of a culture and its history while it is a tourist attraction? How can this be done? The next chapter will address some of these questions, and the wider question of how tourism is working in Trinity.

Chapter 5 Assessing Tourism in Trinity

Employment and the Economy

The major justification usually given for establishing tourism in an underdeveloped area is that it will boost the lagging economy. Called "the smokeless industry," tourism is often considered a panacea for unemployment, low incomes, lack of infrastructure and fossil fuels for industrial plants, and emigration. By requiring semi-skilled or unskilled labour in most of its sectors, tourism is considered to be ideal for areas where the level of education and knowledge of skills is low.

The myth of tourism as an unmitigated good is being exposed by recent research and by the experiences of host cultures who have been involved in tourism beyond the "honeymoon" stage. Apart from the social and cultural costs assessed elsewhere in this paper, one must take a hard look at the alleged economic benefits, and some possible costs. Some common complaints about the economic significance of tourism for the host community involve its seasonality, lower levels of employment and income generated than had been expected, and an economy oriented chiefly towards tourism.

The Seasonality of Tourism

School and work vacation patterns, and the geographic and climatic environments of tourist areas, have contributed to the seasonality of tourism. Apart from the equatorial and southern hemisphere "sun spots" which attract winter-weary travellers from the northern hemisphere, the bulk of tourism is geared towards the few warm summer months. In Newfoundland,

"only the fools and the sages predict the weather," but one can generally count on a temperate climate from mid-June until mid-September. Indeed, this is the "official" tourist season, dictated by government funding which supports an additional ferry route during these months (from North Sydney, Nova Scotia, to Argentia, Newfoundland), as well as funding for construction, renovation, festivals, and tourism-related projects and employment grants.

The seasonality of tourism, in one sense, fits in well with the occupational pluralism which has long been a part of the Newfoundland economy. Employment generated through tourism provides employees with enough work to ensure an income from Unemployment Insurance (UI) during the winter months, or "off-season." It is thus another way to gain "stamps" for UI. But as a summer activity, tourism may compete with other summer employment, such as fishing, logging, construction, farming, and so forth.

In Trinity, there does not appear to be a great opportunity cost in encouraging the development of tourism over other sectors, because there is little commercial fishery or farming done by Trinity members. One potential conflict, however, is the use of the government wharf during the capelin season (the month of June), when fishing boats from around Trinity Bay use the wharf to unload their catches onto trucks. Pleasure craft also use the wharf, and electrical hookups have just been established for them. Pleasure craft generally come later in the summer, but potential conflicts could arise over wharf space in June. A marina for the pleasure craft has long been in the plans of the town council, but as yet has not materialized. The development of a marina would employ people in construction (temporarily), and in maintenance and regulation (the taking of docking and utility fees, etc.) on a more permanent (but seasonal) basis.

The seasonality of tourism does have the benefit of "giving the town back to the residents" during the winter. James Jordan, in his paper on tourism in Vermont, stresses that the "repossession" of the town after the tourist season helps "the natives" maintain a sense of having a viable community, and not just a service industry. "Boundary maintenance"[1] is expressed through folk terminology and characterizations (of tourists and of "natives"), through a strong sense of local history which excludes the tourists, and through a division of activities and behaviour into "sacred" (winter, private), and "profane" (summer, tourists). [Jordan, 1980: 34-55].

My fieldwork in Trinity concluded after the close of the tourist season, so I was able to sense the transition of the community to its winter framework (even through the contrast is perhaps less dramatic than the Vermont case). The Hiscock House closed after the thirty-first of August, a Friday, even though it was the beginning of a holiday weekend. The museum closed after the following weekend, on the ninth of September. Both of these closures occurred before the "official" season's end, and caused disappointment for tourists who arrived after these dates. The Craft Store was open only on weekends after the eighth of September, but the woman who runs it would open it mid-week if tourists requested it. The Hiscock House and the museum were only opened by pre-arranged, special permission after the season, and the keys were not easily accessible.

The difficulties that post-season tourists have may be seen in the following example. On the thirteenth of September, four women from Ontario drove in to Trinity, which they had read about in two newspaper articles. Despite a heavy rainfall and the closed attractions, they heeded the sign in the window of the Craft Shop (which said to ask Ann, who runs the shop, to open the door), and gained entry. I saw them from my window, and went

down to the Craft Shop. They planned on staying for lunch and a slide show on whales and marine life at the Village Inn, but were dismayed to learn that other attractions (the Hiscock House and the museum) were closed.

I volunteered to be their tour guide (in return for which they bought me lunch and admission to the slide show). I was able to obtain entry for them into the Catholic church (which, unlike the Anglican church, is kept locked) and the Hiscock House, but they were not able to see the museum. Had I not intervened on their behalf, it is unlikely that they would have stayed long, and their impression of Trinity would be a fleeting one. But my role as tour guide was taken as a marginal person, an outsider myself, and not as a community member.

The hesitancy of most local people to involve themselves with tourists after the season may be understood in two ways. Since wages for work at the Hiscock House are on a payroll which originates from outside of the community and which are designated for a limited time only, the summer employees are hesitant (or unable) to accommodate off-season tourists, either because they feel they would not be paid for their labour, or because their employers do not allow them to take the responsibility for opening the buildings. The museum, though it is run by the Trinity Historical Society, receives its operating grant from the Provincial Museums Association, and is thus in a position similar to the Hiscock House.

Yet, keys for both of these buildings are in the community, and some tourists are willing to pay for entry into the buildings during the off-season, even though no admission is charged during the regular season. Indeed, the four ladies from Ontario specifically requested to be able to make a contribution and, finding no donation box at the Hiscock House, pressed the money

into the hands of the man who was able to open the house for us.

Tourist Revenues in Trinity

It is curious that no admission is charged by the Hiscock House nor by the museum, which would be a ready source of revenue not only for maintenance of the buildings, but also to support local initiatives for expansion (such as the Hiscock House guides' suggestion that unused space be made into a tea room). The museum does have a donation box, which helps pay for the high cost of electricity for the building. From the point of view of the government offices which fund the Hiscock House and the museum, charging admission may produce too much paperwork keeping records, paying someone to collect the admission, and so forth.

One of the museum employees felt an admission fee might "scare some people off." But from tourists I asked, none objected to paying a nominal fee (for instance, fifty cents). One woman said she felt she would then enjoy the sights more, as she would be looking to get her "money's worth"! It remains to be seen how the current federal and provincial budget cuts will affect tourism in Trinity, but charging admission to the Hiscock House and the museum should certainly be preferable to curtailing services or even closing these valuable facilities.

According to the type of tourist, money may be spent in different ways and thus will vary in the amount that accrues to Trinity and its residents. For the purposes of this paper, tourists who come to Trinity may be grouped into the following four categories: 1) bus, or group tour, 2) car, 3) boat, 4) summer home.

The first category generally involves a package rate which includes accommodation, transportation, and sometimes meals. These group tours

range from Boy Scouts and Girl Guides, to plane/bus tours from Ontario, the New England states, and other population centres. The group tours generally do not eat or sleep in Trinity; thus, the only money they would spend in Trinity would be in the Craft Shop, or possibly the donation box in the museum.

The tourists who arrive by car may be divided into those who stay in Trinity, and those who don't. Those who don't stay probably spend money in Trinity chiefly in the Craft Shop, while those who do stay have the added costs of accommodation, food, and the like—all of which benefits Trinity by stimulating the economy, especially as the accommodations in Trinity and in the nearby communities of Goose Cove and Trouty are owned and run by local entrepreneurs (with the exception of the Village Inn). Thus, the "leakage" factor is relatively low, compared with multinational hotels such as the Holiday Inn, which are located in the major population centres and along the Trans Canada Highway.

The "boat people," as they are popularly called, may visit the Craft Shop, museum, and other attractions, but also are likely to buy groceries at the town store (as do visitors who stay in campgrounds). As of late this summer (1984), the government wharf has been supplied with electrical current, for which there is a small hook-up charge. There is no wharfage fee at this time, however.

The summer home owners are closer to the residents in their spending patterns, as they pay taxes (plus the mortgage, if any, or rent, on their homes), and shop for groceries either in Trinity or in nearby towns. However, they are generally only present during the summer, after which their houses are boarded up, locked, and deserted.

