

**‘I JUST FELT LIKE I WAS READY TO MOVE’:  
TOURISM SUSTAINABILITY AND MIGRATION AMONG YOUTH AND  
YOUNG FAMILIES IN THE BONNE BAY AREA**

By © Bruna Souza de Brito

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## **ABSTRACT**

Periods of economic decline can generate social and environmental problems and disrupt the sustainability of local communities. In response, governments and industries increasingly promote tourism as a tool for development and economic diversification. Tourism development promises to create employment and alleviate problems generated by downturns, such as youth outmigration and population decline. In this project, I use semi-structured interviews and content analysis of policy documents to identify discourses about the role of the tourism industry in helping rural communities to achieve their sustainability goals. I then examine how youth and members of young families experience tourism development in Bonne Bay (Newfoundland and Labrador) and how these experiences shape their migration intentions. The results show that the provincial government emphasizes quantitative measures of growth rather than equity as a framework for interpreting tourism development. However, this contradicts local needs and experiences of how youth and members of young families relate to the tourism industry. The gap between official tourism development discourse and local experiences has important implications for the potential of tourism to contribute to the long-term sustainability of communities in Bonne Bay.

Keywords: tourism, youth migration, young families, sustainability, rural communities.

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## Chapter 1: Introduction

In recent years, global organizations such as the United Nations have increasingly acknowledged the connections between economic, socio-cultural, and environmental dimensions of development. Documents such as *Our Common Future*, released in 1987, draw attention to the need to overcome social problems of poverty and inequality while introducing the concept of sustainable development as "development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs" (WCED, 1987, p. 41). Although the concept was received with much criticism in academic circles (Heinen, 1994; Kumi, Arhin & Yeboah, 2014; Lele, 1991), the discourse of sustainable development spread to many areas, including tourism. In 2005, the UN World Tourism Organization released the *Making Tourism More Sustainable: A Guide for Policy Makers*. This document emphasized that tourism should be developed in accordance with the three dimensions of sustainability: economic, socio-cultural, and environmental. Ten years later, the United Nations created the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), establishing 17 goals for nations worldwide to achieve by 2030, with the primary goal to end poverty and inequality. Tourism development has been promoted as an important pathway for helping meet these goals (UNWTO & UNDP, 2018).

One of the primary criticisms of the concept of sustainable development and the related SDGs is that they embed a neoliberal logic of continuous economic growth as the pathway to overcome social and environmental problems. Continuous economic growth assumes that natural resources are unlimited and that social problems of poverty are a matter of lack of growth rather than inequality of distribution. Several scholars have written about the definition and applicability of these concepts in tourism (Butler et al.,

1993; Hall, 2019; Sharpley, 2000, 2020), highlighting fundamental contradictions between ideas of continuous growth, sustainability, and tourism. Recent publications call for alternative approaches to tourism development such as community-based tourism (Jamal & Dredge, 2015), slow travel (Dickinson et al., 2011; Lumsdon & McGrath, 2011), de-growth (Sharpley, 2020), pro-poor (Jamal & Dredge, 2015), and rural tourism (Fang, 2020). Rural tourism reflects the dimensions of sustainability while also calling for locally driven approaches that prioritise rural communities' needs and goals (Fang, 2020; Lane, 1994).

It is essential to understand the different forms of tourism development and how they impact host communities, as there has been an escalation of investment in tourism development around the world. Notably, many places disrupted by economic downfalls are encouraged to turn to tourism through policy and funding opportunities as a tool for recovery and economic diversification (Springuel, 2011). After the collapse of the cod fishery in Newfoundland and Labrador, tourism became an important tool for economic development and diversification with promises of benefits to rural communities, including job generation and population growth (Stoddart & Sodero, 2015). Many communities in Newfoundland and Labrador are experiencing population decline, which threatens their long-term social sustainability. One of the reasons is that jobs available in rural areas are primarily in the service industry, and do not attract young adults as much as other industries in bigger centres (MacDonald, Neis & Grzetic, 2006; Power, Norman & Dupre, 2014; Stoddart et al., 2019). By contrast, government and industry promote tourism as a tool capable of promoting opportunities for youth to stay, and of creating an attractive place for young families to move back or move into rural communities.

Research about youth and the tourism industry often focuses on consumer patterns and behaviours (Bizirgianni & Dionysopoulou, 2013; Horak & Weber, 2000), hospitality (Martin, & Hecht, 2006) or volunteer programs (Han et al., 2019). Although some studies explore tourism youth employment (Robinson et al., 2019; Smith & Staveley, 2014; Walmsley, 2015), less emphasis is given to young adults' experiences in the tourism industry in relation to meeting the social sustainability goals of host communities. Similarly, literature about young families' mobilities is extensive (Aure, Førde and Magnussen, 2018; Cooke, 2001, 2008; MacDonald, Sinclair & Walsh, 2013). However, less has been written about young families' experiences with the tourism industry in relation to their migration intentions.

In this study, I address these gaps in the literature by answering the following research questions:

- What role does tourism play in helping communities in Bonne Bay to achieve their sustainability goals?
- How do youth and young families experience tourism in Bonne Bay, and how does it influence their migration intentions?

To answer these questions, I drew on a qualitative content analysis of policy documents from key organizations in Newfoundland and Labrador to help me understand the discourses used around provincial tourism development. I also conducted 8 semi-structured interviews with youth and members of young families aged between 19 and 40 years in Bonne Bay to examine their perceptions and experiences. The Bonne Bay area is considered a well-developed and successful rural tourism destination on the west coast of Newfoundland and Labrador and is home to the Gros Morne National Park. The area

attracts over 233,000 visitors annually (Parks Canada, 2019). As a developed and successful rural tourism destination, it is expected that the industry contributes to the area's social sustainability. However, as my results show, the contribution of tourism to social sustainability can be very complicated even in relatively successful tourism areas.

Like other communities around the province, the communities of Bonne Bay are experiencing a declining and ageing population. The area's social sustainability goals include stopping depopulation, retaining youth, and attracting new young families to the area (Town of Norris Point, 2010; Town of Rocky Harbour, 2010). Tourism is seen by many community leaders as a critical tool for meeting these goals while helping the area to diversify its economy. However, previous research has shown that one of the problems tourism stakeholders encounter is the lack of young people to hire during the season (Stoddard et al., 2019). The reasons why youth are not as attracted to the tourism industry, however, are less apparent in the literature. Similarly, there is no study that engages on reflecting on young families' experiences with the tourism industry and whether tourism can be leveraged to create vibrant sustainable communities.

Assumptions about tourism, youth, young families, and social sustainability lead me to investigate whether tourism development does indeed work to retain youth and attract new young families to the Bonne Bay region. I draw on sustainable tourism scholarship, an evolving theoretical framework, to analyze tourism discourse and youth and members of young families' experiences with the tourism industry. My results contribute to academic debates on the ways in which tourism may be leveraged to promote community sustainability, as well as the challenges and barriers to implementing sustainable rural tourism development. The results also contribute to policymakers,

researchers and community leaders interested in promoting sustainable tourism in Bonne Bay and other rural communities across Newfoundland and Labrador, as well as in other cold-water island, rural, or remote tourism host communities. These results can also inform public policies that are aligned with communities' needs and, ultimately, contribute to local sustainability goals.

### **Thesis Outline**

This study consists of seven chapters. In Chapter 2: Research Context, I provide a brief history of Newfoundland and Labrador to provide context relevant to this research. I also present the research site, the Bonne Bay area, in western Newfoundland, as well as my community research partner, the Bonne Bay Cottage Hospital Community Heritage Corporation. Finally, I provide a background of the tourism development in the province. In Chapter 3: Literature Review, I provide an overview of related studies on tourism and youth and young families. I also explore the evolving theoretical framework of sustainable tourism. I discuss the concept of sustainable development, the Sustainable Development Goals and their relation to tourism. In Chapter 4: Methods, I describe my sample, data collection, and analysis process. In Chapter 5: Sustainable Tourism or Economic Growth?, I answer the first research question of this study and explore the potential role of tourism in helping communities to achieve their sustainability goals. The results demonstrate that the province of Newfoundland and Labrador adopts sustainable tourism primarily as a tool of economic development. With a strong emphasis on economic growth, this raises questions about the efficacy of this approach to tourism development for ensuring a more holistic, multi-dimensional version of community sustainability. In Chapter 6: Making Communities Stronger: Targeting Local Needs, I

answer the second research question and closely explore the experiences of youth and young families with the tourism industry in Bonne Bay. The results show that participants have a positive experience with the tourism industry in the region. However, the lack of diversity of opportunities and other precarity problems associated with the tourism industry contributes to problems with retention and recruitment of youth and young families in the tourism industry and in the region. Ultimately, I argue that focusing on tourism growth rather than addressing local needs to create flourishing communities creates obstacles to the sustainability of local communities. And finally, in Chapter 7: Conclusion, I offer a summary of findings and recommendations for future research.



## **Chapter 2: Research Context**

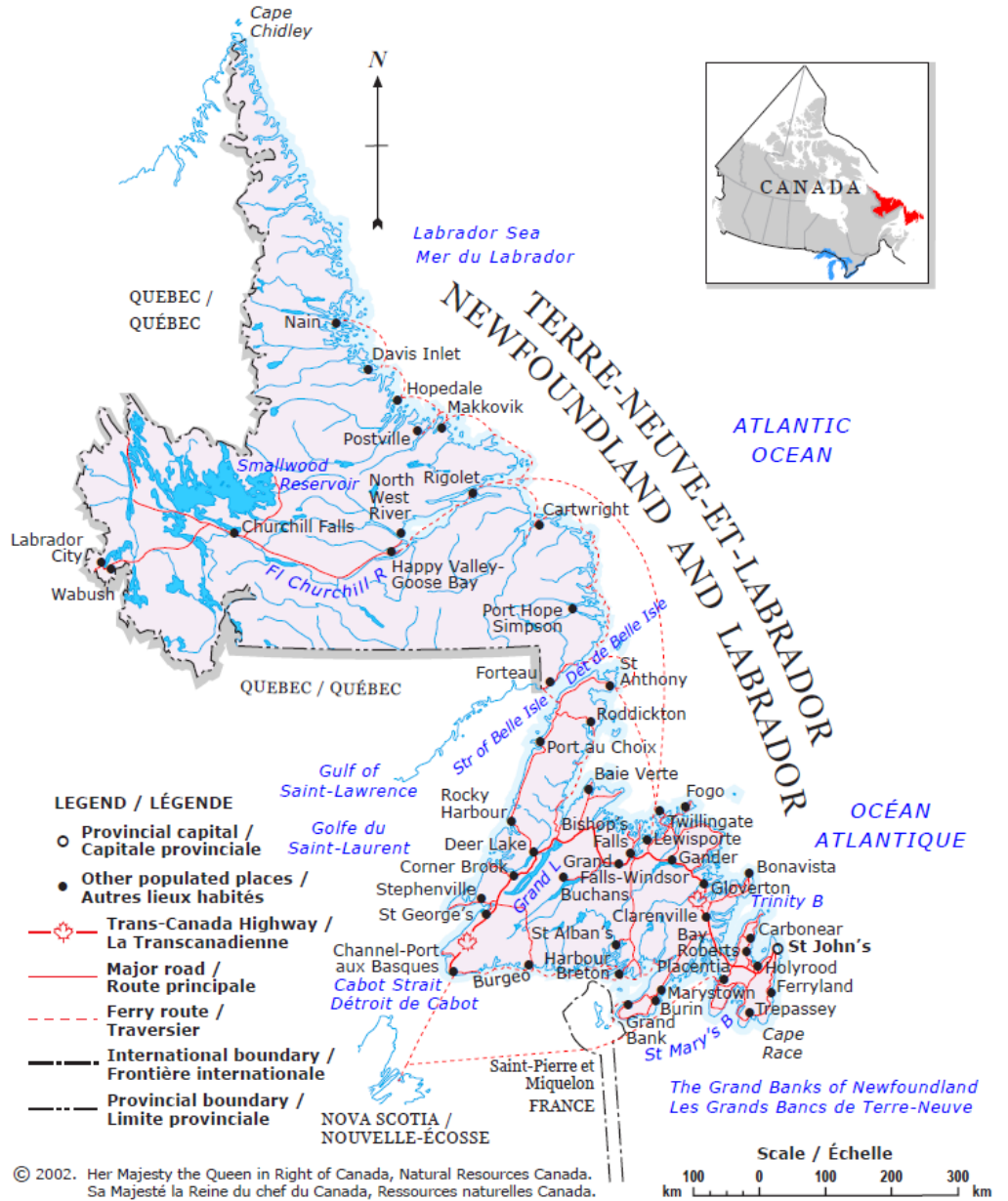
In this chapter, I will provide relevant background to understand the dynamics shaping tourism development in rural communities in the Bonne Bay area. I introduce the province of Newfoundland and Labrador, more specifically, the island of Newfoundland, to help us understand how social and political conditions affect the tourism industry in the province. I will introduce the Bonne Bay region, my research site, and present socio-economic factors that influence the region's sustainability. I also present my community research partner, the Bonne Bay Cottage Hospital Heritage Corporation. Lastly, I discuss the tourism industry in Newfoundland and Labrador. This context will lay the ground for our understanding of the potential role of tourism in helping communities in the Bonne Bay area to achieve their sustainability goals.

### **Newfoundland and Labrador**

The province of Newfoundland and Labrador is located on Canada's eastern side, and it is divided into two parts: Newfoundland, an island in the Atlantic Ocean and Labrador, the continental territory in mainland Canada (see Figure 1). The province has around 522,103 people, and 94.7% of those reside on the island of Newfoundland. In 2016, 39.4% of the population lived in rural areas (Government of Newfoundland and Labrador, 2019b). Most of the population is composed of English and Irish settler descendants, a minority of French settler descendants who settled mostly on the west coast, along with the Indigenous people of the Inuit, Innu, and Mi'kmaq (Newfoundland and Labrador, 2021).

**Figure 1**

*Newfoundland and Labrador*



Source: Natural Resources Canada (2002).

For most of its settler-colonial history, Newfoundland and Labrador's economy was dependent on the fishery. Cod was the main species – the earnings from the other

species altogether accounted for half the cod earnings. Moreover, most fisheries households were solely dependent on the cod fishery (Byron, 2003; Mitchel & Shannon, 2018; Nolan, 2007). Even after some diversification of economic activities, such as mining, fishing remained the economy's backbone during the 20th century.

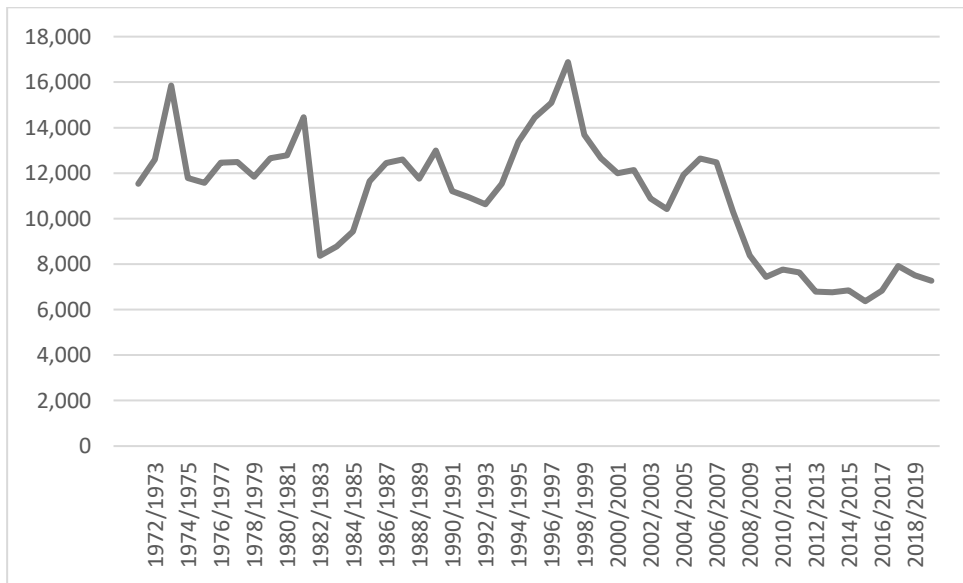
The politics of modernization throughout the 20th century changed the relation of Newfoundlanders with the fishery. Stock mismanagement, and domestic and international overfishing, among other factors, dragged the fish stocks to dangerously low levels, and, in 1992, the federal government imposed a moratorium on the cod fishery and later other groundfish (Mason, 2002; Nolan, 2007; Schrank & Roy, 2013). The moratorium left around 30,000 people without their livelihood, and, in some outports (small fisheries-based coastal communities), the unemployment rate reached 80% (Mason, 2002; Momatiuk & Eastcott, 1994; Nolan, 2007). After the moratorium, the investment in other resource extractive industries, such as oil and mining, grew. In 1997, Newfoundland and Labrador's offshore oil industry started producing, and a few years later, in 2002, it accounted for 12.4% of the province's GDP. The mining industry was also substantial, as it accounted for 6% of the province's GDP by 2002 (Schrank & Roy, 2013). In 2019, mining, oil and gas extraction accounted for 25% of Newfoundland and Labrador's GDP (Jeudy, 2021).

Although outmigration has always been part of outport life (Parkins & Reed, 2013), outmigration numbers significantly increased after the cod collapse (see Figure 2), especially among young people. Between 1990 and 2000, approximately 52,304 young people between 20 and 29 moved out of Newfoundland and Labrador. This number has since been declining. Between 2000 and 2010, approximately 39,620 young adults moved

out of the province. Between 2010 and 2020, this number fell to 22,878 people (Newfoundland and Labrador Statistics Agency, 2020). The impact of outmigration has been more substantial for rural communities than urban centres. Between 1991 and 2001, 47,289 people left rural Newfoundland and Labrador, either migrating to bigger centers, such as St. John's or migrating to other provinces. In contrast, urban Newfoundland and Labrador experienced a net loss of around 9,000 people (Higgins, 2008). At present, 45% of the province's population lives in communities with 5,000 people or less, while 21% lives in the capital St. John's (Harris Centre and the Community Foundation of Newfoundland and Labrador, 2021).

