UNIVERSITÉ DU QUÉBEC À MONTRÉAL

ENACTING WORLDMAKING AGENCY IN LUNENBURG: EXPLORING SOCIO-SPATIAL TRANSFORMATIONS THROUGH THE LIVED EXPERIENCES OF REGIONALLY MOBILE WOMEN WORKING IN TOURISM

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PRATIQUER LE « WORLDMAKING » À LUNENBURG : UNE ÉTUDE EXPLORATOIRE DES TRANSFORMATIONS SOCIO-SPATIALES SELON LE VÉCU DE TRAVAILLEUSES DU SECTEUR TOURISTIQUE GÉOGRAPHIQUEMENT MOBILES

MÉMOIRE

PRÉSENTÉ

COMME EXIGENCE PARTIELLE

DE LA MAÎTRISE EN DÉVELOPPEMENT DU TOURISME

PAR

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This project is dedicated to the many women of Lunenburg County
with whom I've worked, lived, dined, danced and dipped in the ocean,
and without whose stories this project would not exist.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

BIPOC	Black, Indigenous, People of colour
BLM	Black Lives Matter
CERB	Canada Emergency Response Benefit
CERPÉ	Comité d'éthique de la recherche pour les projets étudiants impliquant des êtres humains
CTS	Critical Tourism Studies
COVID-19	The disease caused by a new coronavirus called SARS-CoV-2
DMO	Destination Management Organization
SSHAC	South Shore Housing Action Coalition
SSWC	Second Story Women's Centre
TNS	Tourism Nova Scotia
UBI	Universal Basic Income
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
UNWTO	United Nations World Tourism Organization
UQAM	Université du Québec à Montréal
WHO	World Health Organization
WTTC	World Travel & Tourism Council
WWII	World War II

RÉSUMÉ

À la suite de l'effondrement de l'industrie de la pêche à la morue au début des années 1990s, la désindustrialisation et la restructuration économique vers le secteur des services, dont le tourisme, sont des phénomènes qui marquent de nombreuses communautés maritimes du Canada Atlantique. À Lunenburg, en Nouvelle-Écosse – une petite ville de 2263 habitants permanents – la désignation de site du patrimoine mondial de l'UNESCO, attribuée à la vieille ville en 1995, a accéléré la transformation culturelle de la région. Alors que la culture des colons européens évolue spontanément depuis plusieurs siècles en fonction du rapport à la mer, l'évolution culturelle de la ville procède en fonction de la marchandisation du patrimoine bâti et immatériel. Néanmoins, au travers du vécu de travailleuses du secteur touristique géographiquement mobiles, qui habitent temporairement ou s'installent à Lunenburg, c'est possible d'explorer de multiples versions et visions de la ville et de ses populations. Alors qu'elle est à la fois assujettie au travail précaire et à la discrimination selon le genre; et capable de voyager et de s'installer librement, cette figure sociale est emblématique de la complexité et de la contradiction qui marquent la société contemporaine. L'étude mobilise un cadre théorique interdisciplinaire et, en m'appuyant sur mes propres expériences en tant qu'employée en tourisme et nouvelle résidente de la ville de Lunenburg, privilégie la stratégie de recherche auto-ethnographique.

En employant le concept « worldmaking », le projet de mémoire vise à explorer la capacité du tourisme à transformer le caractère social, spatial et culturel de la ville de Lunenburg. Effectivement, l'industrie touristique internationale reproduit le système du capitalisme mondialisé dont les effets inégaux se manifestent tant à l'échelle locale et mondiale. Néanmoins, faisant écho à la crise de la pêcherie de l'Atlantique des années 1990s, l'avènement soudain de la pandémie de la COVID-19, en 2020, menace l'industrie touristique internationale sur laquelle dépend la ville de Lunenburg. Ainsi, le moment présent symbolise un temps d'arrêt et de réflexion critique afin de repenser l'avenir du tourisme, tant à l'échelle locale et mondiale.

Mots clés : tourisme local, mobilités d'agrément, « worldmaking », incarnation, auto-ethnographie

ABSTRACT

Following the Atlantic fisheries crisis of the 1990s coastal communities have been undergoing deindustrialization and economic diversification through the development of services-sector activities, including tourism. With a permanent resident population of 2,263, the Town of Lunenburg, Nova Scotia has been capitalizing upon UNESCO World Heritage Site designation, awarded in 1995, thereby transforming the cultural character of the place. Whereas culture has evolved for hundreds of years according to colonial settlers' relationship to the Atlantic Ocean, 21st century cultural evolution is proceeding according to the commodification of the town's immaterial and built heritage. Nevertheless, drawing upon the lived experiences of regionally mobile women contributing to Lunenburg's tourism workforce, living temporarily or (re)establishing residence in the region, this project examines multiple versions and visions of Lunenburg and its populations. Embodying the complexities and contradictions characteristic of contemporary society, this social figure is simultaneously subject to precarious and objectifying tourism work, and capable of moving freely to, through and away from chosen places. This qualitative research mobilizes an interdisciplinary framework and, through an autoethnographic research design, draws upon my own lived experiences of tourism work and spatial mobility.

Applying the concept of worldmaking, this master's thesis explores the power of tourism to transform the social, spatial and cultural character of Lunenburg. Indeed, international tourism reproduces the uneven system of global capitalism, impacting tourism communities worldwide. However, echoing the Atlantic fisheries crisis of the 1990s, the sudden onset of the global COVID-19 pandemic, in 2020, is threatening the international tourism industry upon which Lunenburg has come to rely. Thus, this moment represents an opportunity for tourism stakeholders at all levels to pause and critically reflect upon the role of tourism in contemporary societies.

Keywords: community-based tourism, lifestyle mobilities, worldmaking, embodiment, autoethnography

INTRODUCTION

Lunenburg, a small town on Nova Scotia's South Shore, is situated about a one-hour drive from the provincial capital, Halifax. Like the province of Nova Scotia and the Atlantic Canadian region, more broadly, the Town of Lunenburg has been impacted by economic decline related to the gradual deterioration of fishing stocks since the 1960s, culminating in the federally imposed Northern Cod Moratorium declared by Fisheries Minister, John Crosbie, on July 2nd 1992[1]. However, seizing an opportunity to transform the town's economic fate, Lunenburg's Town Council recognized the potential for the cultural heritage of the town to feed a growing tourism industry. In 1995, the Town of Lunenburg was awarded United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) World Heritage District status, effectively transforming the economic, social and cultural character of the town. Today, Lunenburg is considered by Tourism Nova Scotia (TNS) to be one of the province's top tourist attractions, noting:

> Old Town Lunenburg is one of only two urban communities in North America designated as a UNESCO World Heritage site. Considered to be the best surviving planned British colonial town in North America, you can still see the tall ships moored off the port and hear the smith's hammer, while guided tours tell tales of lives lost on the ocean, and the spirits that return to haunt the living. (TNS, 2020a)

[1] The closure of the northern cod fishery afflicted Newfoundland's south coast, Nova Scotia's east coast, as well as the southern Gulf of St. Lawrence, eliminating some 40,000 jobs. Whereas several groundfish species were included in the moratoria such as redfish, white hake, American place, turbot and witch flounder, northern cod had been a prominent resource serving as a mainstay of the region's commercial fishery (Brubaker, 2000).