III Effects: Inflation

The popularity of summer homes for outsiders poses some difficulties for community members. It is perhaps not uncommon in outports to have two prices set on goods for sale: a local price, and a price for outsiders. This was also true for Trinity. The difference between the local price and the outsiders price might be $10,000. Clearly, it is to the seller's financial advantage to ask the higher price. But there is also a "moral obligation" to the community to consider. Selling a house in Trinity to an outsider who will only inhabit it a few weeks or months of the year also has its costs.

The trend in Trinity has now shifted to the point where only the higher price is offered. The inflated property prices preclude settlement by local residents with lower incomes, who are unable to afford it. The result is that locals, especially young couples just starting out, are not able to reside in their home town as available houses are beyond their means. There is little choice but to leave. The negative psychological effect of this emigration, and of living in a town half-full of empty houses in wintertime, must be great. The population is becoming polarized; only the children and the middle- and old-aged remain. Young people who cannot find jobs or houses move on. Those who remain worry about tax inflation due to the soaring price of housing, and whether or not a viable, year-round community can survive in Trinity. (The problem is, of course, more complex than stated here; many young people voluntarily leave to seek higher education and jobs elsewhere).

In addition, the fewer the residents in the community, the higher the tax burden on those who remain. Residents end up subsidizing tourists—who are most likely better off to begin with—for the additional wear-and-tear on roads, water supply, and other facilities. These factors are seldom figured as costs. The incremental cost of each additional tourist should be

weighed when calculating the costs and benefits of tourism.

Job Creation

In considering employment generated by tourism, Cleverdon and Edwards make the following useful distinction:

> *Direct employment* (i.e. jobs resulting from, and dependent on, the tourism sector) includes accommodation, shops, restaurants, bars, night clubs, transport operators and government administration of tourism.
> *Secondary employment* (i.e. jobs in sectors supplying the tourism sector, or the activities benefiting from expenditure generating from it) embraces the construction, agriculture and fishing, manufacturing and processing sectors. [Edwards and Cleverdon, 1975, p.153].

Tourism development has brought some job opportunities to Trinity, but perhaps not as many as were hoped for by the community members. For the most part, the jobs that were created are seasonal, and relatively low-paying. Besides construction work, which is sporadic, approximately 25 jobs for community members have been created which are directly related to tourism. These include about 17 jobs in the accommodations (housekeeping, cooks, waitresses, maintenance personnel, and the like), and about 8 jobs in the Hiscock House, Craft Shop, and museum (guides, cashier, maintenance). As stated above, without UI in the winter, these jobs would not hold the same significance. Job creation is but one criterion for measuring the success of tourism in Trinity, but it is one of the most important aspects for the community members.

Re-thinking Tourism as an Unmitigated Good

The prosperity promised by tourism development pundits has not been forthcoming. Still, the lack of total dependency on tourism revenues, and

the slower rate of tourism growth, has allowed the community to maintain a measure of control. Zoning restrictions, building codes, and other regulations enable the council to check the flow of growth, if needed. Impetuses to growth are perhaps more difficult to come by. As Trinity strives to be more self-sufficient in its growth (rather than relying on government grants, which are drying up), it must explore new avenues, and tap the entrepreneurship of its own residents, if tourism is to reach its potential.

The question that is not being addressed is whether or not more viable alternatives exist and should be used. The answer, of course, is not simple. It depends on a clear definition of the development goals for a community, region, province, and ultimately, the country. If full-time employment is a goal, it is not apparent that tourism will supply it. Tourism has failed to either supply the volume of employment anticipated or desired, or to provide a viable alternative to the cycle of ten weeks' work/Unemployment Insurance. If it remains only another route to obtaining UI, it is not a strategy for development, but another link in the chain of dependency on Ottawa.

Moreover, what value does tourism have in preserving the integrity of a community such as Trinity, or the validity of the culture of Newfoundland? The economic costs and benefits are more easily put on paper than are social or cultural concerns. Yet, it is these latter factors which will be the ultimate test of the success of *any* development scheme. Too often, social concerns are only given lip-service, or are completely ignored, especially when 'social' is used as a dressing for economic or political motivations. A paper by UNESCO notes:

> The economist starts out perfectly at ease, so long as he is dealing with quantification of the advantages of the social impact of tourism i.e., listing as assets the jobs created, the circulation of income from tourism, the development of community infrastructure and

> facilities, the favorable effects on the standard of living and the improvements in working conditions. When he does this, the economist is using the word 'social' in its political sense (e.g. a social program, social measures, etc.). But as soon as this social impact enters the non-economic spheres, it is only possible to evaluate it qualitatively. This is particularly true for social costs (i.e., the liabilities), which means that, because there is no unit of account that is equally valid for both sides, every analysis of the social impact of tourism is bound to suffer from a lack of precision. All the same, it is reasonable to believe that a joint sociological and economic approach could still do a good deal to improve present analytic techniques. [UNESCO, 1976, p.82].

Assessing Tourism in Trinity: Social Considerations

Ralph Matthews, in a landmark study on the community resettlement program in Newfoundland, found that it was not economic considerations alone which motivated communities to resettle (or to refuse to resettle), but that unquantifiable social factors may often be as important, or more important. In Trinity, the centuries-old tradition of going to work on the "Lake boats" (on the Great Lakes) and other jobs on the mainland continues. Even though men may go for several months every year, they do not move their families with them. They go to the mainland to earn money in order to be able to stay in Trinity.

The "social vitality" of the community for these families is more important than a perhaps more lucrative life elsewhere. Furthermore, as noted above, non-wage earnings are not always calculated into official figures, but may substantially improve the standard of living of many outport dwellers. Resources such as 'free' (requiring only the labour of extraction or gathering) firewood, berries, water, garden vegetables, occasionally fish, and so forth, plus the fact that many outport dwellers have built or inherited their homes and thus do not have mortgages, are alluring reasons to remain.

One way in which tourism is different from other forms of employment

in Trinity is that it employs a high proportion of women. With the exception of the former shops in Trinity, there were not many places of work which employed women prior to tourism development. Now, they work *directly* in tourism as cashiers, waitresses, maids, and guides, and *indirectly*, (knitting, crocheting, baking, etc. for the craft shop. None of these jobs is particularly well-paying, but the women are receiving money for activities which, in most cases, they would be doing anyway, and the extra income is welcome. And, as one informant said, "it's something to do". (There are some women who work in the post office, and the doctor and nurse are both women). However, tourism in Trinity does not, as yet, provide many jobs for young people. They continue to migrate to St. John's, the mainland, or other areas in search or work.

Tourism in Trinity may act not only as a source of seasonal employment, but also as a source of community pride, encouraging a knowledge of the town's heritage. From examining the place of origin of those people who signed the guest book in the museum, I found that, for its population, a relatively high proportion of residents of Trinity visited the museum. While the actual artifacts in the museum may be found elsewhere, it is the names and places attached to the items, photographs, and written material which is of special interest to community members. Indeed, the museum, Hiscock House, and other tourism development in Trinity must remain attractive to community members if tourism is to be successful, and if the heritage of the community is to remain meaningful.

It is interesting to note that most of my informants did not categorize other Newfoundlanders as being tourists, even though their spending habits and certain other behaviour may have been quite similar to mainland or foreign visitors. The local definition of 'tourist' extends beyond the mone-

tary, to factors such as whether or not visitors share some common heritage as Newfoundlanders, as well as other nuances of behaviour, such as dialect. The exception is the emigrants who return to Newfoundland—particularly if they have not lost their 'accents'—they are not called tourists.

Ironically, Newfoundlanders account for up to 60% of tourist visits to Trinity (according to figures calculated from the guest book in the museum) and to Newfoundland in general, but because of the difference in definitions, even those people in the tourist industry sometimes gloss over the importance of the Newfoundland's tourist dollar to the industry. Part of the difficulty may be that Newfoundlanders who act as hosts to mainland or other tourists also travel around the province on their vacations, but do not consider *themselves* to be tourists, especially if they are visiting family or friends.

One potential difficulty with the development of tourism is that the kinds of jobs it provides may not be much of an improvement, either in earnings or in status, over the jobs that were available before. The fact that most of the jobs require serving customers from St. John's or from the mainland may act to increase the resentment and hostilities towards representatives of these groups (i.e. tourists). The fact that the majority of tourists are not in Trinity more that three days, and most, in fact, not more than one hour, may lessen the probability of negative encounters. Also, the fact that most community members have relatives on the mainland, or in St. John's (or both) may reduce the tension.