**Figure 2**

*Newfoundland and Labrador outmigration (1972-2019)*



Source: Adapted from Statistics Canada, 2017.

In response to the cod collapse, many of the provincial government's policies adopted a neoliberal standpoint. Neoliberal rationalities reinforce individual and

community responsabilization while distancing governments from involvement in social and other programs, reallocating this responsibility to private and volunteer groups, which often fail to address real social needs and place residents as customers (Butler, 2007; Overton, 2007). Neoliberal politics tends to lead to a rise in social groups, community partnerships, and entrepreneurship promotion (Cheshire & Lawrence, 2005). For example, in 2001, the government of Newfoundland and Labrador released the *Jobs and Growth Strategy*. This document emphasized the private sector's importance and stressed the leading role of communities' volunteers to promote economic growth (Vodden et al., 2014).

According to Overton (2007), the concept of community is often used in a romanticized way and embodies particular political interests when, in fact, it often means less support from the public sector in terms of resources and infrastructure (Butler, 2007). Rural communities in Newfoundland and Labrador have a long history of community reciprocity (Sinclair, 2002). This collective spirit embedded in rural communities may be used to promote community self-sustenance, with civic groups and private entrepreneurs, driven by necessity, seeking economic growth as the primary agent of development in rural communities (Jollieffe & Baum, 2001). The challenges many rural communities in the province face, such as outmigration, declining birth rates and an ageing population raise questions on the effectiveness of such a neoliberal approach. These challenges often draw the focus of public discussion (Public Policy Forum, 2019), rather than issues of rural sustainability stemming from inequitable access to opportunities and infrastructure.

### *Bonne Bay*

Bonne Bay is a small fjord located on the west coast of Newfoundland and is a developed tourism destination (Brain Trust Marketing and Communications & Tourism Café Canada, 2015). This area is home to several communities, including Norris Point, Woody Point, Glenburnie-Birchy Head-Shoal Brook, Rocky Harbour, Sally's Cove and Trout River. Bonne Bay is also home to the Gros Morne National Park. Gros Morne was established in 1973 and declared a UNESCO Heritage site in 1987. Between April 1, 2018, and March 31, 2019, the park received 233,198 visits (Parks Canada, 2019), becoming the most visited Newfoundland and Labrador region outside of the capital city, St. John's.

Historically, the transformation of spaces into landscapes of consumption and the creation of national parks in Canada and elsewhere often reflect the logic of economic growth more than social or environmental needs (Overton, 1979; Sullivan & Mitchell, 2012). In fact, during the 20th century, Parks Canada (then the National Parks Branch) used tourism revenue data from other countries to convince the Canadian government that it was worth investing in the development of parks. The idea of having a local resource being transformed into a tourism attraction, but administered by the national government, led many provincial politicians to lobby for parks in their province (MacEachern, 2001). The potential economic benefits of having a National Park led Joey Smallwood, the province's Premier at the time of Gros Morne National Park's establishment, to agree to the federal government's proposal of creating the park (Cadigan, 2009).

The provincial government resettled many families who lived in communities within the Gros Morne lands during the park's creation. Around 20 families protested

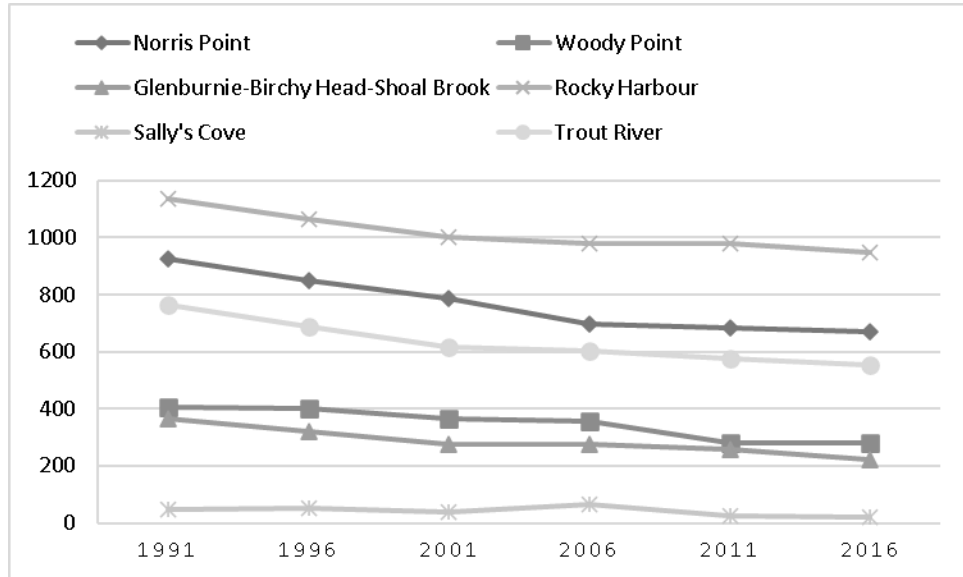
against relocation and remained in their communities, even after government restrictions. That forced Parks Canada to establish Gros Morne around existing "enclave" communities, unlike the typical approach to creating National Parks. Research conducted in the region found that besides the relocation of many residents from small communities to larger centers, the creation of Gros Morne provoked two related major negative impacts on the lives of residents: restrictions to traditional sustenance activities leading to a change in the relationship between locals and the land, both during and after the creation of the park. The positive impacts included creating job opportunities, protecting the natural environment and local heritage, and improving community infrastructure (Innes & Heintzman, 2012).

Even with a successful tourism industry, relative to many other communities in the province, Bonne Bay's tourism sector faces challenges. Although many stakeholders in the area see tourism's potential to bring social and cultural benefits, there are several barriers to the development of the industry. These include lack of housing options for tourism employees, issues in the capacity of volunteers and community groups in engaging in tourism development projects, the need to better support local tourism associations, and the need to attract and retain more youth in the tourism industry (Stoddart et al., 2019).

Despite tourism development efforts, there are signs that the area's economic and social needs are not being met since depopulation is a reality in the Bonne Bay area. Between 1991 and 2016, the population of the region decreased from 3,647 to 2,695 people (see Figure 3).

**Figure 3**

*Population on Bonne Bay (1991-2016)*



Source: Adapted from Statistics Canada, 2017.

Besides the population decrease, the median age in Bonne Bay has increased from 42.6 in 2001 to 51.1 in 2016, against the provincial median of 46 and the national median of 41.2 (see Table 1). Unemployment rates ranged from 31.7% (Norris Point) to 50% (Woody Point), against 14% in Newfoundland and Labrador and 7.1% in Canada.

Although tourism in Bonne Bay is considered successful compared to other regions in Newfoundland and Labrador, these socio-economic indicators suggest that access to opportunities and benefits from the tourism industry may not be equitably distributed among communities. Therefore, focusing on quantitative measures of growth to estimate tourism success does not inform the industry's contribution to the area's sustainability.



**Table 1***Median age on Bonne Bay (2001-2016)*

	<b>2001</b>	<b>2006</b>	<b>2011</b>	<b>2016</b>
<b>Norris Point</b>	42.6	45.5	50.2	50.1
<b>Woody Point</b>	44.4	48.8	55.7	55.7
<b>Glenburnie-Birchy</b>	47.3	50.2	55.7	55.5
<b>Head-Shoal Brook</b>				
<b>Rocky Harbour</b>	39.9	44.4	46.6	51.1
<b>Sally's Cove*</b>	-	-	-	-
<b>Trout River</b>	37.5	40.9	46	48.1
Bonne Bay's median age	42.6	45.5	50.2	51.1
Provincial median age	38.4	34.2	44	46
Canadian median age	37.6	39.5	40.6	41.2

\*Sally's Cove median age was suppressed from Statistics Canada results to protect the confidentiality of residents.

Source: Adapted from Statistics Canada (2017).

**Bonne Bay Cottage Hospital Heritage Corporation.** The Bonne Bay Cottage Hospital Heritage Corporation (BBCHHC) is an example of the rise of social and community groups described by Cheshire & Lawrence (2015) and Vodden et al. (2014). The BBCHHC is a community-based social enterprise which operates out of the old Bonne Bay Cottage Hospital. The construction of Cottage Hospitals in Newfoundland started during the Commission of Government period (1934-1949). Before the

implementation of Cottage Hospitals, professional health care for residents of rural communities was almost nonexistent. Given the island's "small and dispersed population, poverty, and the vagaries of the fishing economy, most areas could not support a doctor on a FFS [fee-for-service] basis" (Lawson, & Noseworthy, 2009, p. 479). Between 1936 and 1954, 19 Cottage Hospitals were opened in the province. Specifically, the Bonne Bay Cottage Hospital operated from 1940 to 2002 (Collier, 2011), when the Bonne Bay Health Centre replaced it. The Bonne Bay Cottage Hospital building is now the Julia Ann Walsh Heritage Centre.

The BBCHHC is a social enterprise that aims to preserve the local culture and heritage, promote community health and wellness, and foster economic and social development. Since 2006, the "not-for-profit community corporation has been working hard to ensure that the building—now known as the Julia Ann Walsh Heritage Centre — is both preserving local history and revitalizing the area's future" (BBCHHC, 2020). It serves as a community hub, offering a range of services to the community, including a hostel (Old Cottage Hostel), a community radio station (Voice of Bonne Bay), the Cottage Hospital Museum Room, a community kitchen, garden and greenhouse programs, festival and events, support for community-based research and local employment and youth training opportunities (BBCHHC, 2020). It also provides support for academic research. Joan Cranston, coordinator of the BBCHHC, is a research partner to this project.

### **Tourism in Newfoundland and Labrador**

Tourism in Newfoundland and Labrador dates to the 1890s. In its earliest form, the industry targeted three primary groups to come and explore its wildlife and “simpler”

way of life: wealthy hunters and fishers, middle-class urbanites interested in reconnecting with nature, and homesick expatriates living in the United States and Canada (Higgins, 2012). Historically in Canada, the expansion of tourism was parallel with the arrival of immigrants and their perceptions of themselves as citizens. For instance, during the nineteenth century, tourists in the province of Ontario looked for "wild" places but would often describe their journeys to these locations with prejudice as uncivilized places. Their stories would serve the expansionist cause, which saw Canada as a white British country, making tourism, therefore, an ally of economic development interests and settler colonialism (Jasen, 1995).

Similarly, after Newfoundland and Labrador joined Canada in 1949, the provincial government tried to expand the island's tourism industry. The growth of the tourism industry was parallel with the construction of more roads, ferries, and air services, which made it easier for tourists to explore the island. Campaigns such as the "Come Home Year," which invited out-of-province Newfoundlanders and Labradorians to come and witness the developments that had taken place, were an essential part of establishing the tourism sector. In 1973, the provincial Department of Tourism was established, and new tourism attractions were created on the west coast of the island, such as the Gros Morne National Park in 1973, Port au Choix National Historic Park in 1974, and L'Anse aux Meadows National Historic Park in 1977 (Higgins, 2012).

After the cod fishery moratorium, tourism development became one of Newfoundland and Labrador's most important industries. Like other locations around the world with declining resource-extraction industries, the primary provincial response to diversifying its economy involved the parallel development of other extractive industries,

such as gas and oil, and the promotion of tourism development, especially heritage tourism (Springuel, 2011; Stoddart & Sodero, 2015; Vodden et al., 2014). In 2009, the Newfoundland and Labrador Tourism Board released "*Uncommon Potential*," a document outlining strategies to double tourism revenues from \$790 million to \$1.6 billion in 2020. The number of visitors jumped from 264,000 in 1992 to 533,000 in 2018 (Government of Newfoundland and Labrador, 2019a).

Nonetheless, while the development of cultural heritage tourism can bring economic, social, and cultural benefits and help to preserve the landscape (Halpert & Mitchel, 2011; Rockett & Ramsey, 2017; Stoddart et al., 2019), it also brings concerns regarding culture commodification and mummification. In this process, cultural elements are transformed into romanticized icons and markers to appeal to tourists, to the point that freezes a culture in time, until it is no longer living, changing and adapting (George & Reid, 2005; Springuel, 2011). Transforming cultural resources into economic activity also generates concerns about the capacity of creating a more just and equal community. Tourism visitor numbers are increasing, and this measure is appealing as an alternative economic development tool. However, it is not always clear whose well-being benefits from tourism development or how these benefits arise (Moscardo et al., 2017). Research on the community impacts of tourism in Newfoundland and Labrador shows that tourism is often seen as socially and culturally beneficial by different community groups. They take pride in tourism's role in spreading their culture and allowing others to appreciate the natural scenery. However, less consensus exists when it comes to economic benefits, which are localized and unevenly distributed among community members (Overton, 2007; Ramos et al., 2016).

Even with more significant tourism flows, there is a lack of full-time, long-term employment opportunities. Many jobs in the tourism sector are primarily seasonal, offer low pay and no benefits. Research conducted in rural communities in Newfoundland and Labrador suggests that for young people, especially young men, jobs in the service industry may not be attractive compared to those offered in other provinces or the oil industry (MacDonald, Neis & Grzetic, 2006; Power, Norman & Dupre, 2014; Stoddart et al., 2019).

In some communities, tourism businesses' ownership is primarily seasonal counter urbanites, who moved from urban centers to rural locations, or who maintain part-time residence in tourism host communities, rather than long-term residents. While enhancing tourism development in small communities, this trend also presents a possible problematic relationship between residents and tourism activity. More extra-local business ownership may constrain local abilities to control its own development and may leave locals to work in peripheral occupations, with often precarious conditions such as low pay and no benefits (Laudati, 2010). Newfoundland and Labrador's short tourism season also limits residents' financial capabilities to live off tourism exclusively (Mitchell & Shannon, 2018).

Promoting tourism activity that equitably benefits community members in Newfoundland and Labrador may also promote a stronger fishery. Research shows an opportunity to explore synergies between the province's long history with fisheries and tourism. Tourism marketing campaigns, for instance, explore the idea of fresh local fish and traditional cuisine. Rural community members also demonstrate an interest in exploring synergies between the tourism and fishery industries (Cranston, Neis & Best,

2009). However, little has been done to promote such synergies through public or private policies (Murphy & Neis, 2012). In embracing those synergies, the tourism season may, for example, be stretched beyond the summer months. It will also benefit local producers by increasing local seafood consumption and enhancing workers' income in both industries (Lowitt, 2012).

### **Summary**

Fishing has shaped Newfoundland's history, culture and society and has been an important economic activity for centuries. Since the cod moratorium in 1992, there have been fewer employment opportunities for young people in rural communities, which contributes to depopulation and threatens rural communities' long-term vitality and sustainability. As a response to reduced employment in fisheries, the province has been developing tourism as an economic diversification strategy. For rural communities, tourism is seen as a potential tool of economic development, capable of creating a stable economy that will attract youth and young families to live and develop their lives in those communities. The Bonne Bay area has a high success of tourism development but experiences growing social issues, such as depopulation and an ageing population. I aim to address this issue by exploring the potential of the tourism industry in retaining and attracting youth and young families to the area and consequentially contributing to the area's sustainability.

### **Chapter 3: Literature Review**

In this chapter, I will outline key points of the tourism literature related to this study. First, I review the relevant literature on youth and tourism, and youth and young families' migration, which will give important background for our interpretation of their experiences with the tourism industry and their ability to stay, move in or move back to communities in the region. Then, I engage in a review of the concepts of sustainable development, the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) and sustainable tourism. Since the United Nations defined the concept of sustainable tourism in 2005, tourism scholars have been working on clarifying and expanding the concept, investigating from an analytical standpoint the mechanisms through which tourism may be leveraged to promote community sustainability. This work has been creating new concepts within the tourism literature, such as community-based tourism, de-growth and rural tourism. I approach this study seeing sustainable tourism as a desirable outcome of tourism development. I follow the theoretical standpoint of Hall (2008, 2019), Sharpley (2000, 2020), and others that see the United Nations' concept of sustainable tourism as reflective of neoliberal rationalities focusing on growth. Instead, sustainable tourism should be aligned with host communities' needs and goals. While this theoretical standpoint is relatively new and still evolving, it provides a useful framework to analyze the positive and negative impacts of tourism development, especially in relation to long-term community sustainability.

## **Youth and Tourism**

Efforts to promote tourism development are often justified by economic factors, such as numbers related to the potential of job opportunities generated by the tourism industry. The World Tourism Organization reports that 1 in 11 jobs worldwide is related to the tourism industry (UNWTO, 2015), which points to tourism as a significant sector. In Canada, tourism employment for youth is largely created by the Federal Government incentives through the Canada Summer Jobs program, which provides wage subsidies to employers from not-for-profit organizations, public and private sector organizations with 50 or fewer full-time employees. The program's goal is to offer youth the opportunity to gain quality work experience while filling up employment demands across Canada. To be considered, the employer must demonstrate that they will pay youth above minimum wage or commit to retaining youth as employees beyond the program period (Government of Canada, 2020).

However, a more critical analysis of the tourism job market points to the limitations of these economic measurements. Walmsley (2015, p. 22) highlights that “the more prone to part-time employment an industry is, such as is the case in tourism, the more its economic contribution with regard to employment is likely to be overestimated if relying on job count.” Although the tourism industry is a dynamic sector and comprises a range of job opportunities, it often offers precarious conditions, including low pay, no benefits, short-term employment, limited career opportunities, and precarious housing conditions to mobile workers (Robinson et al., 2019; Smith & Staveley, 2014; Walmsley, 2015). Power (2021) shows how temporary labour programs place youth as a form of cheap and precarious labour, and work to reinforce capitalist and neoliberal rationales.