The late 20th century post-industrial transition to a services-based economy is characteristic of many outlying communities in the world's most developed nations. Since the post-World War II (WWII) era the nearly continual growth of travel and tourism, worldwide, has been contributing to a new world order marked by increasing and increasingly diversified flows of capital, goods and people. From the period of the 1990s Atlantic fisheries crisis and onwards the Town of Lunenburg, its residents and its visitors have been experiencing the effects of ongoing social, spatial and cultural transformations related to the shift from mostly primary resources extraction to tourism activities. As dynamic networks of relations produce ever-changing landscapes, the following metaphor hereby sets the scene for this project: "places are like ships, moving around and not necessarily staying in one location" (Sheller & Urry, 2006: 214).

Indeed, nearly thirty years after the Atlantic fisheries crisis, this project culminates in the midst of a very new and different public health and economic crisis threatening the international tourism industry upon which Lunenburg has come to rely. However, despite the uneven worldmaking power of global capitalism and international tourism, and the uncertainty pervading societies worldwide due to the ongoing global COVID-19 pandemic, unwavering optimism and hope persist. This project is inspired by women in Lunenburg County, as well as members of the Critical Tourism Studies (CTS) movement, engaged in the imagination of ethical and sustainable tourism worlds. Thus, relying upon the development of critical awareness of the ways that each and every one of us we make the world, tourism stakeholders at all levels are implored to embrace the present moment as an opportunity for engaging in positive transformation (Ateljevic, 2020; Braidotti, 2011; Caton, 2013; Massey, 2005).

CHAPTER I

RESEARCH CONTEXT

The field of tourism studies has, since its inception in the late 20th century, been preoccupied with the investigation of dynamic and ongoing changes occurring in tourism destinations (Saarinen, 2004). This opening chapter examines the deindustrialization process in Lunenburg and its development as an international cultural tourism destination, highlighting the dynamic and evolving socio-cultural character of the town. This review is supported by a limited yet diverse and rich set of social sciences and humanities research addressing the themes of tourism development and culture in Lunenburg and in Nova Scotia, more broadly, since the 1990s. Furthermore, additional texts are drawn upon to support the academic literature, including development and planning materials, local media reports, promotional documents, statistics, as well as select academic materials addressing deindustrialization beyond the highly specific spatio-temporal context.

Establishing the Town of Lunenburg following the Atlantic fisheries crisis era as the context for this research project, Chapter 1 begins by identifying the localized socio-spatial transformations relating to tourism development. These include: 1) the town's capacity to limit economic decline by achieving UNESCO World Heritage status; 2) the socioeconomic and demographic trends shaping the town and the province, including an ageing and shrinking population alongside increasingly complex and dynamic spatial mobilities; and 3) cultural selection and production for tourism which, according to capitalist economic processes and market forces, continue to define peoples and places in Nova Scotia. As a result, such contemporary phenomena as

increasing and increasingly diversified flows of visitors, residents and migrants to, within and away from town, as well as precarious, feminized tourism employment emerge in conjunction with international cultural tourism development in Lunenburg. This chapter concludes by presenting the research problem and introducing the research questions and aspirations, thereby building the foundation for the critical qualitative inquiry constructed in the following chapters.

1.1 From fishing town to UNESCO World Heritage site

In July 1992, the Canadian government declared a moratorium on the commercial harvesting of Atlantic groundfish due to depleted stocks caused by over-fishing. Affecting the entire Atlantic Canadian fishery throughout the Gulf of St. Lawrence and off the coasts of Newfoundland and Labrador, as well as Nova Scotia, Lunenburg was, at that time, the largest industrial deep-sea fishing port in Nova Scotia (Binkley, 2000b). Expected to last only two years, in 1993 the fishing ban was extended in hopes that stocks would rebound by the end of the century[2]. As a result, extensive job loss, environmental devastation, the displacement of Atlantic Canadians and the decimation of hundreds of rural fishing communities were cause for this historic event to be qualified as a crisis (for gendered analyses of the Atlantic fisheries crisis, see Binkley, 1996; Neis & Williams, 1997). Nevertheless, the collapse of Canada's Atlantic fishery unevenly affected the region's coastal communities, with devastation occurring in Newfoundland and Labrador where reliance upon groundfish stocks had been particularly prominent[3]. By contrast, several factors aided in the mitigation of dramatic

[2] Canada's Atlantic cod stocks have not, in fact, rebounded. However, diversification through the harvesting of alternate species, namely shellfish, have helped sustain some commercial fisheries in coastal Newfoundland. Nevertheless, declining shellfish stocks currently threaten that region's economy (O'Neill-Yates et al., 2017).

[3] During this period, over 1000 fishing communities lay along the often-isolated coastline, including the outports of Newfoundland which have been centered on the fishery, as a way of life, for centuries (Charles, 1997). Typically, groundfish accounted for less than 50 percent of the catch in New Brunswick,

economic decline in the Town of Lunenburg, including a diversified fishery as well as a propensity for economic and cultural adaptation.

The fishery south of Halifax, including Lunenburg's, has been relatively diverse, allowing for the moratorium to have been recessionary rather than catastrophic. Historically, lobster and scallops have been two of the most lucrative stocks and, adapting to fishing restrictions imposed following the dramatic decline in groundfish stocks, shellfish stocks became, and continue to be, increasingly important for fishers in the Lunenburg area (Binkley, 2000b). Similarly, highlighting Lunenburg's relatively smooth transition through troubled times, Thurston (1995) adds, nevertheless, "don't tell that to the many fisherman and plant workers who have been laid off" (Thurston, 1995: 2). Indeed, recession and decline were the new reality for this historically prosperous town, where the leading features of its built landscape demonstrate wealth and societal aspirations (Binkley 2000a; Campbell, 2008). Vividly described by Binkley (2000a),

> prosperity was embodied in the wealthy merchants' stores, dry-docks, wharves, and the Lunenburg Foundry located along the harbour. Captains' and merchants' stately homes, churches, and retail establishments gradually filled in the landscape from the shore to the top of the hill where the Lunenburg Academy proudly stood. A town hall, courthouse, Masonic temple, and an opera house, built in grand style, marked the centre of town. (Binkley, 2000a: 3)

Recognizing Lunenburg's significant cultural and heritage assets, Mayor Laurence Mawhinney, in office from 1979 to 2012, led a process to pursue World Heritage Designation as a strategy for improving the town's economy[4]. Allegedly, inspiration

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Prince Edward Island and Québec, amounting to up to 60 percent in Nova Scotia, and representing 80 percent of Newfoundland's catch. Given its dependence on these species, Newfoundland was hardest hit by the collapse of the Atlantic groundfishery in the early 1990s (Cashin, 1993).