Community Cohesiveness and the Impact of Tourism

In calculating the impact of tourism on a host community, factors such as community cohesiveness, leadership, and attitudes towards strangers all

weigh in. Cohesiveness is certainly difficult to measure, or even to define, but one might look at such elements as the level of participation in community decisions, events, committees, etc., paying attention to not just the overall numbers, but to whether certain people are active in many areas, where others do not get involved at all.

The rigidity of the class structure will also affect participation, as the working class may feel intimidated by technical jargon in meetings, or may feel their needs would not be shared with the more well-to-do. The level of literacy and intellectual interests may also indicate participation in learned societies such as reading groups, historical societies, and so forth. [Brian Rusted, personal communication, May 1985].

Cohesiveness may also be measured in factors such as who helps whom in times of difficulty. [Chiaramonte, personal communication]. While one would expect alliances along class, occupational, and kinship lines, often whom one defines as a "good neighbor" is more indicative of ties. Service organizations such as the Volunteer Fire Brigade, the Firettes (women's service group), the Lion's Club, 4-H, and so forth reinforce cohesiveness by encouraging mutual support and wide-spread participation.

The faith that community members have in the integrity of their leaders can be a factor not only in cohesiveness (avoiding division into factions), but also how that community is represented to 'the world beyond', and is the measure of the success of any development strategy. If the mayor and the council do not represent the needs and wishes of the community at large, there are bound to be conflicts over resource development, the spending of public monies, and the like. No development strategy, including tourism, will succeed unless there is some level of consensus in the host community involved, and consensus cannot be reached unless the needs of residents

are first *heard*, and then *met*. It is essential that "town meetings" or some other kind of public forum be regularly held in towns such as Trinity, so that concerns are heard and documented. Then, it is the council's responsibility to represent its electorate by acting on public concerns and ideas.

Attitudes towards strangers will certainly affect how tourists are regarded by residents. As noted below (and in Chapter 1), tourists may be resented for appearing to be rich, leisured, and condescending. On the other hand, residents may regard the tourist season as an interesting change of pace, and may enjoy talking with the tourists. I found both reactions (even from the same person) in Trinity. More isolated communities, seeing fewer strangers generally, would most likely be affected differently, perhaps harbouring stronger reactions to strangers' behaviour.

As Simmel remarked in his article on "The Stranger" (see Chapter 1), the stranger (in this case, the tourist) may be seen as an outlet against the insularity of small communities. The tourist is perceived as a more or less objective individual, in that he or she does not have a knowledge of community factions and classifications, and therefore may be used as a sounding board, or as a judge, by residents.

Furthermore, individuals who are somehow marginal in the eyes of their own community may take on a new status with tourists. An example from Trinity demonstrates this change. 'Carl' is a bachelor, probably in his fifties or sixties. While he is not very popular with many community members, with the tourists, he is a ready guide and commentator, eager to show them the various sights, offer bits of local history, and the like. Tourists find him charming and helpful. Thus, while he may be treated indifferently by his community, to the tourists he is a valuable asset.

The academic study of tourism (particularly in the social sciences) has begun to formulate theories on the social effects of tourism on host communities. These theories bear some mention here. The following section will address some of the more prevalent theories on social effects of tourism, paying particular attention to how theories can be applied to Trinity.

Approaches to the Study of Host-Tourist Relations

Most studies of tourism have focused on "First World" tourists travelling to "Third World" countries. Other patterns of tourist movements (including domestic tourism) are not to be ignored. The focus on tourism to Third World countries is important, however, for several reasons. First, cheaper air fares and jet travel have made destinations in the Third World more accessible to First World tourists. The warmer climate of the Southern Hemisphere holds a great attraction to winter-weary northerners. And the lush vegetation, 'subservient' native peoples with their exotic customs and carefree lifestyles appeal to many tourists who seek to escape their troubles (including the struggle for upward-mobility) and to indulge in the illusion of having their whims catered to.

The differences between tourist and host in this environment is naturally great. The tourist is generally white, middle class, and may well have originated from a country that was a former (even recent) colonial power. The host, on the other hand, is generally much less well off (indeed, part of the attraction for the tourist is that the Third World is 'cheap'). The hosts are often Black, Hispanic, or Asian, races which have been subjected to white colonists and may well remember the experience. They may see little difference between working for the white colonist and working for the white

tourist. The tourist appears to be rich, leisured, and dominant. There is little opportunity for open communication on a non-commercial level between tourist and host, but social change is bound to result from the relationship, nevertheless.

By contrast, in Newfoundland, tourists are generally not racially different than their hosts, though there may be some apparent difference in socio-economic status. There is little or no language barrier, besides local dialectal differences, which may be marketed as attractions in themselves (part of 'local colour'). Another major factor distinguishing Newfoundland from the majority of settings described in tourist studies is that it does not have the draws of a tropical environment ("sun, sand, sea, and sex"). [H. Matthews, 1978, p.81]. The ratio of tourists to hosts is not vastly disproportionate; and there are no institutionalized resort complexes which isolate tourists from local people and events in the resort area.

Can it be postulated, then, that the greater the number and depth of the differences, the more likely it is that tourism will become a factor of social change? Similarly, would it follow that the greater the differences, the less likely the occurrence of non-commercial host-tourist encounters, that is, between tourists and those hosts who are not directly involved in the tourist industry, or those whose livelihood is not dependent on making money off of the encounter? Some concepts in the study of host-tourist encounters will be explored.

Acculturation Theory

As the majority of studies on encounters focus on cross-cultural tourism, it has been suggested [Nuñez, 1977, pp.207-209] that the acculturation model is the most logical theoretical approach for examining the impact of

tourism on host cultures. The impact of tourists and tourism tends to be greater in changing aspects of the host culture than the native culture(s) of the tourists. Acculturation, which attempts to explain how two cultures, when in contact for some period of time, tend to become more alike through borrowing, is thus asymmetrical with regard to tourism. [Nuñez, 1977, p.208]. In addition, a *single* tourist generally lacks the degree of frequency of contact necessary to bring about acculturation with the host culture. However, especially in the case of institutionalized tourism, a tourist population "tends to replicate itself" [Nuñez, 1977, p.208], thereby producing some of the same effects of prolonged cultural contact.

Nettekoven comments on how tourism, when introduced into a developing area, may (with other aspects of 'modernization') have the effect of liberalizing 'traditional' attitudes, particularly among the younger members of the host culture. He explains:

> Apart from the fact that tourism may slow down the flight from the land and attract population into the area, the presence of strangers from foreign countries may weaken the conservative traditions and help to break down provincial patterns of thought. These changes are greeted favorably by the young people who heretofore wanted to emigrate. Because of the changes brought by tourism their horizons are expanded and their regional isolation is broken down. [Nettekoven, 1979, p.143].

This quotation from Nettekoven may be applicable to Newfoundland. (The Newfoundland context will be discussed in greater detail in chapters below). Tourism is not prevalent in Newfoundland to the extent that it is in other countries and regions, but points made in the passage above regarding acculturation processes may still apply to some degree. Nuñez notes that it is ironic that cultures seeking to promote the preservation of their 'traditional' way of life encourage tourism (as an economic panacea), which, along with other acculturation forms, is one of the greatest agents of *change* [Nuñez, 1977, p.209].

— The acculturation theory, while it may help to explain the impact of cross-cultural institutionalized tourism, is perhaps too much on a macro-theory level of analysis to be used in examining the encounters of individual tourists and hosts. The criteria of circumstances by which an encounter is likely to occur are laid out in a model by R. W. Butler. [Butler, 1975, pp.85-90]. While his model is designed for large-scale tourism, it is also possible to apply it to small-scale examples such as Trinity. Some of Butler's criteria include the following:

A. 1) the number of visitors to an area: the greater the number of tourists in a small area, the greater the potential for social change (generally speaking, in the host culture), and the smaller the potential for interpersonal, non-commercialized encounters. [Butler, 1975, p.85].

2) the length of stay: the longer a tourist stays in an area, the more likely it is that he or she will have non-commercial encounters with hosts. [Butler, 1975, p.86].

3) racial characteristics, and

4) socio-economic background: in the latter two factors, the greater the differences between hosts and tourists, the greater the potential for social change in the host culture (acculturation). [Butler, 1975, p.86].