Moreover, the tourism industry also entails a fluctuating market directed impacted by crises such as terrorist attacks, natural disasters, and public health crises such as the recent COVID-19 pandemic, which can hinder the possibility of stable career opportunities.

The problems associated with the tourism job market heavily affect young people, as they represent a large portion of tourism employment (Tourism HR, 2016). In Canada, tourism is the third-largest employer sector, and 30.7% of those jobs are taken by people between 15 to 24 years old. In Newfoundland and Labrador, where tourism development is often justified to create job opportunities and retain young people in rural communities, youth between 15 and 24 represent 28.8% of the tourism labour force (Tourism HR, 2016). Importantly, these measures focus on quantitative metrics and do not account for qualitative data. Although young people are heavily present in the tourism industry, its precarious work conditions can hinder the industry's capacity to develop long-term opportunities for them. It also contradicts the Sustainable Development Goals, especially Sustainable Development Goal #8, highlighting the importance of decent work and economic growth.

In Newfoundland and Labrador, the cod moratorium and the subsequent restructuring of the industry left consequences beyond the economic sphere. Fisheries are embedded in the province's social structure and culture, and, therefore, its disruption affected how people, especially young adults, reflect upon their communities and themselves. Young adults in the post-moratorium period have their views on their communities, sense of belonging, perception of opportunities, and cultural experiences shaped by the context of declining employment opportunities in fisheries. Moreover, there is a tendency for young people to refer to their communities using two views: pre-

and post-collapse. The pre-collapse community's idea was a vibrant place, while the view post-collapse sees the community as a boring place with nowhere to go (Power, Norman & Dupre, 2014).

This tension leads to a dynamic where, on the one hand, youth are encouraged by their parents and peers to leave their local environments and look for better opportunities elsewhere, and on the other hand, they face a sense of social responsibility and an emotional attachment to their place (Corbett & Forsey, 2017). For instance, senior high school students from the Bonne Bay area demonstrated appreciation for the local scenery, geology, wildlife, people, and way of living. At the same time, they expressed concerns regarding meaningful employment availability (Cranston, Neis and Best, 2009).

In neoliberal societies, rural communities are often seen as isolated, in decline and left behind, with their residents "stuck" in place. Despite the elitism embedded in such an idea, it also carries an exclusionary discourse and reinforces the idea that upward mobility depends on outward mobility (Norman & Power, 2015). In contrast to this global image of rural places, tourism development brings a sense of pride for residents. People coming from far away to their communities and experiencing their culture also contribute to their sense of togetherness and community vitality (Power, Norman & Dupre, 2014; Ramos et al., 2016).

The contradiction of feeling a strong connection to their place while facing challenges in finding meaningful employment opportunities is a common experience among youth in rural communities. Especially for those who experience class inequalities, the lack of decent employment may force them into precarious positions, or

may force them to leave to bigger centers (which also often lead to precarious conditions) (Power, 2021).

As seen in Bonne Bay, the growth of tourism numbers does not necessarily mean that socio-economic issues will be ameliorated. Rather, the prevailing neoliberal discourses of economic growth in tourism can sustain inequalities if it reinforces precarious work conditions (Robinson et al., 2019), and does not draw youth and young families to the tourism industry. Smith and Staveley (2014) uncovered several problems related to youth employment in tourism, such as the lack of decent housing conditions for mobile workers and negative perceptions among the general population towards these young workers.

Other studies about youth and the tourism industry focus on travel-related consumer patterns and behaviours (Bizirgianni & Dionysopoulou, 2013; Horak & Weber, 1999), hospitality (Hecht & Martin, 2006) or volunteer programs (Han et al., 2019). Walmsley (2015) explored the complexity of youth employment in tourism and pointed that although many young people choose to develop a career in tourism and find good opportunities, low pay and short-term employment remain a substantial and overwhelming problem in the industry. In his study, he found that while employers complain about skills shortages, employment in tourism is seen as low-skilled and offers low pay. Youth also have higher indices of unemployment, therefore, have more chances to accept precarious employment conditions. Although these studies explore young adults' experiences in the tourism industry, less emphasis is given to youth and young families' experiences with the tourism industry in relation to meeting the social sustainability goals of host communities.

As tourism is increasingly promoted as an economic driver in Newfoundland and Labrador, it is crucial to address not only the potential of job creation but also the quality of job opportunities. Without decent employment conditions, it is unlikely that tourism will provide opportunities for youth and young families to stay, move back or move into rural communities in the province. Therefore, in this study, I am investigating whether the development of the tourism activity in Bonne Bay contributes to the area's sustainability goals, more specifically, which role tourism plays in retaining youth or attracting young families to the region.

### **Migration among Youth and Young Families**

In or outmigration are not linear processes. For Creswell (2016), mobility means more than just moving from point A to point B. It is an experience that goes beyond the physical experience – it entails people moving through their representation of spaces, their sense of place. Sense of place refers to the connections and meanings associated with a place. In the context of rural communities in Newfoundland and Labrador, this is connected to many factors, including freedom, a sense of community, and access to outdoor activities (MacDonald, Sinclair & Walsh, 2013). Mobility or immobility may also be shaped by intersectional inequalities, such as gender, age, and class (Power, 2021; Power & Norman, 2019).

The mobility process may also be influenced by socio-economic factors tied to historical events. In the case of Newfoundland and Labrador, many young adults living in rural communities experience a different context than previous generations. The moratorium and subsequent restructuring of the fishery has resulted in a substantial

reduction in employment in fisheries-dependent regions. In response, the province has heavily invested in strategies to encourage youth to train and find employment in the skilled trades work associated with industrial projects in rural and remote areas. This highly trained workforce has also been a source of highly paid labour for the Alberta oil industry (Power, 2017).

In contrast, some rural communities in Newfoundland and Labrador also experience in-migration. Family ties, safety, proximity to nature, lifestyle, and cheaper living costs attract many young families to move back or move into rural communities. Research has found that many young people leave their communities for education and job opportunities but eventually come back if they find employment in their field. Children are also an important factor, as many want their family's support and/or provide a safe place for their kids to grow up. Others moved out from big centres because of high living costs (MacDonald, Sinclair & Walsh, 2013). In this complex migration decision-making, gender issues may also arise. In heterosexual relationships, relocation tends to stall women's careers (Cooke, 2008) – a penalty that increases with motherhood (Cooke, 2001).

Although attracting young families is considered an important step in revitalizing rural communities, Aure, Førde and Magnussen (2018) in their study about in-migrants in rural communities in Norway, argue that creating an attractive economic environment is not enough to integrate these new families. It is necessary to think through social challenges they might encounter – such as possible “insider vs outsider” tensions.

The complex decision-making process of youth and young families' migration denotes the need to explore the phenomenon further. Although several studies explore

youth employment in tourism (Robinson et al., 2019; Smith and Staveley, 2014; Walmsley, 2015), youth migration (MacDonald, Sinclair & Walsh, 2013; Power, 2021; Power & Norman, 2019), and young families' mobilities (Aure, Førde and Magnussen, 2018; MacDonald, Sinclair & Walsh, 2013; Cooke, 2001, 2008), there are no studies analyzing young families' perspectives and experiences with the tourism industry. Similarly, there is a gap in the literature exploring how tourism influences youth and young families' migration intentions. My project examines these issues by doing a content analysis of local, regional and provincial policy documents of Newfoundland and Labrador and speaking to youth and members of young families in the Bonne Bay area. Migration plays an essential role in establishing rural communities' sustainability. However, the question of whether tourism can contribute or not to promoting flourishing communities remains unanswered.

### **Sustainable Development and the SDGs**

Discussions around ideas of sustainability go as far back as the 1870s (Hall & Lew, 1998). Still, it was not until the second half of the twentieth century that the first mention of the concept of sustainable development emerged from increasing concerns about the ecological consequences of human activities and human development (Hall & Lew, 1998). The idea spread in 1987 when the United Nations World Commission on Environment and Development published a report called *Our Common Future*, addressing environmental, economic, and social concerns. It laid the ground for the United Nation's concept of sustainable development as "development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs" (WCED, 1987, p. 41). The report connected growing environmental issues to

the equally growing social-economic issues of human development and poverty (Robinson, 2004). In this sense, while sustainability emerged from the context of renewable resources, the *Our Common Future* pointed out that it is impossible to achieve sustainability without addressing social conditions that influence ecological sustainability, as one affects the other. Specifically, it highlighted the importance of tackling the issue of growing poverty worldwide.

Since the publication of *Our Common Future*, scholars have debated the extension and applicability of the concept of sustainable development. One of the critiques points to the concept's vagueness and lack of a clear theoretical foundation, which means that "people from many diverse fields use the term in different contexts, and they have very different concepts, approaches, and biases" (Heinen, 1994, p. 22). Nonetheless, the main criticism of the *Our Common Future* is its attempt to unite technological, economic, procedural, and agricultural changes without challenging deep-rooted normative notions of development. Lele (1991) proposed exploring the different meanings embedded in the concept through a breakdown into an equation: sustainable development = development + sustainability.

Using this approach, Lele demonstrated invariable contradictions in putting sustainability and development into the same concept. Sustainability presupposes the realization of the constraints and opportunities of the natural world to human activity and the social conditions that influence nature. On the other hand, development is often seen as a process of continuous change, tied to economic growth and material consumption. Nonetheless, a process of continuous growth contradicts the principle of ecological sustainability, given that natural resources are limited. Moreover, if sustainable

development has the goal of promoting social, economic, and environmental change, the objectives and means of this process should also be clearly defined.

The tendency to subject social and ecological issues under capitalist market demands reflects neoliberal ideas. Often, it leads to more individual responsabilization and privatization, less government intervention and expansion of trade markets (Klein, 2008; Kumi, Arhin & Yeboah, 2013). Kumi, Arhin and Yeboah (2014) pointed out that the neoliberal economic agenda undermines sustainable development by increasing poverty and inequality. Moreover, that

relying solely on the mechanisms of the market in governing and allocating environmental resources is necessarily insufficient and problematic and therefore calls for a new approach—one which goes beyond just recognizing the interdependency among social, environmental and economic goals and places issues of equity and addressing unfavourable power relations at the centre of interventions aimed at achieving the ideals of sustainable development (p. 551).

As Lele (1991, p. 618) illustrated, using the concepts of sustainability and development together, without challenging deep structural problems is “an attempt to have one’s cake and eat it too.” Neoliberal rationalities that see growth as the means to address social issues assumes that these problems are a matter of lack of growth rather than inequality of distribution.

Nonetheless, and without addressing such concerns, in September 2015, world leaders came together and developed the *Transforming Our World: The 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development*, “an action for people, planet and prosperity” (UN, 2015, p. 1). This document is set as a blueprint of 17 development goals for all members to achieve by 2030 (see Table 2).



**Table 2**

*Sustainable Development Goals*

Goal #1	End poverty in all its forms everywhere.
Goal #2	End hunger, achieve food security and improved nutrition and promote sustainable agriculture.
Goal #3	Ensure healthy lives and promote wellbeing for all, at all ages.
Goal #4	Ensure inclusive and equitable quality education and promote lifelong learning opportunities for all.
Goal #5	Achieve gender equality and empower all women and girls.
Goal #6	Ensure availability and sustainable management of water and sanitation for all.
Goal #7	Ensure access to affordable, reliable, sustainable and modern energy for all.
Goal #8	Promote sustained, inclusive and sustainable economic growth, full and productive employment and decent work for all.
Goal #9	Build resilient infrastructure, promote inclusive and sustainable industrialization and foster innovation.
Goal #10	Reduce inequality within and among countries.
Goal #11	Make cities and human settlements inclusive, safe, resilient and sustainable.

Goal #12	Ensure sustainable consumption and production patterns.
Goal #13	Take urgent action to combat climate change and its impacts.
Goal #14	Conserve and sustainably use the oceans, seas and marine resources for sustainable development.
Goal #15	Protect, restore and promote sustainable use of terrestrial ecosystems, sustainably manage forests, combat desertification, and halt and reverse land degradation and halt biodiversity loss.
Goal #16	Promote peaceful and inclusive societies for sustainable development, provide access to justice for all and build effective, accountable and inclusive institutions at all levels.
Goal #17	Strengthen the means of implementation and revitalize the Global Partnership for Sustainable Development.

Source: Adapted from “*Transforming Our World: The 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development*” by the United Nations.

On January 1, 2016, the Sustainable Development Goals came into force, emphasizing the importance of economic growth in eradicating poverty and addressing other social and environmental problems. Similar to the concept of Sustainable Development, the SDGs have been criticized for being inconsistent, for lacking a theoretical framework, for not establishing who is responsible for implementing the goals,

and for not defining the mechanisms through which countries can achieve their goals (Swain, 2018). The SDGs also do not specify how to adapt policies to reflect local needs.

### **Sustainable Tourism**

According to the United Nations, tourism plays an important role in advancing the SDGs as an economic generator. The World Tourism Organization accounted that international arrivals went from 1.025 billion in 1995 to 2.28 billion in 2019, placing tourism as one of the fastest-growing industries in the world (UNWTO, 2020). According to the United Nations, tourism represents 10% of world GDP, 7% of global exports and 1 out of every ten jobs globally. It can contribute, directly or indirectly, to all of the goals, especially SDG8, SDG12 and SDG14 (UNWTO and UNDP, 2018). Policymakers, industry and destination marketing, researchers and other tourism stakeholders recognize the policy significance of sustainable tourism. Their interest led the UN to declare 2017 the year of Sustainable Tourism for Development.

In 2005, the United Nations Environment Programme and the World Tourism Organization released the “Making Tourism More Sustainable - A Guide for Policy Makers” (UNEP & UNWTO, 2005). According to this guide, tourism should:

1. Make optimal use of environmental resources that constitute a key element in tourism development, maintaining essential ecological processes and helping to conserve natural heritage and biodiversity.
2. Respect the socio-cultural authenticity of host communities, conserve their built and living cultural heritage and traditional values, and contribute to inter-cultural understanding and tolerance.
3. Ensure viable, long-term economic operations, providing socio-economic benefits to all stakeholders that are fairly distributed, including stable employment and income-earning opportunities and social services to host communities and contributing to poverty alleviation.

Similar to the concept of sustainable development, there have been several debates regarding the definition and applicability of sustainable tourism. According to Butler

(1999), there are many definitions of sustainable tourism, and it is not likely there will ever be an agreement between academics, policymakers and practitioners. As he points out, “to the tourist industry, it means that development is appropriate; to the conservationist, it means that principles articulated a century ago are once again in vogue; to the environmentalist, it provides a justification for the preservation of significant environments from development; and to the politician, it provides an opportunity to use words rather than action” (p. 11). This lack of specificity has led to a range of misinterpretations and, ultimately, to the term’s weakening.

Several scholars have tried to expand the concept and integrate mechanisms to the achievement of sustainable tourism. Hall (2008) defines sustainable tourism as “the application of sustainability concepts at the level of the tourism industry and consequent social, environmental and economic effects” (p. 27). Butler (1993) defines as “tourism which is developed and maintained in an area (community, environment) in such a manner and at such a scale that it remains viable over an indefinite period and does not degrade or alter the environment (human and physical) in which it exists to such a degree that it prohibits the successful development and wellbeing of other activities and processes” (p. 29). Importantly, these dimensions are not exclusive - they are overlapping categories. All dimensions of sustainability must be met to achieve sustainable development since if one of the dimensions is not achieved, it is unlikely that the others will be.

As proposed by the United Nations, the term sustainable development considers three major areas of development: economic, social and environmental. However, given that tourism is often a result of planning and policy, tourism researchers have pointed to

the need to include a fourth element in the analysis: the political aspect (Cruz and Bersales, 2007; Hall, 2010; Hall et al., 2009). Governments regulate and enable change by establishing pathways for change and signalling actors to move forward in synergy (Kimbu and Tichaawa, 2018).

Tourism is also subject to various groups' political and economic interests - industry associations, government representatives, business and community leaders, employees of tourism companies, academics and general public members. There is also a tendency for partnership between the government and other public and private stakeholders. These partnerships provoke tensions in the design and implementation of tourism or tourism-related policies and present a challenge to overcome as stakeholders may not be equally satisfied with the implemented policies' results (Hall, 2008). Many of these partnerships have a narrow focus on tourism marketing and promotion. Nonetheless, according to Stoddart et al. (2020), to achieve sustainable tourism it is necessary to shift to a broader focus on tourism governance that seeks to align tourism development with community needs, social-ecological wellbeing, and desired social futures.

Although the United Nations points to sustainable tourism as the ideal type of development, that is not always the case at the local, regional or national level of tourism planning. Historically, tourism planning has focused on economic growth. Only more recently have policies been incorporating social and environmental concerns (Hall, 2008). In this sense, Hall (2008) identified five typical approaches to tourism planning: boosterism, economic tradition, land/physical/spatial approach, community-oriented tourism, and sustainable development.

Boosterism encompasses the notion that tourism development is inherently good and should always be promoted. Often, it is present in governments and industry statements. In this approach, there is no critical discussion about the downsides of development, and cultural and natural resources are seen as elements that should be exploited for the sake of economic growth. Residents are also excluded from the decision-making process and planning.

The economic tradition sees tourism as a tool to achieve economic growth, employment generation and regional development by providing financial incentives, research, marketing and promotion assistance. In this model, there is a high emphasis on economic goals and less attention to tourism development's negative aspects. Also, there is often no discussion of who benefits and who loses from tourism development.

In the land/physical/spatial approach, there is an emphasis on tourism economic development based on the natural resources of a region and respecting its thresholds. There is an emphasis on ecological studies, environmental impacts assessments, regional planning and perceptual studies. This model tends to recognize the interdependence of social and cultural factors to environment preservation.