[4] Born in Northern Ireland, Mawhinney grew up in Lunenburg and served the town as both minister of St. Andrews's church and mayor for several decades. Experiencing the downturn in the fisheries while facing a local ageing population, Mawhinney witnessed the town "turn from a vital fishing port into a

for doing so arose following a visit to Québec City's monument commemorating its World Heritage status during a family vacation in 1993 (George & Reid, 2005; George et al., 2009). Nevertheless, awareness of the town's unique built heritage dates back several decades as individuals, organizations and committees had been mobilizing throughout the 20th century to highlight the value of the town's cultural heritage, including the Lunenburg Heritage Society (LHS) established in 1972. Conservation practices included house restoration, conducting historic house tours, creating information plaques and educating the public about the town's built and cultural heritage. Moreover, Thurston (1995) notes, Lunenburg's 18th and 19th century heritage buildings have been "preserved without restrictive building codes – a deep-seated German frugality and practicality making bylaws unnecessary" (Thurston, 1995: 3). Still, as cultural preservation became an intrinsic and explicit conservative ideology, the preservation of this 'gem of Canadian urbanism' became reinforced through public policies such as a building register, architectural legislature, and the creation of a national historic site (Campbell, 2008; Department of Canadian Heritage, 1994).

The extensive and, ultimately, successful World Heritage List Nomination of Old Town Lunenburg was developed in collaboration with Department of Canadian Heritage, Government of Canada and Municipality of the Town of Lunenburg and submitted to UNESCO in September 1994. Highlighting Lunenburg's unique character, the World Heritage List Nomination explains:

> The nomination property [comprised of 404 public and private buildings and spaces] is surrounded by a natural buffer zone: to the south is Lunenburg Harbour, and to the west, east and north are very steep slopes on which further development is largely impractical;

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vibrant tourist town" (Gordon, 2012). The designation of Lunenburg as a UNESCO World Heritage Site is a highlight of Mawhinney's 33-year mayoral term. In a 2003 interview Mawhinney asserts: "[UNESCO designation] has opened the door for so many possibilities for the town [...] It was an opportunity to learn more about our world and the connections that we can forge" (Dobson, 2003).

> Since the late 18th century the offshore fishery has been the foundation of the local economy, [finding] steady markets in the West Indies, particularly Puerto Rico. The result in the mid 19th century was a "boom of splendid proportions" (*Lunenburg Progress,* 1888). Shipbuilding, a component of the town's vocation since the late 18th century, grew in step with the fishery;
>
> The building stock of Lunenburg's Old Town represents two-and-one-half centuries of evolution and a remarkable historic continuity. There was a unity and cohesiveness to be found in the town: it was relatively densely built, buildings were clad in wooden clapboards or shingles, and many were painted in bright colours with accented trim. Most buildings were of similar scale and oriented to the harbour. (Department of Canadian Heritage, 1994: 3-10)

Since 1972, UNESCO seeks to encourage the protection and preservation of cultural and natural heritage around the world (UNESCO, 2020a). Considered to be of 'outstanding value to humanity', Lunenburg's historic Old Town was awarded UNESCO World Heritage District status on December 6, 1995 and remains one of only two urban communities in North America designated as a UNESCO Site, along with Vieux-Québec. The economic implications of this newly awarded status were not undermined. Indeed, in many cases, UNESCO designation forms the building blocks of a new social and economic system (VanBlarcom & Kayahan, 2011). Effectively seizing an opportunity for economic revitalization while many of the region's coastal rural communities were forced to consider diversification strategies or face socioeconomic deterioration, Binkley (2000a) suggests,

> [t]he parallel decline of the fisheries and the rise of tourism have resulted in a more massive and rapid economic and social restructuring of Lunenburg than if these events had occurred separately. (Binkley, 2000a: 5)

Indeed, Lunenburg's town council intended to benefit from new economic development through "international marketing, increased tourism, new cultural industries, and rejuvenation of local business and industry" (Graham, 1998: 3). The town's capacity to meet challenges and embrace opportunities, while actively engaging in Lunenburg's economic renewal through such industries as the arts, aerospace,

information technology and tourism is, more recently, heralded by Lunenburg Heritage Society as an inherited tradition of "resilience in the midst of changing social and economic tides" (LHS, 2020). Nevertheless, because tourism has held an important place in the province's socioeconomic landscape for over a century, this economic transition has been more of a shift in focus than a radical transformation.

Along with neighbouring Atlantic provinces and the state of Maine, Nova Scotia has been revered as a seaside destination since the mid-1800s drawing affluent seasonal summertime visitors from Toronto, Montréal, Boston, New York and the New England states. In fact, no point in Nova Scotia is more than sixty-seven kilometers from the Atlantic Ocean, and recognition of the value of the region's many beaches and beautiful coastal areas has led to the active pursuit of tourism promotion from the early 20th century (Chesworth, 2016; George et al., 2009; McKay, 1994). For example, the slogan 'Canada's Ocean Playground' has been imprinted on provincial vehicle plates since 1923. Indeed, with the exception of Halifax's urban experiences, heritage attractions and cultural sites draw tourists to rural places throughout the province and, as such, much of Nova Scotia tourism "lends itself to alternative tourism as opposed to mass market, motorcoach, resort or cruise ship tourism" (Chesworth, 2016: 83). Rural tourism in Nova Scotia is comprised of small-scale facilities and small, family-operated businesses dominated by traditional and conservative cultures, with limited economic leakage as much of the benefit results in direct payments to service providers (Chesworth, 2016). Therefore, building upon an established albeit limited provincial tourism industry, UNESCO World Heritage designation was expected to increase visitation and tourism revenues in Lunenburg, specifically. Indeed, while the ability of Nova Scotia to attract new visitors has been declining in past decades, tourism in Lunenburg has expanded following the 1995 designation (Kayahan & VanBlarcom, 2012; VanBlarcom & Kayahan, 2011).