Characteristics of the destination area are also factors in the potential for social change and for host-guest encounters:

B. 1) the spatial characteristics of development: the more isolated and distinct the tourist area is from the rest of the local environment and activities, the smaller the potential for encounters of a non-commercial kind. [Butler, 1975, p.86]. This is especially true of large hotel/resort complexes which meet all the needs of the mass tourists, thereby militating against tourist integration with locals in the area. [Butler, 1975, p.86].

2) the degree of local involvement in tourism: the greater the level of outside involvement in tourism planning, management, and employment, the greater the demarcation between 'tourist area' and 'non-tourist area', the lesser the local interest in the area, and the fewer the potential positive encounters between tourist and host. [Butler, 1975, p.86].

3) the strength of the local culture, manifested in traditions, rituals, language, dress, and all of the other factors which make up culture, including "political attitude and degree of nationalism" [Butler, 1975, p.86]: the greater the strength of the local culture, the more able it is to withstand change, but vast differences between cultures may discourage host-tourist encounters. [Butler, 1975, p.86].

This 'strong culture' resistance-to-change theory seems to run counter to points made above (numbers A3 and A4, on tourist characteristics), but perhaps Butler has other factors in mind than are apparent in his outline, above. Also, other factors such as "demonstration effects" and "the commoditization of culture" may come into play. These and other factors will be discussed below. Noronha [1981, p.474] also remarks that the degree of institutionalization of tourism is a significant factor in the potential for host-tourist encounters. This point supports Butler's outline.

For Trinity, the density of tourists (the number of tourists in a given area at a given time) in relation to the population and size of the host community (particularly concerning the tourist areas of the host community) is not great. Also, the tourists generally are concentrated along one street, on which is located the major tourist attractions: the Hiscock House, the Craft Shop, the Anglican church,(the Catholic church is on an adjacent street), the museum, and the store. In addition, it was noted above that, with the exception of summer-home owners, tourists generally do not stay very long

in Trinity.

The great majority of tourists to visit Trinity are not racially different from the residents, although the socio-economic status of the tourists is generally higher. While most tourists do not have any contact with residents beyond commercial encounters (e.g. with employees of the tourist homes, museum, gift shop, etc.), those non-commercial encounters which do occur are generally a positive experience for both host and tourist (based on my own observations and from interviews with tourists and residents).

Butler's model, however, should not give the impression that host communities are passive recipients to the effects of tourism. The host culture may have their own way of dealing with the impact of tourists (and their behaviour). Pi-Sunyer notes that in "Cap Lloc", a Catalan maritime community in Spain, members of the host culture "subtly categorized distinctions between native, stranger, and foreigner, as a guide to interpersonal relations or as a means of specifying how one should deal with whom and when". [Pi-Sunyer, 1977, p.150].

What is significant here is that the host plays an *active* role in relating to the tourist by fitting the tourist in to his or her conceptual framework, via categories for codes of conduct. Other comments on the active role of the host include those by MacCannell and Nash. MacCannell notes that, "Although tourists adopt the rhetoric of adventure, they are never independent of a social arrangement wherein *a host organizes the experiences of a sightseeing guest*". [my emphasis]; [MacCannell, 1976, p.186].

Nash cites a study done by R. Young, in which some Caribbean islands apparently *choose* the form of tourism they want to develop, or at least attract certain tourist types in association with their particular "economic and political structure". [Nash, 1981, p.466]. If it is true that the hosts

choose the type and degree of tourism development for their island, one might well ask, exactly who does the choosing, and on what criteria? Also, Young's study assumes a knowledge of various 'types' of tourism, and a conscious selection—and control over—the form implemented. Whether or not these considerations are borne out in reality needs study.

Tourists, too, can play an active role in their own touristic experiences, and in their encounters with hosts. Pearce, again citing Cohen and Taylor, comments on the active role of tourists:

> It is interesting that Cohen and Taylor do not simply view the tourists as innocents abroad imbibing whatever experiences are delivered to them. Instead, they see the tourist as having to work at the problem of his identity which involves a constant appraisal of his satisfactions and dissatisfactions with his travel experiences and his larger role in life.
>
> The authors argue that the tourist coping with his holiday uses the same kinds of role-distancing, self-awareness and accommodation-to-the-situation techniques normally used to cope with the boring reality of everyday life. [Pearce, 1982, p.18].

Problematic Encounters

The attitudes of tourists and hosts towards encounters are shaped by their respective expectations and assumptions about each other's behaviour, and how these expectations are met (or not met). Nettekoven explains that one of the misconceptions about host-tourist encounters is that tourists actively seek "intense intercultural encounters" [Nettekoven, 1979, p.136]; [I believe the reverse may also be true—that hosts may *not* actively seek encounters, but they nevertheless occur]. But, Nettekoven notes that when encounters do take place, encounters may be problematic, due to socio-economic and cultural differences that may cause the tourists [and hosts?] to dwell on discrepancies, especially regarding problems in the host culture.

The vacation is supposed to be carefree, and tourists do not want to be disturbed by problems which may arise in encounters. Nettekoven

comments: "They are on vacation, which is, by definition, supposed to be free from problems. Coming to grips with the problems of a developing country is in itself difficult and thus interferes with the desired pleasures of the vacation" [Nettekoven, 1979, p.136]; and "Tourists are pleasure-seekers, temporarily unemployed, and above all consumers; they are taking their trip to get away from everyday cares". [Nettekoven, 1979, p.137].

The hosts, too, may come to see encounters as problematic. While hosts and tourists alike may desire to become acquainted and, given the optimal "circumstances of infrequent visitors who share mutual interests and a common language, tourism can be a bridge to an appreciation of cultural relativity and international understanding". [Smith, 1977, p.6]. However, as noted above [Nuñez, 1977, p.208], a tourist population "tends to replicate itself", and even the most patient and hospitable hosts may grow tired and irritated of tourists, who soon melt into a blur of faces. Smith explains:

> Catering to guests is a repetitive, monotonous business, and although questions posed by each visitor are 'new' to him, hosts can come to feel that they have simply turned on a cassette. Especially late in 'the season', it becomes progressively harder to rekindle the spontaneity and enthusiasm that bids guests truly welcome. If the economic goals of mass tourism are realized and the occasional visitor is replaced by a steady influx, individual identities are blurred in the phrase 'tourists' who, in turn, may be stereotyped into national character images. Guests become dehumanized objects to be tolerated for economic gain, and tourists are left with little alternative other than to look upon their hosts with curiosity, as objects. To fulfill social needs, overseas visitors in particular find identity by congregating with their compatriots in bars and lobbies, thereby creating their own reality—their 'tourist bubble'—of being physically 'in' a foreign place but socially 'outside' the culture. [Smith, 1977, p.6].

None of my informants in Trinity told me that he or she viewed encounters with tourists as being problematic, although there were a few tourists who were not willing to talk with me. Many tourists and hosts alike *did* seek out encounters.

"Irridex"

Edwards and Cleverdon outline a model by Doxey measuring the level of irritation to tourism in the host culture, called an "irridex". As tourism grows on a higher scale of institutionalization, irritation in the host culture grows correspondingly. Doxey's "irridex", which "covers four levels of expression of reactions on the part of the host population," is outlined as follows:

> i. *euphoria*—initial phase, both visitors and investors welcomed;
>
> ii. *apathy*—transition to this stage varies in length, depending on the speed and amount of development; gradual formalisation of contacts; tourists seen as stereotypes and taken for granted;
>
> iii. *annoyance*—host population begins to express doubts;
>
> iv. *antagonism*—overt expression of irritation; all social and personal problems attributed to the tourist. [Edwards and Cleverdon, 1982, p.188].

But irritation is not necessarily the end result in all cases. As noted above [Pi-Sunyer, 1977, p.150], the hosts may learn to accommodate the tourists *and* maintain their culture by forming categorizations of tourists, their respective behaviours, and the prescribed treatment of each grouping [see Edwards and Cleverdon, 1982, p.188, with regard to this type of adaptation in Bali]. Edwards and Cleverdon note that "other factors serving to slow this process down may be where tourism is only a supplementary (rather than sole) income source and tourist attractions have an independent, different meaning for the host". [Edwards and Cleverdon, 1982, p.188].