Community-oriented tourism emphasizes residents' role in tourism planning and development, empowering communities through capacity building, partnerships and collaboration, and emphasizing "development *in* the community, rather than the development *of* the community" (Hall, 2008, p. 60). In this approach, there is a notion that one will provide a better experience for tourists by satisfying local needs. Community-oriented tourism benefits include income generation and employment, contributing to rural development, higher community engagement in protecting natural

resources, and adding value to the national tourism product through diversification (Rozemeijer, 2001). Other benefits of community-oriented tourism include the potential to advance Sustainable Development Goal #17, which emphasizes the importance of partnerships in empowering the marginalized (Dolezal & Novelli, 2020); and directly impacts the tourist experience as it avoids backlash (Pearce, 1994). This approach, however, has been criticized for being easier said than done, as communities rarely have the opportunity to say no. Other shortcomings of this approach include its goal to ensure long-term profitability, rather than real community empowerment; the notion that the community is one homogenous group, rather than a diverse and stratified place site of power dynamics; and its failure in addressing the constraints to local participatory decision-making (Blackstock, 2005).

Finally, sustainable tourism, integrated with other planning processes, balances economic, social and environmental development. In this approach, tourism should be considered one part of overall development, not a separate element (Butler, 2018), minimizing resource depletion, environmental degradation, cultural disruption, and social instability while addressing concerns of inter- intra-generational equity and marginalized populations.

### **Limitations of the SDGs Model in Tourism**

The SDGs were built upon the logic of economic growth, which is intrinsically contradictory to the idea of sustainability. There has been a range of studies on the opportunities for tourism to advance the SDGs at the local level, including poverty alleviation (SDG1; Medina-Muñoz et al., 2016), ending hunger (SDG2; Ambelu et al., 2018), wellbeing (SDG3; Moscardo et al., 2013), gender equality (SDG5; Alarcón &

Cole, 2019), ensuring access to sustainable energy (SDG7; Gössling, 2000), providing decent work (SDG8; Robinson et al., 2019), and promoting sustainable cities (SDG11; Maxim, 2016). However, it is unlikely that a model of tourism development oriented primarily around economic growth will ensure community sustainability across these various dimensions. For example, while SDG #8 highlight the importance of inclusive economic growth, employment and decent work, the focus on development focused on economic growth and profit, rather than community needs and issues, creates job employment heavily dependent on precarious work, which offer low pay, no benefits, short-term employment, limited career opportunities, and precarious housing conditions to mobile workers (Robinson et al., 2019; Smith & Staveley, 2014; Walmsley, 2015). Furthermore, Hall (2019) points out that sustainable development should be a qualitative measurement, as opposed to quantitative. Moreover, he emphasizes that “initiatives such as the SDGs fail because they do not confront the way in which neoliberal rationalities are embedded in many tourism policy practices” (Hall, 2019, p. 12). Besides, while these are indicators of tourism’s economic contribution, it does not indicate tourism’s developmental contribution (Sharpley, 2015).

The focus on economic growth and tourism expansion may also promote a phenomenon called overtourism, or the exhaustion of a destination’s capacity. Milano et al. (2018) point to overtourism as “the excessive growth of visitors leading to overcrowding in areas where residents suffer the consequences of temporary and seasonal tourism peaks, which have enforced permanent changes in their lifestyles, access to amenities and general wellbeing.” This excessive growth has been observed in many places around the world, including Seville, Spain (Diaz-Parra & Jover, 2021),



Landmannalaugar, Iceland (Sæþórsdóttir & Hall, 2020), Thailand (Hess, 2019), Venice, Italy (Nolan & Seraphin, 2019), and Munich, Germany (Namberger et al., 2019). Some of the consequences of overtourism include a contribution to climate change and other environmental concerns (Wall, 2019), destination inauthenticity (Rickly, 2019), overdevelopment of tourism and tourism facilities (Dodds & Butler, 2019), discontent among host communities (Hess, 2019), and growth of tourismphobia and anti-tourism movements (Nolan & Seraphin, 2019). The consequences of overtourism affect host communities' socio-cultural and environmental spectrum, contradicting the very concept of sustainability.

It is important to note that economic growth is not necessarily harmful. Economic growth can be important for poverty eradication and access to basic living conditions, if the focus remain on eradicating inequality. However, the implication that *continuous* economic growth is necessary to achieving development goals without addressing inequality issues is an oxymoron since it implies unlimited use of limited environmental resources. For example, Sharpley (2020) discussed the possibility of applying sustainable de-growth strategies into the tourism industry. De-growth does not imply the end of all economic development. Instead, it suggests “a reduction in both production and consumption on the global scale along with a fundamental shift in society’s understanding of the relationship between consumption, wealth and wellbeing” (p. 9). In other words, it asks for a change in society’s focus on economic growth to a focus on equality and wellbeing. Placing tourism in the logic of economic growth without prioritizing important questions of who benefits from tourism development and how these benefits arise set the sustainability of the tourism activity to fail.

While the concept of sustainable tourism development may be limited within a neoliberal economy that prioritizes growth, there are alternative approaches to tourism that reflects the ideals of sustainable tourism. Community-based tourism, slow tourism, and pro-poor tourism are a few examples of approaches that limit the impact of tourism on the environment while enhancing the benefits for host communities (Dickinson et al., 2011; Lumsdon & McGrath, 2011; Jamal & Dredge, 2015). Another approach is rural tourism, a form of tourism that displays the “complex pattern of rural environment, economy, history and location” (Lane, 1994, p. 14), and involve activities such as hiking, canoeing, cross-country skiing, landscape appreciation, rural festivals, cycling, among others (Lane, 1994).

Fang (2020) summarizes the main goals of rural tourism as follows:

- Protecting natural landscapes and ecological environments.
- Improving working conditions and living environment for locals, creating a strong and prosperous rural economy.
- Preserving traditional rural particularities, while promoting vitality, modernization and improvement of living conditions.

Interestingly, the goals of rural tourism are well-aligned with the goals of sustainable tourism as defined by the WTO. Therefore, rural tourism focuses on helping local communities achieve their sustainability goals, and it should not be used as a tool for development or urbanization (Singh & Tiwari, 2014).

## **Summary**

In this chapter, I explored the key concepts in the study of youth and young families and of sustainable tourism. In Newfoundland and Labrador, like other places around the world, tourism is perceived as an important tool in promoting employment, especially for youth and young adults. The industry is developed in rural regions with promises to promote a vibrant economy that can retain youth and attract young families to the region. Nonetheless, the migration process is complex, which calls attention to the need to further explore this phenomenon in relation to the tourism industry. Specifically, how does the quality of employment offered in the tourism industry in a neoliberal economy shape migration intentions.

Sustainable tourism is derived from sustainable development. While there are many definitions of sustainable development, overall the concept points to a need to promote balanced growth, emphasizing communities, regions, and countries' social, environmental, and economic dimensions. Both sustainable development and sustainable tourism have been strongly criticized for emphasizing continuous economic growth without challenging structural problems. Furthermore, in cases where the concept of sustainable tourism highlights that tourism should be integrated with local needs, there is little discussion on how countries and regions can work aligned with communities.

In this thesis, I understand sustainable tourism as a desirable outcome of tourism development. Drawing on the work of Hall (2008, 2019) and Sharpley (2010, 2020), I see the concept of sustainable tourism as proposed by the United Nations as reflective of neoliberal rationalities that emphasize growth rather than equity. The focus on continuous growth conflicts with sustainability goals by assuming that limited resources are

unlimited, and can worsen social problems. I use Hall's (2008) typology to understand the approach to tourism planning in Newfoundland and Labrador. Taking Sharpley's (2010, 2020) approach to challenging rationalities of continuous growth, I consider how and to what degree sustainable tourism is aligned with host communities' needs and goals to promote an activity that will bring equitable economic, social and environmental benefits.

Considering the limitations of sustainable tourism as articulated by the United Nations, there is a need to better understand whether regional actors integrate concepts of sustainability and sustainable tourism in their policies and how they align with local goals. The economic, environmental, and social dimensions, if developed in alignment, can promote tourism as an activity for advancing local communities' long-term sustainability. As noted at the beginning of this chapter, the concept of sustainable tourism is still evolving. This research will help us understand how regional and local policies interact and how these policies reflect local needs. It will also expand knowledge on how tourism contributes to the SGDs, particularly SDG#8. Finally, it will also help to expand our knowledge on the role of tourism in assisting communities in achieving their sustainability goals.

## **Chapter 4: Methods**

In this chapter, I provide an overview of the research methods for my study on youth and members of young families and tourism in the Bonne Bay area. I use a qualitative approach to interpret two data sources: semi-structured interviewing and online documents. The content analysis of documents allowed me to understand how institutions portray tourism in Newfoundland and Labrador, while the interviews helped me assess the experiences of youth and young families with the tourism industry in the Bonne Bay area. The case study analysis of the tourism industry in Bonne Bay sheds light on the role of tourism in advancing the area's sustainability goals as well as youth and young families' migration intentions. Below I describe the sampling strategies and analysis processes of both the interviews and textual analysis.

### **Research Design**

I used a qualitative approach to explore the role of tourism in advancing Bonne Bay's sustainability and youth and young families' experience with the tourism industry in the region. I used semi-structured interviews and qualitative content analysis of online documents as data sources. Using multiple data sources allowed me to gain information about different aspects of tourism development and youth and young families' experiences (Maxwell, 2013). Conducting qualitative content analysis of documents permitted me to identify official discourses about the role of tourism in helping rural communities to achieve their sustainability goals, with attention to the social, economic and political aspects of community sustainability. Interviews provided me with a rich understanding of individual perceptions and experiences of the tourism industry in the region.

During each stage of this research, I had the guidance of Joan Cranston from the Bonne Bay Cottage Hospital Heritage Corporation (BBCHHC). I met Joan through my work as a research assistant of Dr. Natalie Slawinski and the Ocean Frontier Institute (Future Oceans & Coastal Infrastructure, Work Package 7: Building resilient coastal communities through social and community enterprise)<sup>1</sup>, of which Joan is also a community research partner. Joan has been involved in other academic projects (Cranston, Neis & Best, 2009; Cranston & Slawinski, 2020; Stoddart et al., 2019) and showed interest in participating in my project as well. Working with a community partner has several benefits, including the development of research questions that reflect important local issues, the ability to address the costs and benefits of the research to the community, improvement in credibility, validity and usability of the data, accuracy of findings of reflecting local nuances, and alleviation of insider-outsider tensions (Halseth, 2016).

My study originally sought to understand how youth (ages 19-30) experience tourism in the Bonne Bay area. I intended to conduct semi-structured interviews and focus groups. My original research questions were:

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<sup>1</sup> This research, conducted by Dr. Natalie Slawinski, aims to study the role of social enterprise in fostering community resilience and draws on a newly emergent heuristic model called “PLACE framework of community resilience”. PLACE is an acronym that stands for: **P**romote community champions; **L**ink divergent perspectives; **A**ssess local capacities; **C**onvey compelling narratives; **E**ngage both/and thinking (Slawinski, 2019). It engages on a multi-case study of 6 social enterprises in different locations across Newfoundland Labrador: Fishing for Success in Petty Harbour, Bonavista Historic Townscape Foundation in Bonavista, Shorefast in Fogo Island, SABRI in St. Anthony, Placentia West Development Association in Placentia, and Bonne Bay Cottage Hospital Heritage Corporation in Norris Point. This research shares several similarities with my study, including research location, research partner and the aim to explore different ways to promote community sustainability (in my case through tourism and in Dr. Slawinski’s research through social enterprise).

- How do youth in the Bonne Bay area experience tourism in their communities, and how does it influence their perspectives on outmigration or remaining in their home communities?
- How do such experiences differ depending on their involvement in the tourism industry as either tourism employees, entrepreneurs/operators, or bystanders (i.e., not directly involved)?

However, my research experienced three major changes as it progressed. The first was expanding the age criteria to 19-40 years old. I decided to expand the age criteria to allow me to interview not only young adults who stayed in their communities but also adults in young families who moved away for school/work and came back, as well as outsiders who moved into communities in Bonne Bay. This decision was influenced by my work as a research assistant of Dr. Natalie Slawinski. I transcribed interviews that other team members conducted in Bonne Bay and realized that there was a trend of new young families moving into the area.

The second change involved adapting my research questions to capture this new population. I switched the focus from the process of outmigration to the role of tourism in advancing community sustainability, which involves migration. I then developed the following research questions, which guide this study:

- Which role does tourism play in helping communities in Bonne Bay to achieve their sustainability goals?
- How do youth and young families experience tourism in Bonne Bay, and how it changes their migration intentions?

The third change involved changing the methods to help me answer the new research questions. Therefore, I chose to conduct a content analysis of documents, which helped me capture official discourses on the role of tourism in promoting community sustainability, and interviews, which helped me capture youth and young families' experiences with the tourism industry in Bonne Bay.

### **Interviews**

In total, I conducted eight semi-structured interviews. Originally, I aimed for 45-minute interviews. The shortest interview was 35 minutes and the longest was 1 hour and 12 minutes, with an average of about 55 minutes. Questions were grouped into six main themes: “personal background,” where I asked questions about their connection to the community; “working in tourism,” where I asked about tourism employment options in Bonne Bay; “sustainability,” where I asked about the economic, social and environmental dimensions of the tourism industry in the area; “migration,” with questions about experiences and perceptions of migration in the area; “COVID-19”, with questions about individual and community impacts of the pandemic; and four “demographic” questions (see Appendix 1: Interview Guide). Joan reviewed and contributed to the interview guide, which reflected academic and community-relevant questions.

My recruitment process started in March 2021 after receiving ethics approval from ICEHR (clearance #20211404). Due to COVID-19 restrictions on fieldwork and face-to-face interactions, the goal was to conduct online interviews. From March until June, I advertised my study through local Facebook groups. I also had the help of my community partner, Joan, who advertised the study to potential participants. During this



phase, I did two interviews using online platforms such as Skype and Zoom. According to participants' wishes, online interviews could be video or audio recorded (see Appendix 2: Informed Consent Form).

Conducting interviews via up-and-coming technology, such as Skype or Zoom, brings positive and negative sides. Archibald et al. (2019) found in their study that conducting interviews via Zoom was useful in building and maintaining rapport between participants and researchers; eased access and was time and cost-effective, and provided a user-friendly and straightforward way to connect researchers and participants. Although most participants in their study experienced some connection difficulty, they concluded that the benefits outweigh the challenges encountered. Similarly, Iacono et al. (2016), found that online tools such as Skype extend the researcher's reach and shrink geographical distances. I did not encounter any technical problems during the interviews and participants were familiar with Zoom and Skype. The restriction on face-to-face interactions given the global COVID-19 pandemic and the consequential choice to conduct online interviews allowed me to start the research before restrictions eased. Nonetheless, conducting online interviews may have shaped my sample regarding who felt comfortable participating, in terms of technological literacy, or who had access to a reliable internet connection. Despite overall high rates of internet access in Canada, there remain digital divides that affect accessibility, particularly for older people and rural communities (Weeden, 2020).

In July, I requested an amendment to my ethics application to allow for fieldwork and in-person interviews. This change came considering three factors: (1) Memorial University eased restrictions because COVID-19 cases stabilized at low numbers; (2) the

nature of qualitative research requires building rapport with community members, especially in rural settings (Halseth et al., 2016); and (3) the online recruitment process was not as successful as I hoped. I first hoped that younger people's familiarity with the internet and mobile communication technologies would be an asset in my online recruitment. However, after a few months engaging in recruitment through online platforms, I was only able to interview two individuals – and both came through my partnership with Joan, which again showed me the importance of building relationships to conduct qualitative research.

After approval, I travelled to Norris Point, where I spent ten days. I stayed at the Bonne Bay Marine Station, a marine ecology research part of Grenfell Campus of Memorial University. There, I met Dr. Duncan McIlroy, director of the Marine Station, who also helped to advertise the study to potential candidates. Joan Cranston also introduced me to several people, some of whom later contacted me to participate in the study. I had the opportunity to visit local establishments and advertise my study through informal conversations with locals and business owners. My fieldwork also helped me understand some of Bonne Bay's particularities, such as its unique geological conditions, scenery, history, and lifestyle, which later helped me interpret my data. During my time there, I conducted four interviews and scheduled two more for the following week, to be conducted via Zoom.

In-person interviews could be audio recorded or not, depending on the participant's level of comfort. None of the participants refused to be audio-recorded. I conducted interviews in the library of the Marine Station or one of the Bonne Bay Cottage Hospital rooms. All interviews followed COVID-19 protocols, ensuring my and

my participants' health and safety. Originally, I intended to conduct ten interviews. However, I believe that even though I did not reach the initial target, the depth of the eight interviews I conducted allowed me to understand how youth and young families perceive and experience tourism development in Bonne Bay.

Below, I describe the demographic characteristics of my sample:

**Table 3**

*Demographic characteristics of participants*

<b>Attribute</b>	<b>Number of participants</b>
<b>Age</b>	Youngest: 20, oldest: 39, median age: 28 5 people between 19-29, 3 people between 30-40
<b>Gender</b>	5 women and 3 men
<b>Position</b>	5 employees of tourism business, 1 entrepreneur and 2 bystanders
<b>Work status</b>	5 full-time, 2 part-time and 1 unemployed
<b>Year-round?</b>	4 yes, 3 no and 1 unemployed
<b>Education</b>	3 undergraduate (complete), 2 undergraduate (incomplete), 1 master's (complete) and 1 master's (incomplete)
<b>Relationship</b>	5 singles, 3 married/common-law
<b>Background</b>	4 insiders, 4 outsiders*

\*Consider insider a person born and raised in any community in the Bonne Bay area and outsider a person who was not.

During the recruitment process, I encountered some limitations that I believe are worth mentioning. At first, my original plan included going to Bonne Bay during the spring, right before the beginning of the tourist season. However, given the restrictions in face-to-face interactions discussed, I travelled to Bonne Bay during the tourism season, a very busy period for the community. Also, considering the timeline to complete this study, I could not extend the recruitment and fieldwork period, which limited my ability to recruit a larger sample of participants.