Kayahan and VanBlarcom (2012) estimate that visitation increased by 6.2 percent annually due to World Heritage Site designation, with the average annual number of visitors to Lunenburg, during the 1999-2008 period, exceeding 400,000. Developing a global profile as a cultural tourism destination, Lunenburg is recognized by Destination Management Organizations (DMOs), such as Tourism Nova Scotia and Destination Canada, as a prominent attraction, effectively capitalizing upon the town's UNESCO status. Describing the town's unique cultural heritage, UNESCO states:

> Old Town Lunenburg is the best surviving example of planned British colonial settlement in North America. Established in 1753, it has retained its original layout and overall appearance, based on a rectangular grip pattern drawn up in the home country. The inhabitants have managed to safeguard the city's identity throughout the centuries by preserving the wooden architecture of the houses, some of which date from the 18th century and constitute an excellent example of a sustained vernacular architectural tradition. Its economic basis has traditionally been the offshore Atlantic fishery, the future of which is highly questionable at the present time. (UNESCO, 2020b)

Achieving Lunenburg's UNESCO status was a deliberate and, subsequently, successful effort to generate significant social and economic impacts. As such, UNESCO designation in Lunenburg is considered a "place-making catalyst: […] using heritage as a tool to develop powerful identities for places and to initiate actions for making fundamental changes to places [...]" (Research Consulting Ltd & Trends Business Research Ltd, 2009, in Kayahan & VanBlarcom, 2012: 252). Tourism development and marketing efforts position Lunenburg as "A Living History Museum without walls", offering a high-quality experience and targeting "high-yield, lower volume tourism" (Graham, 1998: 45-48). Indeed, Lunenburg's cultural tourists "spend more dollars and generally stay longer" than other traveler types, and tend to have higher average household incomes, higher levels of education and are more likely to have managerial or professional occupations (George, 2006: 263). Lunenburg's commercial tourism venues play largely to the maritime theme, selling model dories at gift shops, promoting lobster lunches, encouraging tours onboard Bluenose II and other converted

fishing vessels, and providing accommodation in renovated sea captains' houses (Campbell, 2008). Among Lunenburg's top cultural activities, visitors are encouraged to explore the Fisheries Museum of the Atlantic, check out a festival, take a sip at Ironworks Distillery, eat seafood, and visit its many National Historic Sites (Simpson, 2017).

Driven by economic opportunity and embracing change when faced with 'uncontrollable external forces', the development of Lunenburg into an international cultural tourism destination has been intended to nurture Lunenburg for Lunenburgers; "such development must not be at the expense of community life" (Graham, 1998: 35). However, it is widely understood that the international tourism industry can be a double-edged sword, paradoxically harming the very assets that attract visitors in the first place and, simultaneously, producing negative impacts on societies. Ideally, governance, strategic planning, public policy, and ongoing and collaborative management are undertaken in an effort to ensure the quality of experience for visitors while mitigating negative side-effects by protecting residential areas, reinforcing the year-round viability of retail and commercial functions and, ultimately, ensuring that tourism does not conflict with the host community (Graham, 1998). Nevertheless, Lunenburg's relative success as an international cultural tourism destination is coupled with multiple underlying challenges which threaten the town's social fabric – the connections amongst peoples, place, pasts and futures – and, ultimately, the sustainability of the community. In conjunction with cultural tourism development following the Atlantic fisheries crisis, demographic shifts as well as multiple forms of human mobility have shaped, and continue to re-shape, the socio-cultural fabric of the town.

1.2 Lunenburg community profile

In 1753, 1453 German-speaking 'foreign Protestants' were resettled by British Colonials to the site of where the community of Mirliguèche[5] was established, displacing Mi'kmaq and Acadian peoples that had been inhabiting the area. The first British settlement in Nova Scotia outside of Halifax, the Town of Lunenburg is located on an isthmus at the base of the Fairhaven peninsula, jutting eastward towards the Atlantic Ocean and bordered, to the south and the north, by the front and back harbours. The site for Lunenburg was chosen "for its defensible peninsula, protected harbour, and moderately tillable land – a rarity on the Atlantic shore" (Campbell, 2008: 71). Ignoring the elevation of the landscape, the town of Lunenburg was planned according to the standardized British model: "a rigid gridiron plat was superimposed over the slope of the steep hill which ascends from the front harbour" (Department of Canadian Heritage, 1994: 08). This plan consisted of "mathematically precise streets, house lots, garden lots and farm lots for settlers", and industrial and commercial zones were designated close to the harbour (Campbell, 2008). The town was described in 1795 as:

> nearly a square, about a quarter of a mile long and something less the other way, lying about north-west to South East, in Streets crossing others at right angles along the Head of the Harbour. (Department of Canadian Heritage, 1994: 08)

Early settlers subsisted on lumbering and farming activities, and it wasn't until the late 19th century that the town became a profitable site for fishing and boatbuilding (Binkley, 2000a; Campbell, 2008). Due to the preserved colonial grid plan and geographical constraints, the site's expansion has been limited, extending only westward into the area known as New Town throughout the 19th and 20th centuries. As

[5] Alternate spellings for the place name include Mirligueche, Merliguesche, Merliguèche, Merligouèche, etc., and may or may not be capitalized.

a result, the population of the town has never surpassed 3000 inhabitants, equivalent to approximately double the original settler population (Thurston, 1995).

1.2.1 Socioeconomic and demographic trends

Lunenburg's permanent year-round population has been slowly declining since the time of the Atlantic fisheries crisis in the early 1990s. The most recent census finds that 2,263 residents inhabit the town with a median age of 56 years – well above the provincial median age of 46 years. While the area of the town is quite small covering just over four square kilometers, population density is relatively high, situated at 506 residents per square kilometer, comparable to that of an urban centre. At a broader scale, an ageing population with stagnated overall growth is a pattern that has been marking the province for decades, especially in rural areas. Indeed, recording a total population of 923,598 in 2016, Nova Scotia has one of the oldest age profiles of the Canadian provinces, second only to that of Newfoundland and Labrador (Ivany et al., 2014; Statistics Canada, 2017). Furthermore, the population is highly rural with 43 percent of Nova Scotians living outside of urban centres and, as such, population distribution differs significantly from the national rate of 19 percent rurality (Ivany et al., 2014). Several indicators have been selected from Statistics Canada's recent and archived community profile data and compiled to demonstrate pertinent socioeconomic and demographic trends within the Town of Lunenburg[6]. The following four tables offer a glimpse into the evolution of Lunenburg's socioeconomic and demographic profile over the past twenty to twenty-five years as it relates to population trends, private dwelling characteristics, labour force activity and education attainment.