This latter point may apply in particular to Newfoundland, where tourism is not the sole (or even the major) industry. Therefore, it might be postulated that the level of irritation is relatively low. If one correlates Butler's

index and Doxey's 'irridex', it would appear that the impact of tourism in Newfoundland is not greatly negative.

In Trinity, some residents actively seek out tourists, either in commercial ventures, or because they like to talk with them. They would generally be at the 'euphoric' stage, where tourists are welcomed. Other residents don't really care if there are tourists or not, or else feel that tourism will not benefit them directly, and so do not get involved. These residents would be at the more apathetic stage. I did not have any informants who were absolutely against tourism in Trinity. Therefore, it would seem that the community as a whole is somewhere in between the stages of 'euphoria' and 'apathy'. However, one must be on guard to more negative sentiments if tourism grows in Trinity, particularly if some residents feel that it is growing at the expense of other possible developments.

Mediators

In examining encounters between tourist and host, it is also important to look at those people who may act as mediators in the interaction: 1) innovators, and 2) culture brokers. Nuñez [1977, pp.209-210], commenting on innovation theory, notes that

> Many anthropologists agree that two classes of individuals are likely to be innovators within their own communities and/or the first to accept and possibly promulgate an alien trait or behavior. These classes of people have been described as those who hold traditional positions of prestige within their communities and those who are somehow culturally marginal. [Nuñez, 1977, p.209].

Nuñez defines a marginal person as "an individual who differs from some cultural norm or norms and who behaves or is treated accordingly." [Nuñez, 1977, p.210].

Of the two types of innovators (traditionally prestigious individuals,

and marginal individuals), Nuñez notes that the traditionally prestigious individuals tend to be more "successful innovators when a community is undergoing gradual, orderly change, whereas culturally marginal individuals are more likely to be innovators during periods of rapid, stressful change". [Nuñez, 1977, pp.209-210]. Nuñez explains that tourism often precipitates, or is precipitated by, periods of rapid, disquieting change, and that "this is the arena for the marginal individual to appear in as a leading performer"; [Nuñez, 1977, p.210].

Certain types of marginal individuals may be better able to cope with "the stresses and changes brought on by tourism" [Nuñez, 1977, p.210] and may thus emerge as innovators of a particular kind: culture brokers. These culture brokers may "have had more previous exposure than others to education, travel, bi-cultural or bi-racial experience," and may be bi-lingual (or even multi-lingual). [Nuñez, 1977, p.211]. Nuñez cautions that it is not every marginal person who emerges as an innovator, but that certain marginal people, "no more economically or intellectually advantaged than their peers, appear to emerge as culture brokers." [Nuñez, 1977, p.211].

Pearce and deKadt apply the culture-broker role to tour guides in the host community. Pearce, citing Taft, notes that tour guides as culture brokers, can be "socially marginal in a positive sense..." as opposed to guides who, intentionally or unintentionally, give a "distorted view of the host culture...since a number of special qualities are needed for an individual to bridge the gap between diverse communities". [Pearce, 1982, p.73]. For example, Pearce mentions the "ability to learn languages, know one's community, tolerate others and be personally charming" [Pearce, 1982, pp.73-74] as qualities of the culture broker/tour guide. Tourists can thus be relieved of some of the tensions associated with getting to know the host community.

However, guides may be present in the wrong context (for example, a guide is not generally needed at a beach, but may be helpful in a factory or museum), or may assume a superior role that puts the tourist into a student or child role. Pearce notes that "such a situation may produce some strange role incongruities as instanced by university professors being lectured in their own area of competence or being chastised for their lateness or rowdy behaviour". [Pearce, 1982, p.74]. Again, tourists may feel that normal composure can be relaxed while on vacation, and may resent having to conform to someone else's code of conduct.

Nettekoven notes that while the *ideal* would be for guides to act as culture brokers between host and tourist (and their respective cultures and expectations), that often the tour guide has only the more commercial interests in mind, and the tourist is only a vehicle to "commissions for excursions, services, and souvenirs" [Nettekoven 1979, p.142], which compensate for the guide's low salary. The result is that tourists are denied the possibility of "authentic extra-touristic opportunities for cultural exchange" [Nettekoven, 1979, p.142], and are instead herded through concessions from which the guide can profit financially.

Another factor is that guides are often poorly trained to be culture brokers, a task that is difficult at best, anyway. Nettekoven advocates a higher basic salary and "not only sufficient preparatory training for the job but also continuing education and motivation". [Nettekoven, 1979, p.143]. In Cyprus, the suggestions are apparently borne out, and have proven to be quite beneficial, according to Andronicou. [1979, p.251]. Guides there must be professionally trained in history, archeology, art, and culture. As a result, tourists receive an "objective and accurate" tour. [Andronicou, 1979, p.251].

In Trinity there are few guides *per se*, (the exceptions being the whale

guides, and others who take out tours of abandoned villages and so forth). However, if tourism grows substantially in Trinity, more guides may be needed. In general, mediators (as interpreters) are not needed, as there is no language barrier. There have, of course, been several innovators in tourism in Trinity. The owners of the accommodations in and near Trinity have all been innovative: Rupert Morris had the first tourist cabins in Newfoundland; Peter Beamish has become widely known for his "whale contact" tours; Bernie Skehen has lately had a large share of the responsibility for tourism development in Trinity (such as the successful Trinity Festival of 1984); and Lloyd Miller offers tourists a taste of the fisherman's life when he takes visitors out in his longliner to haul in the cod trap.

The guides at the Hiscock House want to start a tea shop. Women in the community formed their own co-operative Craft Shop, and the Historical Society has put together one of the finest rural museums in Newfoundland. This kind of innovation is what makes tourism in Trinity successful, and it is ultimately the key to its survival. Innovation by community members should be strongly encouraged and supported.

Demonstration Effects

Aside from the nature of host-tourist encounters, one must consider how tourism affects those members of a community who are not directly or extensively involved in the tourist industry, but still may be influenced by it. These influences on values, attitudes, and behaviours in the host culture are called "demonstration effects", and are a part of the process of acculturation. Edwards and Cleverdon [1982, p.189], and several writers in the deKadt volume [1979] illustrate the nature of demonstration effects. Edwards and Cleverdon define demonstration effects as "an *indirect* impact

of tourism caused by the mere presence of tourists where this results in the tourists' values being transferred and adopted by the host population". [Edwards and Cleverdon, 1982, p.189].

Both Edwards and Cleverdon [1982, p.189] and deKadt [1979, p.65] note that the primary changes are in the values, attitudes and particularly the consumption patterns of the hosts. Members of the host culture (particularly the younger set) may emulate the free-spending, cosmopolitan consumption patterns of the tourists, whom they *perceive* as being well-to-do and carefree. The fact that the vacation may represent unusual forms of behaviour for tourists may not be realized by the hosts who do not see the tourists during the rest of the year when they are working and saving up for the two weeks (or whatever amount of time) when they can drop ordinary cares, travel to a different place, and 'live it up'. (Note the discussion of play, escape attempts, and time out, above).

As noted above in the discussion on acculturation, [especially Nettekoven, 1979, pp.143-144], "the presence of strangers from foreign countries may weaken the conservative traditions and help to break down provincial patterns of thought". [Nettekoven, 1979, pp.143-144]. In the desire to acculturate to the seemingly 'superior' consumption patterns, values, and attitudes of the tourists, 'traditional' adaptations, arts and crafts, and other aspects of culture which are appropriate to the experience, needs, and environment of the host population may be abandoned. [deKadt, 1979, p.65].

Both deKadt [1979, p.66] and Edwards and Cleverdon [1982, p.189] are careful to note that tourism is not the only factor which brings about acculturation (including demonstration effects), but that it often goes hand in hand with industrial development, various forms of the media, advertising,

and so forth. Edwards and Cleverdon argue that, while tourism may have an effect on value changes, that it is really the innovators [note discussion above] who are at the root of these changes, and tourism is merely a vehicle. [Edwards and Cleverdon, 1982, p.189].

Edwards and Cleverdon add, as a footnote, that "the impact of tourism is far more evident in socioeconomic terms (e.g. improvements in hygiene, health, education, technology, producing methods, changes in hours of work, adoption of different forms of architecture, food habits, etc.)". [Edwards and Cleverdon, 1982, p.189]. Also of note is that "foreigners residing in the community" are mentioned as "mediating agents". Resident foreigners in Malta "constitute a visible 1 percent of the population and demonstrate foreign patterns of consumption all the year round" [deKadt, 1979, p.65], and are thus more powerful agents of demonstration effects than are the more transient tourists. This factor may also be applicable, perhaps to a lesser degree, to tourists who stay in and/or own summer homes.