### *Analysis*

Before the start of my analysis, I transcribed the interviews to a Microsoft Word document. I maintained participants' confidentiality by removing their names and any personal information that the interview might have included and assigning a random name. I kept all transcriptions on my password-protected computer. After that stage, I imported the documents into NVIVO, a computer-assisted qualitative data analysis software (CAQDAS) program developed by QSR International (QSR International, 2020). I used thematic analysis to identify, analyze, organize, describe and report the themes I found in my dataset (Braun & Clarke, 2006; Nowell, 2017).

I started the coding process using pre-defined categories based on themes emerging from the sustainable tourism theory (e.g., "economic development," "socio-cultural development," and "environmental development"). During this first round of coding, I expanded those codes inductively as themes emerged. During this cycle, I created codes such as "job market", "challenges in HR", and "outmigration", for example. After coding all interviews, I started the second round of coding, when I reorganized and reanalyzed the data coded during the first round "to develop a sense of

categorical, thematic, conceptual, and/or theoretical organization from your array of First Cycle codes” (Saldaña, 2013, p. 207). For example, I created codes such as “outmigration”, for mentions of trends or reasons of youth or young families outmigrating from the region and “in-migration” for mentions of a reverse trend. During this step, I combined and reorganized the codes generated in the first round, until no new codes or categories were created. This approach enabled me to capture the sustainable tourism literature and participants’ perceptions and experiences in my coding scheme. My final coding scheme allowed me to create two main categories: “Sustainable Tourism or Economic Growth?” and “Making communities stronger: Targeting Local Needs.” These categories guided the results chapters in this study.

### **Qualitative Content Analysis**

I also did a content analysis of six web-based textual sources related to tourism development in Newfoundland and Labrador between February and March of 2021. According to Schreier (2012), the qualitative content analysis does not intend to describe each aspect of the analyzed material. Instead, “with QCA [qualitative content analysis], your research question specifies the angle from which you examine your data” (p. 4). Documents can provide relevant background information for the research and help establish the rationale behind policies and institutions (Marshall & Rossman, 2016). I chose to do a qualitative content analysis on tourism-related documents to help me answer my first research question and understand how institutions portray the role of tourism development in local and provincial contexts. This information was used to compare local experiences and perceptions gathered from the interviews.

I used purposive sampling to select the documents according to their ability to meet the purposes of this research. Purposive sampling “is based on the assumption that the investigator wants to discover, understand, and gain insight and therefore must select a sample from which the most can be learned” (Merriam & Tisdell, 2015, p. 96). Based on my research questions, I developed criteria of potential websites to search for documents, which included: Hospitality Newfoundland and Labrador, Government of Newfoundland and Labrador, Town of Rocky Harbour, Town of Norris Point, Bonne Bay Cottage Hospital, Parks Canada, Gros Morne Cooperating Association, and Destination Canada. The documents needed to address the following themes: “tourism,” “sustainability,” “Bonne Bay,” or “Gros Morne.” They also had to be released after 2009, the year Hospitality Newfoundland and Labrador, a “non-profit membership association that leads, supports, represents and enhances the province’s tourism industry” (Hospitality NL, n.d.), released a strategic plan called *Uncommon Potential: A Vision for Newfoundland and Labrador*. This document was pivotal in Newfoundland and Labrador’s tourism development and guided the Tourism Board to change the provincial tourism strategy to reflect the goals outlined in the *Uncommon Potential*. I downloaded a total of 29 documents found on provincial, regional, and local institutions’ websites. Then, I skimmed through each one to understand the purpose of that document. I purposively excluded documents such as market guidelines and those not explicitly related to tourism development. I also aimed for provincial, regional and local representation. The following table outlines the documents used in this analysis:

**Table 4***Documents used for the content analysis*

<b>Document</b>	<b>Year of publication</b>	<b>Prepared by</b>	<b>Focus</b>
<b>Uncommon Potential: A Vision for Newfoundland and Labrador Tourism</b>	2009	Hospitality NL & NL government	Provincial
<b>Uncommon Potential: A Vision for Newfoundland and Labrador Tourism</b>	2016	Hospitality NL & NL government	Provincial
<b>The Way Forward: Provincial Tourism Development Plan</b>	2017	NL government	Provincial
<b>Gros Morne Strategic Tourism Plan</b>	2016	Gros Morne Cooperating Association	Regional
<b>Rocky Harbour: Integrated Community Sustainability Plan</b>	2010	Town of Rocky Harbour	Local
<b>Norris Point: Integrated Community Sustainability Plan</b>	2010	Town of Norris Point	Local

### *Analysis*

Like the interviews, I uploaded the documents in the NVivo software. I also had an initial framework of coding as “economic development,” “socio-cultural development,” and “environmental development.” During this first round of coding, I expanded those codes inductively as themes emerged and created codes such as “visitors’ expectations”, and “experience development”, recurring aspects of the documents I analyzed. I then reorganized the codes on the second round of coding, expanding, changing, and deleting as needed, until no new codes or categories were created. This approach enabled me to capture the sustainable tourism literature and the information gathered in the documents in my coding scheme. During this stage I created codes such as “economic goals for tourism development”, where I would include any mention found in the analyzed documents on the goals or objectives of tourism in relation to achieving economic development or sustainability. I then proceeded to the third round, which consisted of bringing together codes generated from the interview analysis and the document analysis. First, I created a top-level code. I then created second-level codes named “economic,” “socio-cultural,” and “environmental”. I placed third-level codes generated from interviews and content analysis accordingly. Codes generated from the content analysis carried the word “doc” in them (for example, “(doc) economic goals,” “(doc) socio-cultural goals,” “(doc) environmental goals”). Codes generated from interviews did not carry the “doc” word. My choice to separate codes generated through interviews from those generated through content analysis was to facilitate comparisons. I followed Saldaña’s (2013) advice and kept analytical memos through the analysis process, which also helped to me compare elements and narratives. My final coding



scheme allowed me to create two main categories that later guided the results chapter in this study.

## **Summary**

In this chapter, I described the methods I used to study youth and tourism in the Bonne Bay area. I used semi-structured interviews and a qualitative content analysis of web-based documents related to tourism to analyze the role of tourism in advancing sustainability goals and experiences of youth and young families with the tourism industry in Bonne Bay. I also described the reasons I chose to expand the age criteria of participants from 19-30 to 19-40 years old, the interviews process, and the analysis process. I then explained the content analysis process and how I integrated interviews and documents into one cohesive coding scheme, which is foundation of the results I present in the next chapters.

One advantage of choosing qualitative content analysis was the ability to observe unobtrusively from publicly available data, which helped me to understand the broader social and political setting in which the tourism industry is built. This also created minimal ethics complications. Interviews allowed for in-depth, rich narratives in participants' own words. Choosing to combine both approaches provided me with diverse perspectives. The qualitative content analysis informed official government discourse about tourism development in the province, while interviews informed contextual local perceptions and experiences. Comparing such views allowed for a more comprehensive analysis.

## **Chapter 5: Sustainable Tourism or Economic Growth?**

In this chapter, I will explore one of the main themes emerging from my data. Tourism, or more specifically sustainable tourism, occupies an essential position in the province's development plans. However, the strong emphasis on economic growth raises questions about the efficacy of such an approach in developing a sustainable industry aligned with local needs. This approach fails to assess issues related to the tourism industry and treats socio-cultural and environmental sustainability as a natural consequence of economic development. The results I present in this chapter will help us understand the potential role of tourism in helping communities achieve their sustainability goals.

### **Economic Development**

For decades, decision-makers in Newfoundland and Labrador have been exploring different approaches to economic diversification. Similar to other locations worldwide with declining extractive industries, the province has invested in tourism to contribute to its economy (Springuel, 2011). Rural communities in Newfoundland and Labrador, particularly those in the Bonne Bay region, have been experiencing population decline, with a significant amount of youth outmigrating to bigger centers. The loss of population threatens communities' ability to advance their sustainability goals. Research shows that one of the main reasons for outmigration is the lack of reliable job opportunities. As a result, tourism is often presented as a potential economic driver for rural communities, capable of generating job opportunities for young adults, attracting young families, and contributing to economic and social development.

My analysis reveals an intense push from the provincial government and industry to enlarge tourism activity. Tourism is defined as a vital industry to the economic health of Newfoundland and Labrador. Provincial documents use similar language and metrics to the ones used by the World Tourism Organization. For example, the 2009 *Uncommon Potential: Vision 2020* (2009 UP), launched by the provincial government in partnership with Hospitality NL, states that its goal is to provide a blueprint for growth:

The Newfoundland and Labrador tourism Vision 2020 provides a blueprint for extraordinary growth. It addresses the real and perceptual barriers facing our industry with innovative strategies and actions, and it challenges us to come together as entrepreneurs, industry partners, and government to grow our industry to new heights: to double the annual tourism revenue in Newfoundland and Labrador by 2020 (p. 8).

Doubling tourism numbers, in this case, means reaching \$1.6 billion in visitor spending by 2020. The 2009 UP was a mark in the province's tourism development, as it provided guidelines for subsequent policy. An example is the 2017-2020 Provincial Tourism Product Development Plan (2017-2020 PTPDP), which reflects the goals established by the 2009 UP, "the Provincial Government remains committed to reaching a target of \$1.6 billion in resident and non-resident visitor annual spending by 2020 (p. 2)". According to Hall (2008), boosterism is a typical approach to tourism planning by governments and industry. In this approach, tourism development is seen as inherently good, and often there is a lack of discussion on its possible negative impacts. This approach also does not consider the particular contexts or needs of host communities.

In 2016, the provincial government and Hospitality NL released the 2016 *Uncommon Potential* (2016 UP), revisiting targets of the UP 2009 and assessing progress.

Similar to the UP 2009, this document reaffirmed the importance of growth and, more interestingly, the definition of "success" for the tourism industry:

With the ultimate goal of reaching \$1.6 billion in tourism spending by 2020, the strategic directions within the Vision address how we will reach our financial target and achieve success. To ensure we are making the right decisions for the long-term success of the tourism industry, we must measure our success on more than just tourism revenues by focusing on how to attract more visitors, get them to stay longer and experience more. By focusing on creating and maintaining demand, as well as appropriate yield management, we must develop a value mix that is appropriate for our target market and will move us toward the achievement of our goal (p. 16).

In this case, "success" for the tourism industry in Newfoundland and Labrador is defined not only by tourism revenue but also by other quantitative measures: number of visitors, overnights, and experiences, all of which reinforce growth. The emphasis on the importance of tourism for economic development, by itself, is not necessarily negative. A sustainable activity developed at the local level to reflect the communities' sustainability goals can be a tool for the local economy, keeping towns vibrant and locals engaged. However, as discussed in prior research, using terms such as "sustainable tourism" or "sustainable development" while focusing narrowly on economic growth contradicts the principles of sustainability, as it presupposes infinite use of finite resources (Hall, 2008; Lele, 1991; Sharpley, 2015; Sharpley, 2020).

Tourism activity in Newfoundland and Labrador, especially in rural communities in the Bonne Bay area, heavily relies on environmental and cultural foundations of scenery, unique culture, and rare geological conditions. Tourism activities available in the area include hiking, paddleboarding, kayaking, cycling, festivals, among others. In other words, the existence of tourism activity in the region depends fundamentally on activities that rely on a basis in local nature, culture and heritage.

These characteristics mean that tourism activity in Bonne Bay can be treated as an example of rural tourism. As several scholars argue, rural tourism is closely linked to host communities and should be shaped by residents and local businesses (Fang, 2020; Lane, 1994; Singh & Tiwari, 2014; Jamal & Dredge, 2015). The Town of Rocky Harbour and the Town of Norris Point, major hubs of the Bonne Bay area, produced the Integrated Community Sustainability Plan (ICSP), developed in consultation with the community. Each town had a different strategy. The Town of Rocky Harbour developed a questionnaire and sent it to all residents asking for input and held several meetings with a number of residents. The Town of Norris Point send out invitations to all residents to a public meeting. Residents also had the opportunity to provide their input by email or phone and to provide their feedback on a summarized two-page flyer mailed to all residents. The ICSPs define the area's sustainability goals. Towns are obliged to create an ICSP in exchange for receiving transfers of the Federal Gas Tax Revenues.

Both towns highlight the importance of tourism in their development. For instance, the ICSP of the Town of Rocky Harbour notes the importance of attracting new businesses, especially tourism operations, to broaden the tax base, and identifies the opportunity to expand winter tourism activities such as snowmobiling and skiing:

Public consultations revealed the need for a broader tax base through economic development and diversification. Tourism is an area that shows even more promise as Hotel [sic] and related tourism accommodations are reasonably plentiful. The potential exists for more Winter tourism through snowmobiling and skiing (p. 15).

Similarly, the ICSP of the Town of Norris Point highlights the importance of tourism development, a key component of the town's economic development strategy:

While traditional resource industries continue to generate economic activity, the town has embraced tourism as a key economic driver. It has worked hard with a variety of groups, individuals, organizations and businesses to provide a range of tourism products and lengthen the tourism season. Having a sustainable economy also means that the town uses tax revenues efficiently, and in ways that will provide community-wide benefits (p. 9).

Interviews also reflected the notion that tourism is essential for the local economy.

One participant (age 30-40) who is a staff of a tourism-related enterprise describes the importance of tourism as an economic stabilizer and as a positive way to retain and attract people to the area:

It just created a stable economy that keeps people in the area, and it keeps people coming here, it keeps people invested in the region and as it grows, it just grows exponentially, and it keeps more people wanting to come here (Arthur).

Another participant (age 30-40), a tourism entrepreneur, also suggests the vital role tourism plays in keeping the town alive:

Without the tourism you'd really have no industry in your town, like, so I mean, your town would almost stop existing, because, I mean, if there's no, I mean, if there's no industry there's no need for a town, it would just be a ghost town, and if you ever spend anytime in Norris Point in the winter you'll see how it would be without tourists, because it's pretty well dead, like, there's nothing going on in Norris Point or Rocky Harbour in the winter (Felipe).

For local research participants, the importance of tourism for local development goes beyond quantitative metrics of visitor numbers. The tourism industry is interpreted as vital for creating a local, stable economy, which is also valued because it helps to foster a vibrant and engaged town.

### **Socio-cultural Development**

All documents analyzed stress the importance of tourism for socio-cultural development as an industry capable of generating economic development while preserves the environment, culture, and heritage. The 2009 UP mentions that tourism "gives life to a

range of facilities and events that play an important role in the regeneration of communities for both residents and tourists alike" (p. 8).

The 2016 UP also states that tourism is essential to rural communities due to its role in addressing infrastructure issues. It also discussed that tourism brings business to communities and help to retain and attract people to live in those communities:

Addressing the challenges of urbanization is important to the tourism industry. The tourism industry needs rural communities. They are the heart and soul of our province, and the foundation of our travel experiences. Developing a tourism industry that provides rural opportunities for market entry, development and exit will help complete a business life cycle that is sustainable for those who wish to live and raise families in rural communities (p. 14).

Similarly, Norris Point and Rocky Harbour's ICSPs also state that tourism development is a strong ally in preventing depopulation, which is a critical goal for the communities. The development and maintenance of infrastructure is also an essential point for the towns. The ICSP of the Town of Norris Point, for example, link infrastructure to the creation of its sense of place and future development:

The Municipal Plan addresses the need to link dispersed areas of development and enhance the town's "sense of place". This will lead to a more cohesive future development pattern and provide better opportunities for economic development and tourism (p. 8).

The plan is to redevelop several underutilized commercial buildings around the Bonne Bay Cottage Hospital to create a Town centre. The theme of building stronger and vibrant communities with access to services also showed up in the interviews. Arthur (age 30-40), an insider who moved away and then back to their community, connected the tourism industry to the vitality of other services in the region:

The hospital is here, so are the bigger schools, the RCMP is here, Service Canada is here. So, there's a lot of government infrastructure here... those things are here because it's sustainable because of the tourism industry, which has kept

people in the area.

For Arthur, having a vibrant service industry, in this case tourism, contributes to other goals, specifically stemming depopulation:

If there's a stable group of people here in one particular industry (tourism) then you keep things alive, you keep the hospital here, you keep the school here, you keep the RCMP station here, and then the service industries that pop up to support the bigger anchor industry.

Another important theme that emerged in interviews and other informal conversations during my fieldwork at Norris Point was the fluctuating real estate market. The focus on economic growth without a careful planning process may bring negative consequences such as overtourism, tourismphobia, and destination inauthenticity (Hess, 2019; Nolan & Seraphin, 2019; Rickly, 2019). For example, in the case of Norris Point, these consequences are shortages in the availability of land and housing. Fernanda (age 19-29), an insider tourism employee noted:

So because that has been happening, and there is people from away coming here to buy our houses, the market for real estate has gone through the roof now. So, it's very, like, it's very difficult or a young person who's starting out to purchase property here. And it used to be that you could, like, get a house for like 40 thousand, 50 thousand, you know. And now it's hard to find land for 50 thousand. So, you know, that's making more difficult for anybody who chooses to stay, you know. Most of the younger generation, my little cousins they are planning to leave here, they don't want to stick around here, you know. You need a lot of money to live here, but how are you going to make it, you know? And then we have people with a lot of money coming. It's great, money for our economy, however it's making it more expensive to live here for people who choose to live here, people who are from here, you know.

The growth of tourism in the Bonne Bay area presents a dichotomy. On the one hand, it stabilizes the service economy, attracts new business, and helps towns achieve their sustainability goals. Felipe (age 30-40), a tourism entrepreneur noted that although the lack of available houses is a barrier for attracting new residents to the area, the



availability of accommodations is positive for tourism:

We've been looking at some real estate Norris Point and it's either not much available because a lot of people are buying them up for air Airbnb's, which is also good for tourism but it's not really good for people migrating in because it's driving the prices of property up pretty high.