[6] This data is intended to provide an overview of socioeconomic and demographic trends. Data has been compiled and, in some cases, calculated manually. Numbers have been rounded and some values may not be extremely accurate. However, this does not interfere with the objective related to the presentation of these figures.

Table 1.1: Population profile, Town of Lunenburg (1991-2016)

	1991	1996	2001	2006	2011	2016
Total pop.	2,781	2,599	2,568	2,317	2,312	2,263
Median age	--	--	46.7	50.5	52.8	56.1
0 to 14 years	--	15.4 %	14.4 %	12.1 %	10.6 %	11.5 %
15 to 64 years	--	57.1 %	58.1 %	58.8 %	58.3 %	53.2 %
65 years and over	--	27.5 %	27.5 %	29.1 %	31.1 %	35.1 %

Source: Statistics Canada (2002; 2005; 2007; 2012; 2017)

Table 1.1, above, presents the population profile since 1991. The total population in town has been dropping consistently since 1991, with the greatest decrease occurring between 1991 and 1996 following the Atlantic fisheries crisis. Simultaneously, the proportion of residents aged 65 years and over continues to grow while the proportion of the working age population has, more recently, been dropping, representing slightly over 50 percent of total residents in 2016.

Consistent with shrinking population trends, both the number of occupied private dwellings and the average household size have decreased from the base 1996 levels, however, have leveled off in recent years. Otherwise, most private dwelling occupancy trends have only fluctuated slightly between the period from 1996 to 2016. Nevertheless, the dramatic increase in average value of owned dwellings reflects a 178 percent growth in property value during the 20-year period. This increase is slightly greater than the rate of growth observed at the provincial level, however, the actual value of owned dwellings has been, and continues to be, significantly higher than the provincial average. Indeed, the discrepancy in average value of occupied dwellings between Town of Lunenburg and provincial rates has increased, reaching a period high of 31.0 percent in 2011 and, subsequently, returning to a lower inconsistency. In 2016, property values in Lunenburg remain 17.7 percent higher than the provincial average.

Table 1.2, presented below, outlines the evolution in characteristics of occupied dwellings.

Table 1.2: Private dwelling characteristics, Town of Lunenburg (1996-2016)

	1996	2001	2006	2011	2016
Total private dwellings occupied by usual residents	1,105	1,080	988	1,040	1,040
Average household size	2.2	--	2.2	2.0	2.0
Rented dwellings	405	385	350	385	365
Owned dwellings	705	695	635	645	675
Single and semi-detached houses	69.2 %	--	75.2 %	72.1 %	72.6 %
Apartments	27.6 %	--	24.2 %	26.9 %	26.0 %
Average value of owned dwelling (CAD)	97,417 $	125,548 $	196,782 $	264,555 $	271,266 $
Average value of owned dwellings, NS(CAD)	86,568 $	101,515 $	158,000 $	201,991 $	230,441 $

Source: Statistics Canada (2002; 2005; 2007; 2012; 2017)

Labour force activity trends within the town of Lunenburg have fluctuated during the examined period. The total working age population dropped significantly between 1996 and 2011, however, has since risen, somewhat, and leveled off. Employment rate has fluctuated near the 50 percent mark and has most recently fallen to the 1996 level of 45.5 percent. As for the rate of unemployment, 1996 is the most problematic year after which levels dropped to between 8.3 and 10.4 percent. However, unemployment has risen since 2006, and in 2016 touched 11.7 percent of the workforce. Table 1.3, presented on the next page, outlines labour force activity.

Table 1.3: Labour force activity, Town of Lunenburg (1996-2016)

	1996	2001	2006	2011	2016
Participation rate	53.3%	56.1%	53.7%	56.7%	51.5%
Employment rate	45.5%	50.7%	49.0%	50.8%	45.5%
Unemployment rate	14.9%	9.6%	8.3%	10.4%	11.7%
Total pop. 15 years and over	2,075	1,330	1,910	1,860	1,825

Source: Statistics Canada (2002; 2005; 2007; 2012; 2017)

In general, Lunenburgers 15 years of age and over have become more educated than they were in 1996. Significantly, the proportion of residents with no postsecondary accreditation was above 45 percent until 2011, at which time this level dropped to approximately 37 percent and remained as such in 2016. Simultaneously, while the rate of university education has fluctuated somewhat, there is an upward trend and the actual number of residents having completed university education has risen consistently during the twenty-year period. Indeed, 70 percent more residents have completed university education in 2016 as compared with the 1996 level. The final table, presented below, outlines rates of education attainment for residents in town.

Table 1.4: Education attainment, Town of Lunenburg (1996-2016)

	1996	2001	2006	2011	2016
No postsecondary certificate, diploma or degree rate	49.9%	45.5%	45.0%	37.4%	37.0%
Non-university certificate or diploma[7] *rate*	36.6%	30.5%	35.9%	39.5%	37.3%
University certificate, diploma or degree rate	13.3%	24.1%	19.1%	23.1%	25.8%
Total pop. 15 years and over	2,075	1,330	1,910	1,860	1,825

Source: Statistics Canada (2002; 2005; 2007; 2012; 2017)

[7] Including attainment of university certificates and diplomas below the bachelor's degree level.

Lunenburg has evolved through the strong bonds of ethnic isolation, with Germanic influences and traditions emanating through language, architecture, cuisine and work ethic. For generations, a fairly consistent population has evolved from the original settler families; however, globalization and economic downturn in the 1990s has been affecting that trend (Thurston, 1995). Indeed, the province, as a whole, has been experiencing a persistent trend to net out-migration since 1971, "as skilled workers and better-educated young people were drawn away to more attractive career opportunities elsewhere in Canada" (Ivany et al., 2014: 15). Furthermore, economic restructuring and the development of services-based employment opportunities has been an ongoing trend since the early 1990s, with the healthcare and social services sectors responsible for much of the change. Overall, the rate of low paying jobs rose significantly between 1988 and 2012 while the rate of high paying jobs rose minimally, thereby jeopardizing the standard of living in the province (Ivany et al., 2014). In 2018, Nova Scotia had the highest poverty rate in Canada, at 10.3 percent, compared to the national average of 8.7 percent. Furthermore, the 2018 figure represents a significant decrease from the previous year, dropping 2.5 percentage points from the 2017 provincial poverty rate (Storring, 2020).