Another demonstration effect is noted by Pearce, regarding the invasion of the hosts' privacy (especially those who are not directly involved in the tourist industry) by the tourists. Pearce says, "the simple process of tourists observing or watching the local people can have profound effects". [Pearce, 1982, p.14]. Tourists may enjoy observing 'living culture'—people going about their daily routine and work—but this observation may make the members of the host community feel that their behaviour is being judged, and that they must 'perform' up to par. [MacCannell, 1976, pp.57-76]. Pearce notes that "the local people feel insulted, resent the constant tourist photographs, and tire of answering endless questions about their procedures. In short, tourists may destroy the privacy of the local people". [Pearce, 1982, p.14]. Turnbull also describes the intrusive nature of the tourists'

cameras in Bali, and that photographers are often inconsiderate and disrespectful towards the hosts' privacy and the sacred aspects of their religion. [Turnbull, 1984, p.390].

The demonstration effects of tourism in Trinity would not appear to be very strong, as the density of tourists is not great, and there are little or no racial or language differences between residents and tourists. But it is difficult to separate effects from tourism itself from other factors also in progress. Do young people migrate to the cities in search of jobs because they are emulating 'rich' urban tourists or because job availability in Trinity is low? Is job availability low because tourism development has usurped funds away from other possibilities, or is tourism a 'solution' to unemployment? Although individuals may express opinions on these questions, it is not likely that either side could be statistically proven. The most important point is to be *aware* that such questions exist, and should be asked.

Commoditization of Culture

The commoditization of culture is discussed at length in Chapter 4. However, one point which was not made is that "exit surveys" conducted by the Department of Development and other interests (e.g. the airlines) may ask why tourists come to Newfoundland (motivations) as well as tabulating statistics on the numbers of tourists and their places of origin, but they do not ask more subjective questions such as if tourists' expectations were met, what these expectations were, and if expectations have changed during the visit. These questions were among those I asked when I interviewed tourists, but few tourists were able to answer them with ease.

Whether or not expectations were met to some extent depends on how realistic they are. Signs of the underdevelopment of Newfoundland cannot

be completely hidden to suit tourists. And Newfoundland is not an unchanging utopia, serving only as an escape hatch for urban tensions. The tourism industry must adopt a realistic view of Newfoundland and of the place of tourism in Newfoundland's development. The future of tourism in Newfoundland will be discussed in the next chapter.

Chapter 6 The Future of Tourism as a Development Strategy in Newfoundland

The modern tourist is better off in many ways from his or her earlier counterparts. Travel is facilitated by better, safer, and more diverse transportation. Health risks are at a minimum, and travel insurance is now available. Moreover, accommodation and attractions are in greater supply. If the socio-economic class and the motivations of those who travel has broadened, we still find that many of the same characteristics apply: people travel to "get away for awhile" and to enjoy themselves. Newfoundland claims to hold a special attraction for tourists. In previous centuries, it was mainly the sportsmen, adventurers, and 'frontier'-seekers who came to wander over Newfoundland's rocks and barrens, its mountains and ponds, and to venture on the capricious Atlantic waters.

World War II brought Canadian and American troops to Newfoundland who built airstrips which today bring tourists, business people, and returning residents. The Trans-Canada Highway and the CN Ferries transport "the rubber-tire trade" to, from, and around the Province. Tourists still come to Newfoundland for many of the same reasons: the natural environment and the culture. What has changed is that tourism is now institutionalized. There is a government department which controls and promotes it, and restrictions which regulate nearly every aspect of tourism. What, then, is the future of tourism in Newfoundland?

It is seldom the "common man" who is the promoter of tourism. And yet he is the one who is portrayed in the imagery of advertising; it as his community which becomes tourist mecca. The swarms of tourists may provide him with a job. As well, they may intrude on his privacy and property,

defile what he holds sacred, and raise the cost of living. How are we to weigh the costs and benefits of such a mixed bag? The bright scenario (generally that promoted by the tourist industry) has us to believe that tourism is the ideal: it is easily established almost anywhere, it relieves unemployment in remote areas, and it generates much-needed foreign exchange. It promotes international cooperation and understanding, and can revive lost traditions and ethnic arts. Indeed, this *can* be the case...occasionally.

On the other, not-so-bright side of the coin, however, communities are overrun by a transient, demanding population which may exceed the native population by many times. Inflation soars, and it is the local resident who must subsidise it. Profits accrue to foreign entrepreneurs and their associates, the native elite. The employment generated is menial, subservient, and seasonal. Hostilities increase, schisms in the community or country are exacerbated, and the intrinsic value of the culture to the residents is destroyed and replaced with "airport art" and "phoney folk culture", devoid of meaning, representing only the money it can earn. [Smith, 1977].

Is some kind of balance possible? Newfoundland is fortunate, in that its tourism industry is still young and malleable. *Now* is the time for careful, comprehensive planning, for assessing the industry's pros and cons and for *acting* on positive ideas. Any development strategy, in order to be successful, must *fully incorporate* the needs of the people it is intended to benefit. Studies have shown this to be true for Newfoundland, under DREE and similar programs [see Chapter 2]. Development strategies must affect more than the surface-level. While improved housing, roads, and the various trappings of consumer society are beneficial, they may do little to improve people's lives in the long term.

The connotation of 'development' is that of 'progress', of changing for

the better. Some of the dictionary definitions include —

1. To expand or bring out the potentialities, capabilities, etc..
5. To increase in capabilities, maturity, etc.
6. To advance to a higher stage, evolve. [Funk and Wagnall's, 1980].

The impact of this concept of 'development' for the communities and cultures which host tourism may be great, especially when one considers that tourism may involve numerous paradoxes. For instance, the stereotypical tourist escapes the urban-industrial 'rat-race' to relax in the pastoral, 'quaint' surroundings of the countryside or seacoast. But he or she, at the same time, expects "all the comforts of home": hot running water in abundance, many of the same foods and conveniences, etc. The tourist also expects to fill his or her limited vacation time with aspects different from the work-a-day world: abundant entertainment, leisure, service at one's beck and call, a release from stress—especially the stress of having to deal with social problems—and all for a bargain price.

Above all, the tourist seeks to get his or her money's worth of relaxation, or whatever it is that he or she expects. However, these expectations are often hazily defined. The tourist seldom, if ever, stops to think about the costs his or her expectations are imposing on the host community, that the host may lose the rights to access to traditionally held lands or bodies of water—to accommodate resort complexes and recreational facilities and vehicles. Other ill effects such as soaring inflation and over-use of utilities and infrastructure have been noted above. This is especially irksome when the resident realizes that he or she must work the hardest precisely when the tourist is at leisure. The tourist season often coincides with the busiest time of the agricultural and fishing seasons, if it has not already displaced these industries.

The cultural values of the urban tourist and the tourism developer may well clash with the values of the rural host in an underdeveloped region. The host community living on subsistence agriculture, hunting, fishing, or other resource-extractive life-styles, with little cash flow, is persuaded by the developer that its life-style is 'backward', 'quaint', or even shameful. The tourist is held up as the model to which one can aspire: for all appearances wealthy, leisured, 'intelligent'. [Note the discussion of "demonstration effects" in Chapter 5].

The very term 'underdeveloped' implies a contrast—and a negatively-loaded one, at that—with the 'developed' regions. It is assumed (by 'developers') that the underdeveloped areas and peoples *should* move towards ~~the developed.~~ The economic considerations usually are given the greatest weight, and the historical, cultural, social, psychological, and other aspects of human existence are often ignored, or become lost in the shuffle. [See R. Matthews, 1983, pp.148-166 with regard to resettlement]. Charles Elliot, in his book, *The Development Debate* [1971], analyzes the failures of development which is equated with economic 'growth'. Instead, he argues for a more balanced approach, as his chapter titles indicate: "Development as Growth in Income; Development as Progress towards Social Goals; Development as Change in Economic and Social Structure; Development as Liberation; Development as Humanization."