On the other hand, the growth of nightly rentals disrupts the real estate market and affects how young people perceive opportunities in their communities. Luana (age 19-29), an insider who is planning to move away noted:

It's just when it comes to the season... I know most people would go on EI [employment insurance] for, in the winter and stuff. I still can't imagine that like being enough if you want to have a big family, right? I think that still be pretty tough, right?

Interestingly, the cost of living is not seen as expensive per se. Many participants noted that prices are cheap compared to other places, such as Toronto. However, the gap between low salaries and increased housing costs in the region turn houses unaffordable. This phenomenon is described in the literature as “tourism gentrification”, or the redefinition of place and space advent from tourism development and the influx of short-term employees, second homes and in-migrants. In rural areas, this process usually involves the migration of urbanites or suburbanites. Villa (2019) discuss that gentrification also disrupts local identities and configurations of place and can create tensions between insiders and outsiders. It often ends up harming lower-income workers (Leebrick, 2015), who, like in the case of Bonne Bay, end up unable to keep up with rising living costs.

### **Environmental Sustainability**

The 2009 and 2016 UP and the 2017-2020 PTPDP focus on increases in tourism visitation and spending as primary goals related to protecting the environment. For

example, the 2009 UP states that environmental concerns related to climate change are key market trends that must be addressed to "sustain and grow our competitive position":

Climate change has emerged as a significant environmental concern and travellers are becoming more conscientious of their footprint. There is also an increased demand for sustainable approaches to preserve the natural and cultural heritage of a destination (p. 16).

Similarly, the 2016 UP fails to address the importance of environmental preservation for the sake of "maintaining essential ecological processes and helping to conserve natural heritage and biodiversity" (UNEP and UNWTO, 2005, p. 11). Instead, it defines the importance of environmental protection in terms of meeting growing traveller concerns:

The environmental concerns of travellers are causing an increased demand for sustainable approaches to preserve the natural and cultural heritage of our destination. As a province that has a diverse resource-based economy, ensuring the balance between growth, development and preservation will be important (p. 13).

Though it stresses the importance of balancing growth, development, and preservation, it fails to define explicitly the means to achieve balance. Finally, the 2017-2020 PTDP also stresses that certain trail clusters should be prioritized to elevate visitation and spending:

With the significant level of existing trail infrastructure, efforts should be focused on clustered networks of trails that offer high quality experiences, reflect market readiness standards, and increase visitation and spending (p. 3).

These documents, which are used as guidelines for developing further policies, focus on increasing tourism visitation through environmental protection, but fail to address the possible impact of growth of tourism on host communities' environmental sustainability.

On a regional level, the Gros Morne Region Strategic Tourism Plan (GMRSTP) acknowledges the correlation of environmental concerns, such as climate change, to the long-term sustainability of coastal communities:

The effect of climate change cannot be ignored. Coastal destinations in particular are vulnerable to rising sea levels, dramatic weather shifts/conditions, coastal erosion as well as melting of snow and glaciers (icebergs) resulting in a shift in destination demand (p. 5).

The GMRSTP also acknowledges the importance of having environmentally sound tourism practices to the growth of the industry:

Recognize tourism-related environmental practices as: 1) valuable and profitable for tourism growth, and 2) as a way of competitively positioning the destination—in line with the Regional Vision, Parks Canada's philosophy and destination status as a UNESCO World Heritage Site (p. 19).

The data show significant inconsistencies between provincial, regional and local understandings of the role of environmental protection. Provincial government and industry documents advocate for environmental protection as a means to economic growth. However, for community members interviewed in this study, preservation is a constant practice in their lives, as it connects them to their sense of place, their "unique geographical location, invested with meaning" (Shrivastava and Kennelly, 2013, p. 84). For example, this participant (age 30-40), an outsider who moved to Norris Point, noted that the sense of place found in Bonne Bay is a tool for preservation:

I think it's important from like a like a natural beauty-climate change, like you know, I just think it's important to have people come here, find a sense of place and then want to protect it, right? (Valquiria).

The unique situation of communities in Bonne Bay as National Park enclave communities also promotes a close relationship with Parks Canada, which was considered

an important tool in promoting sustainability and ensuring environmental protection. This participant (age 19-29), an insider who stayed in their community noted:

So, Parks Canada, I can't help but talk about Parks Canada, they have such a positive impact in the area. So, you know, they protect the area around here, and if it wasn't for them, I don't think we would have such a sustainable tourism here. There are a lot of generations of people that do not respect the land as much. I gotta say the younger generation is pretty good when it comes to, you know, keeping the area, you know, clean, no littering, that sort of thing (Fernanda).

Fernanda's positive view of Parks Canada alludes to the idea of a generational shift in the relationship between locals and the park. New generations seem to have a more of positive relationship than previous one. Older generations, especially the ones who saw the park implementation, tend to be more suspicious considering that during that period many felt restrictions to traditional sustenance activities (Innes & Heintzman, 2012). Another participant, a younger person (age 19-29) who works in projects related to environmental protection, also highlighted the role of younger generations in preserving the environment:

Because as we progressed... we're more environmental conscious, people are more environmentally conscious these days anyway. So, the footprint that a couple thousand tourists leave now is very similar or even less than the footprint that a couple hundred locals left 20 years ago (Caio).

The problem of quantifying tourism success is presented by one participant (age 19-29) who noted that the rise in recent numbers in the park has caused some impacts on the ecosystem of the Tablelands. The Tablelands are in the Gros Morne National Park and are one of the few places in the world where you can observe the earth's mantle:

So, a lot of people go through there and just walking on the soil, it's created a, I don't wanna say negative impact, but definitely impacted the ecosystem up there, everything is really boggy, and muddy, and wet from being walked on so much, and walking on the vegetation is really harmful because it has so little grounding

already. So just the volume of people being up there really impacts the natural area around it (Cecilia).

In the long term, growth can mean the disruption of the tourism activity in the Bonne Bay area, considering the dependency of the tourism industry on natural resources.

Tourism activity in the Bonne Bay area is heavily dependent on its environmental resources. The focus on economic growth of documents such as the 2009 and 2016 UP undermines local needs of environmental preservation, given that continuous growth contradicts the principles of sustainability.

## **Discussion**

Tourism development in rural areas is heavily dependent on achieving economic, social-cultural, and environmental sustainability. To succeed, rural tourism must be developed in association with local communities' goals and needs to create an economy that improves residents' working and living conditions (Fang, 2020). Guidelines such as the 2009 and 2016 UP influence how actors develop policies and practices, which affect the industry's future and, consequently, the future of local communities (Kimbu and Tichaawa, 2018). An example is the 2017-2020 PTPDP, which mirrors the goals proposed by the 2009 and 2016 UP.

These three important provincial documents focus on economic growth and fail to address the potential consequences of such growth. This reflects Hall's (2008) argument that the typical approach to tourism planning among government and industry interests is boosterism, or the idea that tourism development is inherently good and should always be promoted, regardless of potential downsides. Although these documents often use concepts such as "sustainable tourism", the emphasis on economic growth contradicts

sustainability principles and fails to confront neoliberal rationalities (Hall, 2019). It also does not explain how benefits generated by tourism will impact local communities or be experienced differently by community members.

The focus on growth can also mean the disruption of tourism activity in the long term since tourism in Newfoundland and Labrador is heavily dependent on environmental resources. One of the goals of rural tourism is to protect natural landscapes and environments (Fang, 2020). By focusing on growth and leaving aside issues of ecological wellbeing, the province of Newfoundland and Labrador presupposes that limited environmental resources are unlimited. For residents of Bonne Bay, the environment is important not only for tourism development but also for their sense of place. As I will explore with more details in the next chapter, the quality of the local environment connects residents to the community, and it was pointed as one of the reasons people stay, come back, and move in. The focus on economic growth also undermines equity issues arising from the tourism industry that can harm the sustainability of local communities. Precarious work conditions in tourism (e.g., long hours, short season, few opportunities for career advancement), combined with rising living costs impose a barrier to the wellbeing of youth and young families in rural communities.

Tourism activity in Bonne Bay also relies on its unique ecological conditions. The exponential growth of tourism in the area can bring capacity issues and risk the destruction of the natural environment. Considering how residents relate to the area's environment, overtourism might change how residents perceive and experience tourism, particularly youth who were described as more environmentally conscious.

Notably, growth is not necessarily a negative factor. It can lead to better services

and infrastructure. Rural tourism can be an important ally in this, as it aims to preserve traditional rural features and community vitality (Fang, 2020), attracting new people and businesses. However, the provincial focus on continuous economic growth, without addressing underlying equity issues, providing fair distribution of opportunities, and precarity issues, ensuring decent work and living conditions, may instead amplify the negative impacts of tourism development in local communities rather than helping the area achieve its sustainability goals. The current problem of shortage of affordable housing in Bonne Bay can prevent youth from staying or coming to the area, mainly due to the lack of stable job opportunities in the region. Moreover, the continuous growth of tourism activity can boost these issues and contribute to an unsustainable activity.

## **Chapter 6: Making Communities Stronger: Targeting Local Needs**

In this chapter, I will discuss how the interview participants perceive and experience the tourism industry in the Bonne Bay area, with a focus on the working lives and mobilities of youth and young families. The results show that tourism is an important activity and contributes for the area socio-cultural and economic development.

Nonetheless, although participants see the industry positively, the short season and lack of reliable and diverse work opportunities limits their ability to live off tourism. Based on the results presented in this chapter, I argue that focusing on quantitative measures of tourism economic development to measure success, rather than local needs, will contribute to enhancing precarity and will fail to ensure the environmental sustainability of the area.

### **Tourism and the Job Market**

The quantitative economic indicators used by global actors such as the World Tourism Organization often influence regional and local policies (Kimbu and Tichaawa, 2018). These indicators place tourism as a motor for job generation and economic development without addressing frequent problems in the tourism industry such as low pay, precarious working conditions, and lack of career opportunities (Robinson et al., 2019; Smith & Staveley, 2014; Walmsley, 2015). As seen in the previous chapter, the tourism policies of Newfoundland and Labrador were based on the concept of boosterism (Hall, 2008), or the idea that tourism development is inherently good. This idea is observed throughout the 2009 UP, which highlights tourism's roles in the province's economic development and job generation:

Tourism is a key driver of meaningful jobs, creating over 12,730 sector related



jobs annually. It fuels provincial economic growth, builds regional pride, and creates employment opportunities that encourage both urban and rural renewal. It helps drive investment in leisure, recreation, and cultural facilities that benefit both residents and visitors, and it supports 2,400 small businesses that contribute to our economy and generates tax revenue to help financially support vital services such as health care and education (p. 13).

Similarly, the 2016 UP reinstated the value of tourism growth for economic development and job creation, highlighting that the tourism industry created 18,000 meaningful employments:

Together, resident and non-resident spending has consistently reached about \$1 billion or more since 2011. Tourism also continues to provide meaningful employment in both urban and rural communities with over 18,000 jobs attributed to various sectors within the tourism industry in Newfoundland and Labrador (p. 11).

Laaser and Karlsson (2021, p. 12) define meaningful work as offering autonomy, opportunities to learn and develop, features respectful and fair treatment and employment conditions that give workers a sense of security. Similarly, participants expressed that meaningful employment would entail job security, wage stability and career opportunities. Nevertheless, although the document stresses the tourism industry's ability to generate employment, there is no mention of the *types* of employment tourism creates or their influence on the social sustainability aspects of host communities. According to interviews, the tourism industry offers a range of direct and indirect opportunities of work such as guiding jobs in adventure sports like kayaking, hiking, paddle-boarding, waiter, cashier, attendant, among others, all of which are very seasonal.

The tourism season in Newfoundland and Labrador starts in May and goes until September, peaking in June, July, and August. Cecilia (age 19-29), an outsider who works

in the tourism industry mentions that the lack of year-round employment is a constraint to many young people seeking reliable jobs:

And then when the winter is here the tourism industry is basically gone, and you're left finding another job every single season, or you're on EI [employment insurance benefit], and you know, you don't necessarily want to be constantly trying to find another job or you don't wanna be on EI.

Although the provincial government describes tourism as an industry capable of promoting meaningful employment, Felipe, a tourism entrepreneur similarly mentions that seasonality and low wages affects one's ability to choose to live in the region and work in tourism: "The tourism industry is very seasonal in Norris Point and if the wages aren't extremely high, how can you sustain staying in Norris Point if you're only making a low wage for three to four months a year?" Similarly, Cecilia (age 19-29), a tourism employee, noted that there is a certain wage instability in tourism jobs:

a lot of our income, it's a decent wage, it's above minimum wage, but a lot of income comes from, like, tips and stuff. So if you are not having a good season, that's gonna make it really difficult for you. Like, you know, waitresses rely a lot on tips, so slow season means less income.

Importantly, although the season is short and remuneration can be unstable, the work they develop during the season was described as "taxing", "intense", "busy", "demanding" and other words related to the amount of work put into the season. That supports Walmsley (2015) findings that while employers complain about difficulties in hiring skilled people to deliver tourism experiences, employment in tourism tends to be low paying and is at times physically and emotionally difficult.

Although some participants note that jobs in tourism in Norris Point are relatively well-paid compared to other places in the region, it is still not enough compared to other jobs they can secure in different cities and industries. In Felipe's case, although he is an

entrepreneur, he also holds a full-time, year-round employment in another industry.

Since the collapse of the fishery, many communities in Newfoundland and Labrador, including the ones in Bonne Bay, have seen its young people out-migrating to other places, as this younger participant (age 19-29) stated:

There are some people who do get a job in Alberta, and they can work rotationally. So, they go there, work for 21 days, and then they come back for a week or so, which is more difficult during COVID. But, for the most part, they choose to build a life elsewhere. So, I have friends, not just Alberta, I have friends in BC, Alberta, couple friends in Manitoba, I have friends that live in PEI, New Brunswick, a lot in Nova Scotia, and some in St. John's Newfoundland as well. But they just, you know, chose to leave here (Fernanda).

That is not to say that tourism does not provide important forms of employment in Bonne Bay. Interviewees seem to perceive the tourism industry very positively.

Nonetheless, the lack of *diversity* of opportunities imposes a barrier to their ability to stay.

As noted by Caio (age 19-29), a young person who was born and raised in the region:

But it's definitely hard for people to not move away, especially younger people. They, I mean, they gotta go away for school if they're going to school, and if not, they're not going to get super well-paid jobs here. So, the people who are staying around and are working all year round, they are in their 40s and 50s anyways.

The ICSP of Norris Point and Rocky Harbour outlines the importance of attracting younger people to the region to create a vibrant and diverse community. In the next section, I will explore more about the supports and constraints that young people face in their mobility decisions.

### **Sense of Place**

The decision to move out, back or in a community is multilayered and involves a series of supports or constraints that are often beyond one's control (Adey, 2006; Ni Laoire, 2000; Power, 2021). Therefore, to investigate the potential of tourism in

contributing to community vitality, it is essential to look beyond the industry itself and analyze the decision-making processes of those who chose to stay, come back, or move to communities in the Bonne Bay area.

Interviews revealed that whether participants choose to stay or move out, there is always a strong sense of place present in their choices. On the one hand, they have proximity to family, strong ties with other community members, and a National Park. On the other, the pattern of outmigration can become attached to how young people perceive their culture, as noted by one participant: "That's just like the way of life here. You live here, you go to Alberta". In this case, Alberta is in reference to the oil industry, where many Newfoundlanders and Labradorians out-migrated after the collapse of the fishery (Higgins, 2008; Hiller, 2009).

Luana (age 19-29), a younger person who went away for post-secondary education and intends to live in a bigger center noted that youth may not be always compelled to stay:

Since we grew up in the area, it can go very either or, like, you could be like "oh, I want to be in this industry", or you could be like "I've seen this my whole life, I want something new" (Luana).

Luana went on to explain that, despite their connection to the place, many young people are compelled to live in bigger centres, influenced by social media and the "city lifestyle":

I think it's hard today too, with like so many young people want to be in bigger centres, so they want to be in like cities in such, whereas like before there were social media like you knew these cities existed, but now since you can see everyone's life everyday, what they're doing, how it looks, how glamorous it must like, you know through social media. So, people want to live those lives, so they leave places that aren't like that. I mean, like I did it myself. Like you know what I'm definitely, like, I love nature and it's always been a part of me, and I love

being home right now, but I'm ready to be in the city again.

Conversely, the benefits of living in their community encouraged this participant (age 19-29) to stay and work locally for Parks Canada:

I love this place! I get outside every day, I hiked into the base of Gros Morne today. So, to me, if I can be happier in a place, make a little bit less money, I still make great money with Parks Canada, but if I can be in a place that makes me feel better, makes me feel good. I love the area, I love the people, then, you know. And I'm not concerned about breathing the air here, so I'm happy (Fernanda).

Another participant (age 30-40), who moved away from the community and later moved back, remembered how feeling a sense of place influenced their decision of coming back home:

I always loved here, it was great, all my family was here. I never had an intention of moving back, until one year I was back for Tails, Trails and Tunes, the festival in May and something just switched that year. I think the weather was phenomenal for two weeks, I had a few friends I made in St. John's who actually moved out his way and there were settling down, there was a lot more people moving back into the area. So, I just, you know, it had changed a lot since when I was growing up here, and I just felt like I was ready to move, leave the city and move back to my hometown (Arthur).

Arthur went on to explain that, although they felt ready to move back home, this was only one step towards it:

So, I never wanted to move back here just for the sake of, career was still very important to me, so I had an opportunity to continue my career in the, well, work in the same sort of field, but work with Parks Canada, so I ended up getting a stable permanent job up in here.