The broad strokes of this socioeconomic and demographic portrait reveal ongoing trends including a shrinking and ageing population, significantly increasing real estate values, unstable yet relatively high unemployment as compared with the provincial and national rates, and an increasingly educated population. However, statistical data often provides limited insight into the restructuring of the social landscape given the difficulty in discerning mobility trends from these figures, including permanent and temporary migration, and tourism. Therefore, qualitative evidence will be primarily used, supported by some statistical data, in subsequent sections of this project to describe socio-spatial shifts related to human mobilities.

Among Nova Scotia's goals for developing a prosperous and sustainable future while reversing the trend of an aging and shrinking population are strategies designed to increase various forms of human mobility and in-migration. These include expanding regional and international immigration and retention, as well as tourism (Ivany et al., 2014). Indeed, recent statistics compiled by the Government of Nova Scotia demonstrate that the 2018-2019 period was Nova Scotia's strongest annual term for immigration since the WWII era, adding 6,393 immigrants and 4,121 non-permanent residents to the population (Storring, 2019). Whereas many of the above-noted trends coincide with socioeconomic and demographic evolution at the provincial level Lunenburg, nevertheless, stands apart according to the town's relative success as an international cultural tourism destination.

1.2.2 Tourism mobilities and migration

Nova Scotia's tourism marketing and development strategies aim to double the baseline 2014 annual tourism revenues to $4 billion in 2024, by attracting "more visitors, who spend more and stay longer", effectively echoing the Lunenburg World Heritage Community Strategy developed following UNESCO World Heritage designation (Ivany et al., 2014: 66). However, it appears there may be a set of unforeseen, or unmanageable, contingencies limiting tourism growth at the provincial scale. Indeed, the industry continues to stagnate, and 2019 statistics reveal a slight decline in most key areas including overnight visitation, licensed rooms sold and total gross revenue. Importantly, the expansion of unlicensed or so-called sharing economy platform room nights sold is an exception to the trend, representing an increase of 41 percent in 2019 as compared with the previous year (TNS, 2020b).

Among the challenges limiting growth, businesses and organizations in rural areas have difficulty finding local workers to take the low-wage, seasonal jobs which many employers offer, including tourism sector jobs. Indeed, the accommodations and food

services, as well as the arts, entertainment and recreation sectors, provide some of the least well-paying jobs, and labour shortages in rural areas are likely to become an increasing challenge as aging populations and out-migration of the working-age population contribute to a limited local workforce (Ivany et al., 2014). However, given Lunenburg's unique cultural heritage assets, visitation to the town outpaces the rate of tourism growth in the province. While reports differ in regard to visitation numbers given the relative opacity of tourism statistics, estimates vary between 300,000 and 400,000 visitors annually, travelling primarily during the warmer months from mid-May thru mid-September (Campbell, 2008; George & Reid, 2005; Kayahan & VanBlarcom, 2011).

While there is some concern regarding Lunenburg's physical and social capacity to absorb high rates of visitation, infrastructure has been adapting to accommodate the seasonal influx of mobile residents (Campbell, 2008). Public parking areas, seasonal high-end restaurants, cafés and bars, and numerous hospitality businesses make up the townscape, including 18 licensed B&Bs, inns and one hotel within the Old Town perimeter. Furthermore, Lunenburg accounts for the highest concentration of unlicensed Airbnb-type vacation rental units in Atlantic Canada, with over 100 short-term rental listings available in 2019 (SSHAC, 2019; TIANS, 2019; TNS, 2020c). In addition to seasonal tourists, Lunenburg has been experiencing a tide of seasonal residents from the United States, Europe and across Canada. Coming to live by the sea and enjoying small-town lifestyle, the many offshore home buyers represent "a veritable second wave of European immigrants, but this time they are rich and mobile" (Thurston, 1995: 5). Indeed, community makeup often becomes more complex as tourism destinations develop, including a mix of long-term residents, lifestyle migrants, business owners, alternative lifestyle followers and tourists (McIntyre, 2013: 201). Thus, appealing to a spectrum of traveller types including tourists, seasonal residents and, even, migrants, TNS promotes the South Shore experience as both typically Nova Scotian and able to satisfy a range of tastes:

> Whether it's solitude you seek or adventure you crave, a visit to this region will satisfy. It can be luxurious oceanside accommodations or back-country camping; lobster freshly plucked from the sea or spirits aged aboard a tall ship; strolling the white sand beaches or hiking the canopied forest trails, or maybe even all the above. Quintessential Nova Scotia awaits you here. (TNS, 2020a)

Idealized images may conflict with the lived reality in tourism destinations, and while the South Shore is a place that many people escape to, it is also that place that others escape from[8] (McIntyre, 2013; Widmer, 2000). Differential personal projects, in conjunction with the development of travel infrastructure and the creation of profound imaginaries through travel marketing, increasingly push and pull people to and away from places, worldwide. In an era of increased human mobilities, the voluntary mobility *and* fixity of long-term residents, as well as the expanding range of tourism destination migrants including retirees, second-home owners, lifestyle entrepreneurs and 'urban refugees', are driven by the desire for an enhanced quality of life (McIntyre, 2013). Indeed, the widespread re-valuing of rural life is, in some areas, counteracting urbanization and out-migration, as recent counterurbanization movements place lifestyle and natural amenity above, or at least on equal terms with, economic concerns (McIntyre, 2013). An earlier example of this phenomenon, as described by historian Ian McKay (1994), involves the 1970s influx of back-to-the-landers wherein a veritable revival of 'neo-pioneers' were drawn to Nova Scotia in search of a simple life and cheap land. Equipped with a vigorous theory of what was wrong with the industrialized world, and leaving a significant mark on political life, these new maritimers have adopted the land with love and admiration, impacting many facets of cultural life, including the arts[9] (Mckay, 1994).

[8] Lifestyle mobility, including experiences of moving *away from* Lunenburg County, is further explored in Chapter 4.

[9] The more recent influx of artists drawn to Lunenburg is discussed in Chapter 5.

More recently, the influx of newcomers to Lunenburg is conflated with creeping commercialism, and human mobilities are perceived to be eroding Lunenburg's community identity as traditional cultural mores lose their significance (George & Reid, 2005). Indeed, ongoing socioeconomic and migratory shifts are likely to bring with them new, and possibly conflicting, ideologies and cultural expressions. Nevertheless, strategies designed to increase regional and international immigration and retention, as well as tourism, are meant to enable Nova Scotians to 'reinvent ourselves', thereby overcoming the province's intrinsic conservative ideology and resistance to change (Ivany et al., 2014: 46). Ironically, cultural selection and production for tourism development in Nova Scotia has a legacy of subtly reinforcing pervasive antimodernist sentiments which may be affecting the province's capacity to contend with socioeconomic decline (Ivany et al., 2014; McKay, 1994).