It is clear that development is more than infrastructure (roads, plumbing, electricity, etc.). It is more than increased standard of living, or even secure jobs and abundant schools. "Joey" Smallwood poured Newfoundland's post-Confederation revenue into infrastructure, "growth-centre" factories, and all the trappings of twentieth-century urban living. Yet, Newfoundland remains underdeveloped. The governments of Frank

Moores and Brian Peckford have failed to substantially overcome Newfoundland's difficulties.

The greatest goal of Peckford's current government was to achieve the "Atlantic Accord" with Ottawa for the development of offshore oil and gas. He felt that he struck an excellent bargain for Newfoundland, but it is unlikely that many permanent jobs for Newfoundlanders will be created. While the cost of living soars for Newfoundlanders, little of the vast earnings will ever reach these troubled shores. Once again, Newfoundland's scarce revenues are being poured into foreign ventures which profit foreign capitalists. The vicious circle continues.

Newfoundland's development strategies have done little to encourage the investment or creativity of its people, apart from a hand-full of the power elite. The resource-extraction industries (fishing, farming, logging, mining, hydropower) continue to fade into obscurity, or are so completely controlled by mainland or foreign capitalists that their successes matter little to Newfoundland. Rural Newfoundland pays the price for the incompetency of successive governments. Could tourism be the salvation of rural Newfoundland?

We have seen the benefits and failures of tourism as a development strategy for rural areas. Trinity is a case in point. Houses and buildings were restored, roads were improved, and now the long-awaited sewer system is under way. Yet, the young people continue to leave, and few permanent jobs were created. The temporary work/UI pattern continues. Is this development? Development for whom? Who benefits? Who pays?

At its present state, tourism in Trinity benefits few but the tourist home owners. Even then, the high cost of meeting the incredible red tape and government regulations for income over a three-month season makes

large profits doubtful. *Perhaps* ten percent of the population of Trinity directly benefit from tourism. One must ask whether or not the investment has been worth it. Without tourism development, would the community have died, developed some other industry, or just continued to hang on from occasional job to UI cheque? Hindsight is 20/20 vision. While beneficial aspects of the $1.5 million DREE grant, a good part of it was squandered. The major goal of restoring the Ryan (Garland) building still awaits completion. But the foundation for further tourism development was laid, and has stood the test of the first five years.

Where will it go from there? The present Federal-Provincial tourism agreement for $13.2 million has, for the most part, already been divvied up. Trinity will need more funding for growth in tourism, but the time has come when its people must decide their own future. It cannot continue to hang on from hand-out to hand-out. At its present state, tourism brings little long-term benefit to Trinity. It must either go all the way in developing its potential as a tourist attraction, or look for some viable alternative. I have listed some suggestions in the Appendix. The real impetus, however, must come from the people of Trinity, for they alone will make it work; they alone must live with the consequences.

Long-term planning is essential. But its ultimate success relies on feedback, on its ability to withstand criticism, to continue to meet the changing needs of the people it was designed to assist. A clear definition of goals, methods, and assessments must be built in from the outset. Kahnert explains:

> Many of the planners who work for developing countries consider that their task is finished when they have prepared and printed a 'plan' for three years, five years, seven years. In some rare cases they take the extra trouble of producing a one-year plan, included as a first slice for implementation of a medium-term plan that may be set in the framework of some long-term projection.

> Only in rare cases is a system of constant revision and monitoring of the plan conceived at the outset, as part of the exercise of planning. The error is to mistake a plan, or even several plans fitted into another, for planning. To use a more elegant vocabulary, a plan is static and planning must be dynamic. [Kahnert, 1976, p.198].
>
> ...although during the last twenty-five years the developing countries have been almost literally covered with plans, little planning has been going on. [Kahnert, 1976, p.199].

The tourism sector of the Department of Development in St. John's is by now well developed. The new five-year Federal-Provincial agreement gives them the leeway to continue to grow and improve. However, the future of tourism in Newfoundland should not be left entirely in the hands of those people and departments already in the industry (including Hospitality Newfoundland, which represents the accommodations, restaurants and lounges, and the like), as they are naturally inclined to feel their responsibility is to promote and implement tourism development, not to limit it or even to question its existence at all. George Young warns: "Planning for tourism must be completely integrated with planning for other objectives, and growth must be restrained where it prejudices the attainment of these other objectives". [Young, 1973, p.161]. The government regulation of tourism must be open to public debate. Young comments,

> Information on tourism tends to be presented in national terms, and decisions on its development taken at a national level... Yet tourism is essentially a local phenomenon, tending to be concentrated in a very small percentage of the land area of a given country. [Young, 1973, p.111].

Local initiatives and ventures must be encouraged by all means over mainland or multinational enterprises, which only exacerbate the leakage of capital from Newfoundland. It is not enough to provide menial, seasonal labour. Newfoundlanders must be involved at *all* levels and the government must support their endeavours. Inclusive tours which patronize multinational chains such as the Holiday Inns encourage high rates of leakage and

should be discouraged, unless they become more supportive of local businesses and initiatives (such as Hospitality Homes). Parallels can be drawn between oil development and tourism development. Young notes:

> ...tourist authorities would be well advised to look at the history of oil refining if they wish to maximize revenue from tourism and reduce the 'leakage'.
>
> It requires but little imagination to relate this problem of oil revenues and tax evasion to the problems of tourist revenues and tax evasion. In the future, more and more tourists will travel on inclusive tours, and the more inclusive a tourist becomes, the more he will pay to international companies owning aircraft, hotels, and other tourist services. [Young, 1973, p.153].

If Newfoundland is to learn from the mistakes of the past, it must awake to the realization that development strategies appropriate to Ontario, Quebec, and elsewhere may be ineffectual or even crippling for Newfoundland. David Alexander comments:

> ...when St. John's looks for a development plan it reaches into the sagging bottom drawer of a Montreal planning firm rather than mobilizing the skills and views of its own citizens. [Alexander, 1974, p.27, note #63].

Imitation of the metropolis risks destroying not only the creativity of Newfoundlanders, but of destroying Newfoundland's last hope for self-reliance based on the desire of its people for a viable existence on Newfoundland for Newfoundlanders. Again, Alexander remarks:

> The result is a loss of social and cultural variety in the world, and hence of examples of alternative ways of living for all to consider. This can have material consequences since it implies the elimination of the production of commodities and services which have their roots in cultural distinctiveness. [Alexander, 1974, pp.28-29].
>
> If a distinctive regional culture exists which is more than sentimental aggressiveness about a past long dead, then import substitution and eventual export growth can take place, not on inefficient replication of the output and demand patterns of other regions and countries, but on the basis of a distinctive demand for goods and services of the region which, because it originates here, will be uniquely efficient in its production. [Alexander, 1974, p.29].

For tourism, it is a fine line between promoting the culture and scenery

of Newfoundland as being valuable and 'authentic' while maintaining its integrity, or commoditizing it into something unrecognizable, a "phoney-folk culture". The key is in *awareness* of this fine line, and in an acknowledgement that tourism's purpose is to *support* the culture and people of Newfoundland, and not vice versa. Tourism has the potential to serve as a tool in the encouragement of pride in the heritage and lifestyle of Newfoundland, of a renewed sense of self and Newfoundlanders' distinctiveness in North America and the world.

Tourism is no panacea for underdevelopment. The development of tourism at the expense of other goals can only exacerbate the problems of dependency, poverty, and corruption in underdeveloped regions and countries. Newfoundland is fortunate in that there is still time to adjust, to plan carefully and clearly for the future. By so doing, tourism can become an *aid* to Newfoundland's recovery and a vital industry in its own right, answering to the goals and ideas of Newfoundlanders. In closing, George Young sums up the direction planning for tourism development must take in the future:

> ...the future of tourism represents a serious challenge to man's ability to organize himself; to succeed, present attitudes towards tourism and current methods of planning for it must change; and they must change in a way which neither the tourist not the tourist industry may appreciate.
>
> Those who instigate these changes, for the long-term benefit of society—including the tourist—will stand accused of curbing man's freedom to travel and of restricting the liberty of the individual and of private enterprise. Such a criticism is short-sighted as it ignores the damage that unrestrained tourist development can cause and assumes that no price for freedom of movement can be too high. It is that view, above all else, that must be changed. [Young, 1973, pp.180-181].