For this participant, having meaningful employment directly impacted their decision to move back home. The strong cultural aspect of rural communities in the Bonne Bay area also promotes an active social life, without the burdens of city life, and it is seen as very positive by this participant:

The Writers of Woody Point, the Trails, Tales and Tunes, the Gros Morne Summer Music, so all of those things that are popping up, and growing and it's been attracting more people to this area. So you're just seeing more things, and even being home, I mean, since I moved home, my social life is more active here than it was in St. John's, I was pretty busy in St. John's, I just find in a big city there's more intention, like, you are driving 45 minutes across the city to get to one thing to another thing, here's is just, being in a small community is more organic, and things grow and it just fits my lifestyle, my personality, to be able to get a message at 3 o'clock "we're going for pints", and 10 minutes later you leave your house and then you're there, everybody is there and you show up, and people just come because they know there're gonna be people there (Arthur).

The cultural elements Arthur describes, such as the Writers of Woody Point and the Trails, Tails and Tunes are important festivals happening annually in Bonne Bay. Notably, these events have a two-fold importance. First, as Arthur notes, they are important elements for residents' sense of place and access to cultural activities. Second, they are significant tourist attractions. Trails, Tales and Tunes marks the beginning of the tourist season and happens every May, while the Writers of Woody Point happens during the third week of August, towards the end of the tourist season. These are important cultural events for the region, boosting tourism numbers and structuring the rhythms of the tourism season.

When young people come back to their communities, they also bring their economic, cultural, and social capital gained during this time away. Valquiria (age 30-40), an outsider who chose to live in Norris Point highlights that outmigration may also have long-term benefits for the community:

I don't think it's a bad thing for kids to graduate and go away to university and like kind of do their thing for a little while and then come home. Like, I don't particularly agree with the idea of retaining people right after high school or right after university for that matter, because I think that those people need to go experience the rest of the world and then bring those experiences back to that community. Because otherwise, how did your community grow?

The same applies to outsiders moving into the community, as they can bring diverse perspectives (Shannon & Mitchell, 2020; Slawinski et al., 2019), help create positive change and contribute to fostering a resilient, vibrant and innovative environment. New ideas contribute to communities' economic, social, cultural, and environmental development – in the form of new business, new people, new activities and new ways to connect to their place and land.

Of course, sense of place and diversity of employment are only two factors in the mobility decision process. As mentioned at the beginning of this section, mobility is often a process influenced by many variables, such as connections to other community members, family support, social lifestyle, and access to housing (Adey, 2006; Corbett & Forsey, 2017; Creswell, 2016; Ni Laoire, 2000; Power, 2021; Power & Norman, 2019). Attracting young families to stay, return, or move in the communities also means that issues such as lack of childcare facilities will surface and impose a barrier for young families with children to enter the workforce, as noted by Valquiria:

So maybe if, like, when the provincial daycare system comes in where you've got like \$10 a day daycare, well, maybe you could get a family who would move here, and both partners would work in tourism, at a decent wage, and then the kids would have daycare kind of thing, right?

Cooke (2001, 2008) noted that when a young family relocates to a new area, it tends to stall women's careers. A daycare center could contribute to a family with both partners in the workforce and provide an accessible and affordable childcare option for these families. Currently, the Bonne Bay Cottage Hospital Heritage Corporation is working to develop an accessible daycare system that will benefit working parents and directly support the region's tourism workforce.

## **Shifting Gears**

A focus on tourism-related job creation without addressing underlying conditions of precarity associated with many tourism jobs will not support the overall long-term sustainability of communities in rural Newfoundland and Labrador. Participants expressed that there is a need to expand and diversify the tourism industry in Bonne Bay. Without reliable employment opportunities, it is not likely that young people or families will stay or move into communities in Bonne Bay. Moreover, youth or young families who are not able or do not wish to move away should have access to decent employment and basic needs. To change this scenario, participants expressed two important points: 1) the need to extend the season to the shoulder months, and 2) the need to work with Parks Canada to offer more winter tourism activities such as snowmobiling, backcountry ski and snowshoeing:

I think, you were gonna expand to winter, I mean if you wanted to be a Winter Park like Banff or Jasper or all those places, I mean, you could put more, I guess you could staff those places. The other thing is too the is that the visitors don't come to the park. I think that's the major draw. Because of the visitor, the park isn't open, like, the park is not advertised as a winter destination, right? So if you come in the winter, you're really on your own, whereas if you go to Banff or Jasper you can go ice skating or you can go to the visitor centre or you can go for a, you can go for ski, or like there's like snowshoe trails and that kind of stuff. So, I think that if they wanted to extend the tourism season, Parks Canada would have to buy in and staff it. And then I think the small businesses would follow because that's what that's what really draws the major groups of tourism right? (Valquiria).

Expanding the tourism season to shoulder months and/or winter months is not an easy task. The decline in the number of young people in the region imposes challenges in terms of human resources. One participant (age 19-29), a tourism employee noted:

In the peak season, there are many businesses who find it very difficult to find seasonal workers, for these types of businesses, because there's just not that young population here. So, they're hiring from other places, and getting people to come



in I know it's very difficult. Even for like Parks Canada to hire students, sometimes they're hiring from Quebec, and Ontario, and Alberta, because there's no one around here who's interested to stay around here (Fernanda).

One participant (age 30-40) who is an employee of a tourism-related enterprise expressed that rather than promoting job generation, Newfoundland and Labrador government can help young adults to open their own businesses:

I think there's a lot of great opportunities for young people to come here and start new businesses, I think that is one place where the government can really create an intervention, make it easier for opening, more funding opportunities for people to really build their businesses (Arthur).

For this participant, with governmental help, young people will see beyond employment and reorient towards entrepreneurship. In his opinion, this shift would also attract more people to the region, generate a diverse economy, and help create a stronger community.

## **Discussion**

The tourism industry has an important role in Newfoundland and Labrador. Like other places around the world, the province sees the tourism industry as an alternative to the decline of resource-extractive industries (Spinguel, 2011; Stoddart & Sodero, 2015; Vodden et al., 2014). Tourism is positioned as a vital tool for economic development in provincial documents, source of meaningful employment and entrepreneurship opportunities. Nonetheless, these documents fail to address common problems associated with the tourism industry that shape youth and young families' perceptions and experiences of the sector, such as low-income, seasonality, instability, and other forms of precarity (Robinson et al., 2019; Smith & Staveley, 2014; Walmsley, 2015). Although these documents mention that communities will benefit from it, there is no real discussion

on how these benefits will arise, nor do they acknowledge the diversity of assets and needs these communities carry.

Part of the sustainability goals of rural communities in Bonne Bay is controlling depopulation by retaining youth and attracting young families to the region. Tourism plays an important role in it, as it is seen as a tool for economic and social development, as well as environmental sustainability. More tourism could mean more businesses and more work opportunities for youth and young families, who perceive the industry as very positive. However, the short season and the lack of reliable employment are barriers to their involvement in the industry. The short season promotes short-term opportunities, and participants highlighted that there would be more employment opportunities if the season was expanded. Nonetheless, they also mentioned the contradictions between a demanding job and wage instability. Increasing tourism numbers without addressing these issues could mean an expansion of precarity in tourism, which would contract the SDG#8 calling for decent employment.

Mobility is not a linear process, and it is shaped by inequalities of class and gender (Power, 2021; Power & Norman, 2019). On the one hand, youth have a solid attachment to their place and want to contribute to its vitality. On the other, they may encounter a culture that reinforces outmigration (Corbett and Forsey, 2017). Interviews revealed that young people in Bonne Bay experience that contradiction. And although sense of place is important, without stable jobs and diversity of opportunities, it is unlikely that they will be able to stay and/or return to their communities.

There is an opportunity to take advantage of their unique positionality as enclave communities and work closely with Parks Canada to develop a season expansion plan.

Having winter tourism can help promote a vibrant community all year round. Having more tourists means that the region will need to expand their services. Nonetheless, motorized winter activities such as snowmobiling can potentially disrupt local wildlife populations. This situation is an example of the contradictions inherent to tourism when trying to balance, or simultaneously pursue economic growth, social sustainability, and ecological wellbeing.

Rather than focusing only on tourism numbers, governments should work closely with communities, focusing their efforts on their local needs. The focus on growth will exacerbate precarious work conditions and corroborate youth not wanting to participate in the industry. To be considered a sustainable activity, tourism needs to promote economic, environmental, and social aspects. It is also shaped by governmental guidance and aligned with local goals. The tourism activity in the Bonne Bay area is both shaped by contradicting provincial and local policies. While the provincial guidance aims for continuous economic growth without addressing underlying equity issues such as precarity of employment, local planning is focused on attracting and developing an industry that will contribute to the long-term sustainability of the area.

Participants expressed a generally positive experience with the tourism industry in the area and see it as crucial to the area's vitality. However, tourism activity without careful planning can disrupt the environment – an essential feature of participants' sense of place – and bring negative aspects that can prevent communities from achieving their goals. These negative aspects can include, as seen, a lack of affordable housing compared to employment options available in the area.

The issues raised in this chapter call for alternative approaches to development, focusing on community needs rather than quantitative numbers of visitors. Otherwise, it is unlikely that communities will achieve their sustainability goals.

## **Chapter 7: Conclusion**

Throughout this thesis, I have explored youth and members of young families' experiences in the tourism industry in communities in the Bonne Bay area and the role of tourism in advancing the area's sustainability goals. The data demonstrate that provincial tourism development is pursued through the lens of boosterism, or the idea that tourism development is inherently good (Hall, 2008). However, youth and young families interpret and experience tourism through multi-faceted economic, socio-cultural and environmental understandings of sustainability. Their interpretations and experiences also call attention to issues of equity and of precarious employment conditions. If this gap between policy and local experience is not addressed, the current model of tourism development in the province is unlikely to contribute to the long-term sustainability of rural communities.

The following research questions guided this study:

- Which role does tourism play in helping communities in Bonne Bay to achieve their sustainability goals?
- How do youth and young families experience tourism in Bonne Bay, and how does it change their migration intentions?

To answer these questions, I collected data through semi-structured interviews and content analysis of web-based textual sources related to tourism development in Newfoundland and Labrador. I interpreted the data using sustainable tourism theory, an evolving theoretical standpoint based upon three dimensions of sustainability: economic, socio-cultural and environmental sustainability (Hall, 2008; Sharpley, 2000, 2020; UNEP

& UNWTO, 2005), that also acknowledges governments influence on the design of policies (Kimbu and Tichaawa, 2018; Jamal and Dredge, 2015; Hall, 2008).

As with other documents from global actors such as the World Tourism Organization, the provincial tourism development policy framework focuses on the pursuit of continuous economic growth. Tourism is seen as a vital industry, promoting economic and socio-cultural, along with environmental sustainability, and is seen as directly benefiting rural communities. Nonetheless, these documents fail to discuss the processes through which such benefits will arise, or how tourism benefits will be distributed or experienced within communities. They also fail to acknowledge the diverse needs and goals that are specific to different communities across Newfoundland and Labrador.

By contrast, my data suggest that residents' sense of place, or a person's deep attachment to people, culture and heritage, is connected to the environment and is essential for retaining and attracting people to the Bonne Bay area. The provincial primary focus on growth, rather than seeking a balanced approach to economic, social and environmental sustainability, while addressing local needs, does not address local capacities of communities in the region and can lead to a series of disruptions in the sustainability of local communities (Jamal and Dredge, 2015). A focus on tourism growth can also exacerbate the underlying precarious conditions associated with the tourism industry, such as low pay, seasonality and limited career advancement opportunities (Robinson et al., 2019; Smith & Staveley, 2014; Walmsley, 2015). Although participants see tourism as a crucial industry for the vitality of the region, their participation in the tourism industry, or more importantly, the role of tourism in providing long-term

opportunities for them, is limited. Without diversity of reliable employment opportunities, it is unlikely that tourism will contribute to the area's social sustainability and, therefore, will fail to meet SGD#8 calling for decent work.

The lack of attention to these issues at the provincial and policy level will likely limit the ability of tourism to contribute to the long-term sustainability of communities in Bonne Bay. This research aligns with other literature in sustainable tourism and calls for a re-orientation of tourism development policy, from a narrow focus on marketing and promotion (focusing on tourism growth) to a broader focus on equally addressing economic, socio-cultural and environmental dimensions while working close to local communities to address their needs, social-ecological wellbeing, and desired social futures (Hall, 2008, 2019; Higgins-Desbiolles et al., 2021; Sharpley, 2000, 2020; Stoddart et al., 2020). If the goal of tourism development in the provincial and regional levels does not shift from growth to addressing local needs and creating flourishing communities, it is unlikely that tourism will advance the area's sustainability.

Tourism development plays a vital role in communities in Newfoundland and Labrador. It can open opportunities to young people and young families to gain valuable work experience, stay in, move back or move into communities in Bonne Bay. Nonetheless, as Sharpley (2010, 2020) notes, sustainable alternative forms of tourism are essential, but tourism for the sake of development is an oxymoron that focuses on economic growth and contradicts sustainability principles. Alternative forms of tourism, such as rural tourism, community-based tourism, or slow tourism, require a detachment from growth and a shift to focus on local needs and goals.

These results call attention to the need to engage local, regional and provincial voices in the design of public policies, which should go beyond quantitative growth measures to include greater attention to equity and sustainability. Tourism stakeholders can use the results in this thesis in future discussions around tourism development, season extension, and winter tourism.

### **Methodological reflexivity**

During this research, one of the limitations related to my positionality as a foreign researcher in rural Newfoundland and Labrador. The outsider's position may limit commonality and acceptance between the researcher and the participant, creating a situation of 'us versus them' (Dwyer and Buckle, 2009). Being Brazilian may have limited my ability to fully capture and understand the social dynamics of rural communities in Newfoundland and Labrador. On the other hand, having a background in tourism studies helped me to interpret the tourism dimension in this study.

Another limitation was that during my analysis process, I noticed that I did not include in my interview guide a question regarding number of children, which would help me understand better the dynamics of young families in relation to the tourism industry. The presence or absence of children in the household may alter the mobility process of young families, as it imposes new needs such as childcare and school and can bring important gender dynamics. Although the focus of this thesis is not deeply investigating the mobility decision-making of youth and young families, the lack of this important data may have altered my interpretations of perceptions and experiences of young families in the tourism industry.



Finally, doing research during the COVID-19 pandemic was challenging. I originally planned to spend at least one month in Norris Point in late 2020. However, given the pandemic and restrictions on face-to-face interactions, I could not travel to the area until August 2021. Therefore, I had to shorten my fieldwork to fit into the timeline of a master's program. The limited fieldwork period also influenced the size of my interview sample, as I could not connect with more people. Travelling in August also meant that I went to Bonne Bay at the peak of the tourism season, making it harder to connect with some participants who were immersed in the day-to-day business of tourism work. One of the consequences is that I could not reach out to many tourism entrepreneurs. It would have been interesting to understand whether and how experiences with the tourism industry diverge depending on the level of involvement (i.e. tourism entrepreneur, tourism employee/volunteer and bystander/not involved in the tourism industry).

### **Recommendations for further research**

Based on the results, I believe that a longitudinal study may be beneficial. Tourism has been growing a lot in the Bonne Bay area in the past 15 years, and data shows that this might be a trend going forward. Future research can explore the long-term changes that tourism is provoking in the area and how these changes alter youth and young families experiences in the tourism industry. This research was also limited to youth who stayed, moved back or moved into communities in Bonne Bay. Future research could explore the motivations and reasons of youth who outmigrated and did not return to their home communities. Analyzing these experiences can expand the academic knowledge on mobility and rural development.

Research about youth and young families is a relatively underdeveloped area within sustainable tourism studies. Research about youth and tourism mostly engage with youth experiences as tourists. Research about young families and tourism is also an understudied area. Therefore, it would be particularly interesting expanding this study to other comparable sites, such as rural and remote communities, national park host communities, and other cold-water destinations (Baldacchino, 2006).

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## **APPENDIX 1: Interview Guide**

### **Introduction**

- My name is Bruna Brito and I am a graduate student in the Sociology department at Memorial University. This interview is part of a research project called “Youth Outmigration and Tourism Development in the Bonne Bay Area”. This research is trying to understand what is the role of tourism in retaining young adults or attracting young families to this area.
- Before we begin, I would like to confirm that you had time to review the Consent Form. Do you have any questions?
- The interview will take approximately 45 minutes to complete and will be video recorded. You may choose to turn your camera off at any time.
- The interview questions do not deal with sensitive topics. However, individual participants may have unanticipated emotional distress. You may skip any questions you do not want to answer.
- You may withdraw from the research, without any penalty, until August 15<sup>th</sup>, 2021, after which point data cannot be removed from the study. If you choose to withdraw from the project, your interview recordings, transcripts, and related data will be removed from the project.
- Interview materials will be kept on a password-protected computer. Your name will not appear on the video file or interview transcript. Only me, Bruna Brito, will have access to this file.

- Every reasonable effort will be made to assure your confidentiality in the reporting of research results. Quotations from interview transcripts may be used in conference papers, journal articles, books or research reports. Your name will not be attached to these quotations.
- Pseudonyms will be used for all quotations and quotations will be edited to remove identifying details.
- This research is being conducted in partnership with the Bonne Bay Cottage Hospital Heritage Corporation. However, this is not a requirement from the Cottage Hospital Heritage Corporation and, therefore, they will not be informed of who does and who does not participate.
- At the end of this process, a report will be prepared for this research's community partner, Joan Cranston from the Bonne Bay Cottage Hospital Heritage Corporation. Your name or identifying information will not be included.
- You are welcome to ask questions at any time during your participation in this research. If you have any questions, you can contact me using the information provided in the Consent Form.
- Do you consent to participate in this research?

## **INTERVIEW QUESTIONS**

### **Participant background**

1. Can you start by telling me a little bit about yourself and your background in the community?

**Follow up:** How long have lived in this community?

**Follow up:** If you are not from the community originally, where did you live before that?

**Follow up:** If you moved in from any other place, can you tell me a little bit about the process of moving to the community?