1.3 Cultural selection and production for tourism

Lunenburg's UNESCO World Heritage Site designation and corresponding tourism industry development arose at a time when Nova Scotia had been experiencing generalized economic decline and a shift in demographics. Throughout the latter portion of the 20th century, the province has encountered a shrinking population along with the loss of young people and skilled workers to other provinces. Rural areas, currently home to nearly half of Nova Scotians, have been particularly impacted by the inability to effectively innovate and compete in the global marketplace. Since the 1990s, the success of Nova Scotia's traditional rural industries such as fisheries, agriculture, forestry, coal operations, steel, pulp and paper processing and, in some areas, tourism has been jeopardized by numerous factors and events leading to economic fragility. These include the collapse of ground fisheries, the closure of heavy industry operations, the reduction of travel following 9/11, ongoing outfall from the 2008-2009 global economic crisis, a relatively high Canadian dollar and, currently,

public health concerns and economic decline due to the ongoing global COVID-19[10] pandemic[11]. With globalization, technological innovation and environmental issues perceived as ongoing threats to Nova Scotia's economy, local culture and attitudes have, nevertheless, been attributed as the greatest barrier to pursuing economic growth (Ivany et al., 2014). In the 2014 Report of the Nova Scotia Commission on Building Our New Economy, it is suggested:

> It is time – perhaps well past time — for Nova Scotians in all regions of the province to set aside parochial attitudes and to address themselves to the task of building a stronger, more productive and competitive economy to lift the whole province. (Ivany et al., 2014: 28)

Attempting to undo what decades of cultural production has, perhaps, contributed to forging Nova Scotia into – a quaint, slow, haven – Ivany and Commissioners (2014) call for the province's residents to adopt a 'new attitude' in order to overcome sentiments pervading the collectivity including negativity, stigmatization of success and resistance to change. Indeed, as neoliberal ideals and practices of globalization, technological innovation and international trade swept societies of the global North throughout the 20th century, capitalist underdevelopment has resulted in Nova Scotia's economy lagging behind that of other Canadian provinces (George et al., 2009; Ivany et al., 2014; McKay, 1993; 1994). Paradoxically, creative cultural producers have been capitalizing upon material and immaterial cultural manifestations that have both evolved spontaneously and been actively contrived, including antimodernist and Folk culture 'assets'.

[10] The disease caused by a new coronavirus called SARS-CoV-2.

[11] To limit the spread of disease, all non-essential travel has been discouraged through a series of local and global mobility restrictions. For several months, international travel has slowed and nearly halted. Impacts of the global COVID-19 pandemic are discussed in Chapter 5.

1.3.1 The commodification of antimodernism and Folk culture

To some extent, poverty has helped to preserve the local and provincial landscape. In Lunenburg, economic downturn throughout the 20th century protected Victorian homes by removing incentive – and the possibility – for redevelopment, emphasizing instead rehabilitation to ensure their continued use (Campbell, 2008). Nevertheless, capitalism has the power to permeate all aspects of contemporary life and, ironically, Nova Scotia's antimodernist culture has been one of the province's greatest assets for international tourism. Indeed, the creation and celebration of an antimodernist Nova Scotia heritage for tourism dates back to the 1930s, commemorating "not just what actual tourists looked at, but what any *potential* tourist might find 'camera-worthy' and interesting" (McKay, 1993: 104 emphasis in original). The creation of Bluenose II, a replica of the original Bluenose and a memorial to the extremely valuable fishing and sailing fleets based in Lunenburg at the turn of the 20th century, is a case in point.

Effectively immortalizing the original Bluenose, Bluenose II is emblematic of the relationship between antimodernist cultural production and capital (Sullivan, 1996). The original wooden schooner, built in 1920 and internationally renowned for her speed, cargo capacity, seaworthiness and durability, was born out of a culture already showing signs of nostalgia for the late 19th century, through an industry resistant to technological change. As such, Bluenose was "a vessel which for all intents and purposes was obsolete before she was even built" (Sullivan, 1996: 22; Campbell, 2008). The tourism potential of Bluenose II[12] – commemorating the original while offering educational value, generating income through being available for sailing excursions along the coast to Halifax or further east to Sydney, and allowing Lunenburgers to show visitors a piece of their history – was realized at the time of her

[12] The economic potential for the replica was initially conceived of as twofold: in addition to tourism, Oland's Brewery, in Halifax, agreed to sponsor the replication and benefit from 'an ideal promotional symbol' for their new product, 'Schooner Beer' (Sullivan, 1996: 18).

creation in 1963, as Lunenburg's tourist figures expanded well beyond those of the previous year (Sullivan, 1996). More recently, Bluenose II has been the cornerstone of the province's tourism industry, acting as a 'roving ambassador' for Nova Scotia and fulfilling her 'marketing job' through promotional voyages throughout key North American tourism markets. Thus, Bluenose II symbolizes Nova Scotia's celebration of the past as well as the exploitation of sentimental value for commercial gain (Sullivan, 1996).

Capitalizing on sentimental value is an appealing and popular mechanism for stimulating rural economic growth. Indeed, rural tourism is framed by nostalgia, escapism and antimodernist romanticism and, as such, contrasts with the chaotic depthlessness of contemporary life (George et al., 2009; McKay, 1993). Targeting urban dwellers experiencing fast paced, mechanized, technological modes of work, as well as individualist lifestyles absent of cultural attachments, rural landscapes and communities are socially constructed as having a distinct culture and way of life, associated with simplicity, past times, childhood and, even, paradise (Dann, 1994 in George et al, 2009). Indeed, Nova Scotia is positioned as an idealized, innocent rural refuge for increasingly urbanized travellers and consumers. The province has been, and continues to be, portrayed through the selective and pervasive Folk framework as a quintessential "promised land of the Folk, handicrafts, and the simple life", thereby cancelling the effects of time and space and effectively cleansing itself of any visible signs of being a contemporary 20th [and 21st] century society (McKay, 1994: 274). McKay (1994) argues that the representation of Nova Scotian Folk culture has transformed people and places into static and passive resources for exchange in the international marketplace. Indeed, the production of Folk culture has been

> a search for profits. The Folk were produced for and in a booming international market for things primitive in the interwar period. After the Second World War, the Canadian Folk revival was on in earnest, fanned by tourism, promoted by

> the CBC and funded by the National Museum. The formula was international, the raw materials and cultural entrepreneurs local. (McKay, 1994: 276)