APPENDIX: Suggestions for Improvements

The following list came from three sources: from the tourists who visited Trinity, from the residents of the community, and from my own observations. It is divided into four sections, consisting of immediate, medium term, and long term projections, with medium term meaning within a year, and long term meaning one to five years. In addition, there are two suggestions at the end which should be addressed to provincial authorities, as they are of general concern. Some of these suggestions are already under way. It should be noted that they are only suggestions, and in the end, it is the community of Trinity itself which must decide what is best in the way of tourism development.

Immediate

1) Post signs at tourist/historic attractions, including the opening and closing hours and dates; and if the attraction is of historical significance, pertinent dates and other information should be supplied. Of particular significance is the Catholic church, which is the oldest wooden church still in use in Newfoundland, but which has no marker at all. Old houses should also have a simple wooden sign giving the date on which they were built. The sign could be placed over the door, or in some other conspicuous spot.

2) Post signs outside town and entering town, listing tourist attractions; erect large map board in town which emphasizes attractions.

3) Post large, legible signs on the Trans-Canada Highway indicating the off-ramp to the Bonavista Peninsula, with a turn-out which has a map board and brochures outlining attractions in the region.

4) Post photograph or drawing of J. B. Garland House at the site.

5) Post "Walking Tour" signs at the base of Gun Hill (Riders Hill) at other points of interest (e.g. The Nuddick, Hog's Nose, Fort Point, around the base of Gun Hill, to Trinity Loop). Small signs or other markers should be placed along the routes, and the trails should be maintained. A "walking tour" map should be made available at the Interpretation Centre.

Medium Term

6) Build Interpretation Centre in Trinity, in front of which would be the large map board. Inside it could house photographs, historical data, pamphlets, and other information of interest to visitors. A public washroom should also be included in the plans. The interpretation centre would provide employment of a temporary nature in the construction phase, and seasonal employment for one or two persons as guides.

7) Finish restoration of Ryan Building, for use as increased museum space to house large items (e.g. sleighs, reconstructed ship, nineteenth-century clerk's office, etc.).

8) Finish restoration of Hiscock House (upper floor as bedrooms; kitchen and bathroom to be restored to former design). In addition, a tearoom could be set up in the space behind the Craft Shop, and a cook and waiter/waitress could be hired to serve refreshments to visitors.

9) Remove demolished houses and cars, especially if they provide a health risk.

10) Initiate inexpensive boat tours, to provide sight-seeing around the 'arms' of the harbour, as well as cod-jigging, tours of sea-bird colonies, abandoned villages (e.g. Kerley's Harbour, British Harbour), wildflower and berry identification. A list of boat tour operators could be posted at the

Interpretation Centre and at the tourist homes and cabins.

11) Build a boat launch and marina in the cove by the Ryan Building. It should include facilities for fuel, electricity hook-ups, water and ice, parking and turn-around, garbage collection, showers, laundromat, public telephone, and a clubhouse.

Long Term

12) Repair Church Road and main road into Trinity from Cabins; widen roads, or create pedestrian paths.

13) Improve roads to Garland Plantation and Beach Road.

14) Drain marshland in centre of village.

15) Build parking area, either on land behind post office and the government building, or on marshland (which would have to be drained) across from Hiscock House. Screen from view with trees.

16) Designate picnic grounds on beaches/slopes below Gun Hill (on trail beyond the Ryan Building), also on marshland by ball park, and possibly near Breakheart Hill or Trinity Loop. Garbage cans *must* be provided and regularly emptied, and these areas kept clean and maintained.

17) Build more campground and cabin areas in communities adjacent to Trinity. A restaurant serving traditional Newfoundland fare should also be built. Take-outs should be disallowed or minimized, especially in the historic area.

18) Arts and crafts production should be encouraged (and grants provided as necessary). Handicrafts can continue to be sold at the Craft Shop. Variety and ingenuity should be emphasized. Sight-seeing of the working crafts (metal-works, boat-building, sawmill, and handicrafts) could be part of

the "Walking Tour". Industries of former centuries (shoe-making, cooperage, blacksmithing, etc.) could be restored in small model shops built by the Ryan Building. All reconstructions should be in keeping with the historical record of industry in Trinity.

19) "Cottage" farm production for local and tourist consumption could be initiated. There is grazing land available on the slopes of Gun Hill, on marshlands, and on the peninsula leading to Fort Point. Cattle, goats, and sheep could be raised, and milk, butter, and cheese (as well as meat and hides) could be produced. Yarn could be spun from the sheep's, and possibly the goats' wool, and then garments knitted or crocheted from this wool. Poultry could be raised for eggs and meat. Vegetables could be grown, and more berries picked (or even cultivated), all of which could be preserved or sold fresh. If fishing licences could be obtained, a greater quantity and variety of fish could be served in the restaurants, or preserved for later usage. Mussel beds could be cultivated fairly easily off Fisher's Cove and in other regions, and could be used for local, as well as commercial consumption. Baked goods are always in demand.

20) Piped water and sewer facilities are badly needed. I am happy to say that the initial construction has now begun on this project. The source for the water supply will be Indian Pond. Measures are under way to protect the watershed for the Indian Pond area.

21) As 1985 is National Parks Year, the time is opportune to restore Fort Point, possibly as a national historic site or park. The Trinity Historical Society and/or the Trinity Museum have the plans of the old fort. Any new construction should comply with these plans. The mayor, Bernie Skehan, is particularly interested in the project. If it is to be restored, however, tourists should not be given the false impression that any great battles

were fought from the site. Historical accuracy must be maintained.

22) Repair the old schoolhouse on the lower slope of Gun Hill for use as a youth centre for the young people of Trinity. As it is now, they have no where to meet or recreate, especially in inclement weather. Their input is essential in this project, and it should be given high priority.

23) Restore the Society of United Fishermen (SUF) Hall as a model turn-of-the-century, or even eighteenth century, schoolhouse.

24) Restore the Trinity railway Loop and have a small sightseeing passenger-car take tourists on rides. Set up picnic areas near-by.

25) Build a marina for pleasure craft, which would most likely be located by the Ryan Building. It should have a boat-launching area, electrical hook-ups and water supply, and eventually a clubhouse with restroom, shower, and laundry facilities, and possibly a shop for repairing sailing and motorboat equipment.

Of General Concern

26) All tourist information centres around the province (especially those at Port-aux-Basques, Argentia, Gander, Stephenville, and St. John's) should maintain accurate, up-to-date information on opening and closing hours and dates for all attractions. These openings should comply with the official tourist season of 15 June to 15 September in all areas. Accurate and up-to-date information systems must also be maintained with mainland Canada and U.S. tour operators, travel agents, and other outlets. Two major complaints that I heard from tourists were the lack of information available on the mainland, and the late openings and early closings of key attractions in Trinity and elsewhere. These are very serious concerns and must be addressed immediately. Computers could be used to assist in keeping

accurate information.

27) Road signs on the Trans-Canada Highway and on branch lines such as the Bonavista Peninsula Highway need to be improved. As it is, if there *are* any signs, they are too close to the turn-off roads to allow the driver to react. Signs should be placed at 50 kilometre, 25km., 10km., 5km., 1km., and 100 meter points, for instance, with each sign indicating the distances to the next four points-of-interest, turn-off roads, or towns. These signs should be well-lit and highly visible, even in poor weather.

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Map 1

Trinity Municipal Plan

Rural Features

Trinity Municipal Planning Area

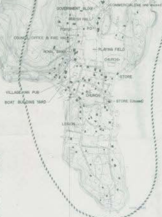
June 1983 Scale 1:50,000

TRINITY

POLICY PLAN
MAP 2

NORTHWEST ARM

TRINITY HARBOUR



TRINITY HARBOUR

CEMETERY CHURCH

STORE

STORE

SOUTHWEST ARM

LEGEND

RESIDENTIAL INFILL AREA	
RESIDENTIAL LOW DENSITY AREA	
BEACH PRESERVATION AREA	
HISTORIC CONSERVATION AREA	
RURAL	
COMMERCIAL	

Department of Municipal Affairs
Provincial Planning Office
Confederation Building
St. John's, Newfoundland

scale: 1" = 400'   date: July, 1977

TRINITY

HARBOUR

TRINITY

HARBOUR

REFER TO MAP 2

Map 3

TRINITY MUNICIPAL PLAN

Existing Land Use "OLD TRINITY"

- Residential
- Commercial
- Storage
- Industrial
- Public Building
- Recreation
- Cemetery
- Vacant Building

Scale 1:2400

metres

Date June 1983

Revisions