**Prompt:** What were some of the supports or constraints you have found?

**Follow up:** If you are from the community, can you tell me a little bit about your decision to stay?

**Prompt:** What were some of the supports or constraints you have found?

### **Working in tourism**

2. Have you ever worked or volunteered in the tourism sector here?

**Follow up:** If yes, tell me more about your work.

**Prompt:** how did you enter in the tourism sector?

If no, did you want to?

**Prompt:** why / why not?

**Follow up:** What do your parents, siblings or partner do?

3. Which kind of work opportunities are there for young people locally?

**Follow up:** And which kind of opportunities there are to work specifically in tourism?

**Follow up:** Did you learn about tourism in school?

4. How would you describe the tourism activity in Bonne Bay?



**Prompt:** Do you think it is an important sector? Are there lots of tourists all year round?

**Follow up:** If you are not from here, did the tourism development in this area influence your decision to come here?

5. What do you see as the main features that bring tourists to Bonne Bay?
6. Can you think of other ways that tourism could be developed to attract more tourists?

**Follow up:** Do you think the region should try to attract more tourists?

### **Sustainability**

7. What do you see as the main positive aspects of tourism development in your community?
8. What do you think are the main negative impacts of tourism?
9. How important is tourism as an economic driver for this region?

**Follow up:** Do you think that all communities are benefiting equally from tourism or some are left behind?

10. Do you think tourism is having an impact on social inequalities in your community?

**Follow up:** Is it affecting such things as house prices?

11. Are the jobs in tourism mostly seasonal or permanent positions?

**Follow up:** are these jobs part of a summer employment program for students? Are they good jobs?

**Follow up:** If you are working in a seasonal job, would you prefer to have year- round employment?

**Follow up:** how are the wages?

**Prompt:** Do you think this wage is appropriate for this kind of employment? Are the wages high enough to convince you to want to stay here to work?

12. Have you seen any improvements in roads, buildings or internet access lately?

**Follow up:** If yes, do you think that these improvements made a difference in the tourism activity compared to before?

If no, do you think this affects the success of tourism activities?

13. Have you seen tourism bringing any environmental impacts or benefits?

14. Have you seen any harm come from tourism developments?

### **Outmigration**

15. Have many people moved away from this community?

**Follow up:** Is it older people or younger people who are moving away?

**Follow up:** Do many people work away? Is that rotational workers that comes and goes on a regular basis?

**Follow up:** What about young people, do they go away for school and come back, or they go away and stay away?

**Follow up:** If you are from here, did you go away for school and came back?

**Prompt:** If yes, what influenced your decision to come back home?

16. How is outmigration affecting this community?
17. Has tourism provided opportunities or affected outmigration?
18. Do you think that if tourism increases in Bonne Bay, youth will have more opportunities?

**Follow up:** How would that change outmigration?

### **Covid-19**

19. How has Covid-19 impacted you, your community and the tourism industry?

**Follow up:** Have you seen any kind of opportunity out of the pandemic?

20. How do you see tourism moving forward after Covid-19?
21. Do you think that the pandemic will affect tourism and its role in the local economy in the long term?

### **Demographics**

Before we conclude, I have a few demographic questions that will help me to identify patterns, differences among age groups, etc.

22. What is your age?
23. What is your educational level?
24. Which gender do you identify as?
25. What is your partnership status?

## **Conclusion**

26. That is the end of my questions. Thank you again for your participation. Do you have any other comments or points you think I should know about this topic?

27. When the project is completed, a summary report for participants will be created. Would you like to receive a copy of the report?

Thank you very much for participating in this research!

## **APPENDIX 2: Informed Consent Form**

Title: Youth Outmigration and Tourism Development in The Bonne Bay Area

Researcher(s): Bruna Brito, graduate student, sociology department, Memorial University of Newfoundland - bsouzadebrit@mun.ca

Supervisor(s): Dr. Mark Stoddart, Professor, sociology department, Memorial University of Newfoundland – mstoddart@mun.ca

Dr. Nicole Power, Professor, sociology department, Memorial University of Newfoundland – npower@mun.ca

You are invited to take part in a research project entitled “Youth Outmigration and Tourism Development in The Bonne Bay Area.”

This form is part of the process of informed consent. It should give you the basic idea of what the research is about and what your participation will involve. It also describes your right to withdraw from the study. In order to decide whether you wish to participate in this research study, you should understand enough about its risks and benefits to be able to make an informed decision. This is the informed consent process. Take time to read this carefully and to understand the information given to you. Please contact the researcher, Bruna Brito, if you have any questions about the study or for more information not included here before you consent.

It is entirely up to you to decide whether to take part in this research. If you choose not to take part in this research or if you decide to withdraw from the research once it has started, there will be no negative consequences for you, now or in the future.

### **Introduction**

My name is Bruna Brito, and I am a graduate student in the sociology department at Memorial University of Newfoundland. This research project is part of my master's thesis, under Prof. Mark Stoddart and Prof. Nicole Power's supervision, both Professors in the sociology department at Memorial University of Newfoundland.

### **Community partnership**

This research is being conducted in partnership with Joan Cranston, from the Bonne Bay Cottage Hospital Heritage Corporation. This research is **not** a requirement of the Bonne Bay Cottage Hospital Heritage Corporation. They will **not** be informed of who does or does not participate in this study.

### **Purpose of study:**

This research explores youth and young families' experiences with the tourism industry in the Bonne Bay area. I approach this using the Sustainable Tourism framework, to understand whether the development of the tourism activity contributes to the area's sustainability goals, more specifically which role does tourism plays in retaining youth or attracting young families to the region.

### **What you will do in this study:**

You will participate in an interview with the researcher, Bruna Brito, about your experiences with the Bonne Bay area's tourism industry. You will be invited to share

your opinion about the following themes: overall tourism development in your region; benefits of tourism development to the community; the contribution of tourism to community social, economic and environmental sustainability; benefits of tourism to community infrastructure; negative impacts of tourism development; tourism opportunities for young people; the impact of youth outmigration and the role of tourism in containing it; and the impact of Covid-19 in the community and the tourism sector. You will also be invited to answer a few demographic questions.

**Length of time:**

Each interview will have around 45 minutes.

**Withdrawal from the study:**

To terminate your participation in the data collection, you must contact the researcher, Bruna Brito, using the contact information on this form by August 15th, 2021. Your decision to stop participating, or to refuse to answer particular questions, will not affect your relationship with the researchers, Memorial University, or any other group associated with this project. You may end the interview at any moment by simply stating that you do not wish to continue and exiting the online session.

**Possible benefits:**

This research will contribute to a deeper knowledge of youth and young families and tourism practices in the Bonne Bay area and how these contribute to local communities' economic, social, and cultural well-being. It will also provide an analysis of the different experiences through the Covid-19 pandemic and the tourism sector in Newfoundland.

**Possible risks:**

There is a small risk that your participation could affect your social standing if other people in your community or organization learn about your participation. I do not think this risk is likely, since I will ensure the protection of your confidentiality. You have the right not to answer any questions. If you experience any emotional distress from participating in this research, you may consult a readily available counselling resource such as Bridge the Gap (<https://nl.bridgethegap.ca/>). Finally, there is a small risk of exposure to Covid-19; however, I'm taking all recommended precautions to safeguard your health and safety, such as wearing non-medical masks, hand-washing/sanitizing, requesting that seating be placed a minimum of 2 meters apart for the interview, and keeping a meeting log to facilitate contact tracing.

### **Confidentiality**

The data from this research project will be published and presented at conferences; however, your identity will be kept confidential. Although I may report direct quotations from the interview, you will be given a pseudonym, and all identifying information [such as your name, your institution, your position, etc.] will be removed from any presentations or publications. Because the participants for this research project have been selected from a small group of people, all of whom are possibly known to each other, it is possible that you may be identifiable to other people on the basis of what you have said even after I have removed identifiable information.

### **Anonymity:**

Every reasonable effort will be made to ensure your confidentiality. You will not be identified in any reports and publications and any potentially identifying details (i.e.,



names of specific employers, locations) will be removed from interview transcripts, presentations, or publications. However, participants for this research have been selected from a small community setting, where even anonymized respondents may be recognizable by other details even after I have removed identifiable information.

**Recording of Data:**

Your interview will be audio-recorded. If you are not comfortable with this, I will take handwritten notes based on what you say.

**Storage of Data:**

Data will be stored in a password-protected computer in an also password-protected encrypted file. Any physical recording of data will be kept locked in a safe place. The meeting log that will be kept to facilitate contact tracing will be stored separately from interview transcripts. The data will be kept for a minimum of five years post-publication, as required by Memorial University policy on Integrity in Scholarly Research and only the researcher will have access to it. After the five-year period, data will be permanently deleted, and any physical recording will be shredded.

**Access to Anonymized Data**

I will transcribe your interview and remove any identifying information. The Bonne Bay Cottage Hospital Heritage Corporation and my research supervisors will have access to this material, but your name or any identifiable information will **not** be included. You may review your interview transcription before August 15<sup>th</sup>, 2021 and indicate possibly identifying or other information that you may not want included in the study.

**Reporting of Results:**

The data collected will be used to produce my master thesis, as well as journal articles and conference presentations. It will also produce a report to this research's community partner, the Bonne Bay Cottage Hospital Heritage Corporation. The data collected may be reported using direct quotations; however, you will not be identified.

**Sharing of Results with Participants:**

I will produce a non-academic report and send you the results via email. Upon completion, my thesis will be available at Memorial University's Queen Elizabeth II library, and can be accessed online at:

<http://collections.mun.ca/cdm/search/collection/theses>.

**Questions:**

You are welcome to ask questions at any time during your participation in this research. If you would like more information about this study, please contact: Bruna Brito ([bsouzadebrit@mun.ca](mailto:bsouzadebrit@mun.ca)), Prof. Nicole Power ([npower@mun.ca](mailto:npower@mun.ca)) or Prof. Mark Stoddart ([mstoddart@mun.ca](mailto:mstoddart@mun.ca))

The proposal for this research has been reviewed by the Interdisciplinary Committee on Ethics in Human Research and found to be in compliance with Memorial University's ethics policy. If you have ethical concerns about the research, such as the way you have been treated or your rights as a participant, you may contact the Chairperson of the ICEHR at [icehr@mun.ca](mailto:icehr@mun.ca) or by telephone at 709-864-2861.

**Consent:**

Your consent means that:

- You have read the information about the research.

- You have been able to ask questions about this study.
  - You are satisfied with the answers to all your questions.
  - You understand what the study is about and what you will be doing.
  - You understand that you are free to withdraw from the study without having to give a reason and that doing so will not affect you now or in the future.
- You understand that the cut-off date to withdraw from the study is August 15<sup>th</sup>, 2021. If you decide to terminate your participation, the data collected will be removed from the study and permanently deleted.

If you consent to this form, you do not give up your legal rights and do not release the researchers from their professional responsibilities.

I have read what this study is about and understood the risks and benefits. I have had adequate time to think about this and had the opportunity to ask questions and my questions have been answered.

I agree to participate in the research project understanding the risks and contributions of my participation, that my participation is voluntary, and that I may end my participation.

A copy of this Informed Consent Form has been given to me for my records.

**The researcher, Bruna Brito will reaffirm the participant's consent beginning the interview.**

## APPENDIX 3: Ethics Approval



**Interdisciplinary Committee on  
Ethics in Human Research (ICEHR)**

St. John's, NL Canada A1C 5S7  
Tel: 709 864-2561 icehr@mun.ca  
[www.mun.ca/research/ethics/humans/icehr](http://www.mun.ca/research/ethics/humans/icehr)

ICEHR Number:	20211404-AR
Approval Period:	March 12, 2021 – March 31, 2022
Funding Source:	MUN [RGCS# 20211090]
Responsible Faculty:	Dr. Nicole Power Department of Sociology
Title of Project:	<i>Youth Outmigration and Tourism Development in</i>

March 12, 2021

Ms. Bruna Souza De Brito  
Department of Sociology  
Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences  
Memorial University of Newfoundland

Dear Ms. Souza De Brito:

Thank you for your correspondence of March 11, 2021 addressing the issues raised by the Interdisciplinary Committee on Ethics in Human Research (ICEHR) concerning the above-named research project. ICEHR has re-examined the proposal with the clarification and revisions submitted, and is satisfied that the concerns raised by the Committee have been adequately addressed. In accordance with the *Tri-Council Policy Statement on Ethical Conduct for Research Involving Humans (TCPS2)*, the project has been granted *full ethics clearance* to **March 31, 2022**. ICEHR approval applies to the ethical acceptability of the research, as per Article 6.3 of the *TCPS2*. Researchers are responsible for adherence to any other relevant University policies and/or funded or non-funded agreements that may be associated with the project.

The *TCPS2* **requires** that you submit an Annual Update to ICEHR before **March 31, 2022**. If you plan to continue the project, you need to request renewal of your ethics clearance and include a brief summary on the progress of your research. When the project no longer involves contact with human participants, is completed and/or terminated, you are required to provide an annual update with a brief final summary and your file will be closed. If you need to make changes during the project which may raise ethical concerns, you must submit an Amendment Request with a description of these changes for the Committee's consideration prior to implementation. If funding is obtained subsequent to approval, you must submit a Funding and/or Partner Change Request to ICEHR before this clearance can be linked to your award.

All post-approval event forms noted above can be submitted from your Researcher Portal account by clicking the *Applications: Post-Review* link on your Portal homepage. We wish you success with your research.

Yours sincerely,

Kelly Blidook, Ph.D.  
Vice-Chair, Interdisciplinary Committee on  
Ethics in Human Research

KB/bc

cc: Supervisor – Dr. Nicole Power, Department of Sociology  
Director, Research Grant and Contract Services



**Interdisciplinary Committee on Ethics in Human Research (ICEHR)**

St. John's, NL Canada A1C 5S7  
Tel: 709 864-2561 icehr@mun.ca  
[www.mun.ca/research/ethics/humans/icehr](http://www.mun.ca/research/ethics/humans/icehr)

ICEHR Number:	20211404-AR
Approval Period:	March 12, 2021 – March 31, 2022
Funding Source:	MUN [RGCS# 20211090]
Responsible Faculty:	Dr. Nicole Power Department of Sociology
Title of Project:	<i>Youth Outmigration and Tourism Development in the Bonne Bay Area</i>
Amendment #:	01

March 25, 2021

Ms. Bruna Souza De Brito  
Department of Sociology  
Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences Memorial  
University of Newfoundland

Dear Ms. Souza De Brito:

The Interdisciplinary Committee on Ethics in Human Research (ICEHR) has reviewed the proposed revisions for the above referenced project, as outlined in your amendment request dated March 22, 2021, and is pleased to give approval to the revised interview guide, as described in your request, provided all other previously approved protocols are followed.

If you need to make any other changes during the conduct of the research that may affect ethical relations with human participants, please submit an amendment request, with a description of these changes, via your Researcher Portal account for the Committee's consideration.

Your ethics clearance for this project expires March 31, 2022, before which time you must submit an annual update to ICEHR. If you plan to continue the project, you need to request renewal of your ethics clearance, and include a brief summary on the progress of your research. When the project no longer requires contact with human participants, is completed and/or terminated, you need to provide an annual update with a brief final summary, and your file will be closed.

Annual updates and amendment requests can be submitted from your Researcher Portal account by clicking the *Applications: Post-Review* link on your Portal homepage.

The Committee would like to thank you for the update on your proposal and we wish you well with your research.

Yours sincerely,

Kelly Blidook, Ph.D.  
Vice-Chair, Interdisciplinary Committee on Ethics in Human Research

KB/bc

cc: Supervisor – Dr. Nicole Power, Department of Sociology



**Interdisciplinary Committee on  
Ethics in Human Research (ICEHR)**

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ICEHR Number:	20211404-AR
Approval Period:	March 12, 2021 – March 31, 2022
Funding Source:	MUN [RGCS# 20211090]
Responsible Faculty:	Dr. Nicole Power Department of Sociology
Title of Project:	<i>Youth Outmigration and Tourism Development in the Bonne Bay Area</i>
Amendment #:	02

July 15, 2021

Ms. Bruna Souza De Brito  
Department of Sociology  
Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences  
Memorial University of Newfoundland

Dear Ms. Souza De Brito:

The Interdisciplinary Committee on Ethics in Human Research (ICEHR) has reviewed the proposed revisions for the above referenced project, as outlined in your amendment request dated July 8, 2021, and is pleased to give approval to conduct in-person interviews, as described in your request, provided all other previously approved protocols are followed.

The *TCPS2* requires that you **strictly adhere to the protocol and documents as last reviewed** by ICEHR. If you need to make any other additions and/or modifications during the conduct of the research, you must submit an Amendment Request with a description of these changes, for the Committee's review of potential ethical issues, before they may be implemented. Submit a Personnel Change Form to add or remove project team members and/or research staff. Also, to inform ICEHR of any unanticipated occurrences, an Adverse Event Report must be submitted with an indication of how the unexpected event may affect the continuation of the project.

Your ethics clearance for this project expires **March 31, 2022**, before which time you must submit an Annual Update to ICEHR, as required by the *TCPS2*. If you plan to continue the project, you need to request renewal of your ethics clearance, and include a brief summary on the progress of your research. When the project no longer requires contact with human participants, is completed and/or terminated, you need to provide an annual update with a brief final summary, and your file will be closed.

All post-approval ICEHR event forms noted above must be submitted by selecting the *Applications: Post-Review* link on your Researcher Portal homepage.

The Committee would like to thank you for the update on your proposal and we wish you well with your research.

Yours sincerely,

Kelly Blidook, Ph.D.  
Vice-Chair, Interdisciplinary Committee on  
Ethics in Human Research

KB/bc

cc: Supervisor – Dr. Nicole Power, Department of Sociology