The 'tourism state'-led cultural production of 20th century Nova Scotia, including the strategic creation of Bluenose II as well as the more insidious manifestations of the Folk framework, has had a massive and pervasive impact on social life. Emanating from a powerfully positioned standpoint, the self-appointed mediators of culture are identified as white, middle-class, educated and often Halifax-based citizens and groups designing Nova Scotia's past, present and future, eventually legitimated and institutionalized by the state apparatus and private interests (Hollinshead, 2009b; McKay, 1994). By creating cultural forms while denying others, the state not only selects, but generates and governs culture thus influencing what both visitors and locals come to see as being Nova Scotian, aesthetically colonizing the artisans of the country and coasts (Hollinshead, 2009b). As particular views of life and ways of living are endorsed as being natural and proper, antimodernist Folk culture has seeped into multiple cultural forms in Nova Scotia, including literature, paintings, musical productions, handicraft representation, culinary expressions and the like. Following Dobbs (1986), "Nova Scotia is a province that is becoming more itself in every decade" that is, more like its created and reimagined self (McKay, 1994: 274; Hollinshead, 2009b). As opposed to sustaining cultural continuity, through this metamorphosis process a society sheds its former existence while a new society emerges (George et al., 2009).

For nearly a century, a legacy of cultural selection and production for tourism in Nova Scotia has been transforming and reconstructing culture through a consumer value system. Indeed, facets of antimodernist preservation seamlessly slip into the escalated objectification of culture and heritage through tourism, accelerating the commodification of things intended to be protected as authentic (Hollinshead, 2009b). Arguably, this process has been expedited in Lunenburg following the 1995 UNESCO designation for which the town gained much status and prestige, placing it on the global

stage. With tourism becoming the dominant force driving planning and development in the community, the town is likened to a ‘museum without walls’, a ‘stage on which to perform for paying tourists’, transforming dynamic places and subjectivities into static and passive resources (George et al, 2009; McKay, 1994).

Through a ‘death and rebirth process’, Lunenburg’s living culture continues to be transformed through economic processes that epitomize postmodernity (George et al., 2009; McKay, 1994). Indeed, the commodification of culture erodes the distinction between locally embedded, spontaneous cultural evolution and cultural heritage created to satisfy consumer needs, blurring the boundary between the original and the copy, the inside and the outside (George et al., 2009; McKay, 1994). Through cultural production for tourism, the image of society becomes the commodity, giving rise to a ‘culture of simulacrum’ in which authenticity is converted into an object of exchange value (George et al., 2009; McKay, 1994). This process of cultural production for tourism continues to transform Lunenburg’s socioeconomic and cultural landscape.

1.3.2 Gentrification and precarious employment

The promotion and institutionalization of cultural representations and imaginaries have enabled real estate agencies, tourism developers and local entrepreneurs to capitalize upon Lunenburg’s UNESCO World Heritage status. Products and services targeting fairly affluent groups are marketed to travellers, second-home buyers, new residents and business owners from outside the local area. Campbell (2008) highlights the potential for worldwide recognition to create “a hierarchy or rivalry between local history and international significance, between community memory and external expectation”, noting the irony of globalization in enabling international heritage tourism to exploit the local (Campbell, 2008: 79). Indeed, increasing sales to international buyers along with opportunities for transforming waterfront areas,

heritage dwellings and buildings into upscale inns, B&Bs and short-term rentals, restaurants, art galleries and shops have contributed to inflated prices.

Researchers have observed that substantially inflated property values and taxes have led the value of real property to effectively outstrip the wealth of the community (Binkley, 2000a; George et al, 2009). Furthermore, due to the preserved colonial grid plan and topographical constraints, (sub)urban sprawl, especially during the post-WWII era, has never been possible and, increasingly, locals and first-time homeowners cannot afford to live in Old Town[13]. As a result, demographics have shifted according to such socio-spatial patterns as the arrival of a different class of affluent exurbanites and retired residents, the relocation elsewhere of fishing families selling their homes, and the relegation to the periphery of younger people. As a result, the town's economic and social equilibrium has effectively been destabilized (Binkley, 2000a; Campbell, 2008; George et al., 2009).

The distribution of wealth has been changing dramatically through a process of rural gentrification according to "contested social dynamics of spatial appropriation amongst actors and groups with uneven access to resources"[14] (Chabrol et al., 2015: 25 freely translated). Paradoxically, the community has shifted from an historically gainful primary resources-based fishing economy to a comparatively less generous services-based tourism economy, in order to attend to the new and different needs of temporary and permanent residents with relatively high disposable income (Binkley, 2000a). The recent dependency on cultural resources consists of supplying services, cultural goods and experiences requiring the simultaneous production and consumption for tourism to

[13] Moreover, the 2016 Housing Needs Assessment finds that 76% of survey respondents perceive a housing affordability problem in the Town of Lunenburg; 40% of both renters and homeowners in town are unable to afford median shelter costs; 59% of renters feel their rents are expensive or above average; and 42% of respondents believe that non-resident ownership is a barrier to meeting housing needs in town (SSHAC, 2016).

[14] Freely translated from the original French: "rapport social d'appropriation de l'espace mettant aux prises des acteurs et des groupes inégalement dotés" (Chabrol et al., 2016: 25).

take place within the community landscape. This type of development is akin to the process of enclavization in which "global capitalism and a non-locally-driven neoliberal market economy" unevenly control access to spaces designed for tourists at the exclusion of local groups (Saarinen, 2017: 426). Whereas the physical boundaries of Lunenburg's tourism spaces are blurry given the integration within the community landscape of cultural tourism activities, tourism spaces are, nevertheless, differentiated at the experiential level. Indeed, while contemporary consumers experience tourism spaces through their engagement in cultural activities as leisure, the host community engages in the same tourism activities as work (George & Reid, 2005).

Arguably, employment opportunities have been degraded, with tourism employment typically lacking career-advancement and high-end opportunities, providing low-paying, seasonal, servile and non-unionized jobs for an unskilled labour force (Binkley, 2000a; George et al., 2009; McKay, 1994). Indeed, Binkley (2000a) points to the feminization and relative precarity of tourism employment (while subtly reinforcing such work as being 'primarily for women'), noting,

> these new jobs, associated with the service sector, are fundamentally different from [fishers'] previous employment. […] Many of the people laid off from the fishery have low educational levels. The jobs available to them in the tourist sector tend to be seasonal, part-time/split shift work at minimum wage and are primarily for women. Moreover, there is little or no new employment available in the area during the winter months. This transformation of employment opportunities, and the de-skilling and feminisation of work have exacerbated the economic problems facing fishing families and other long-term residents. (Binkley, 2000a: 6)

Operating under a different set of principles, requiring a distinct set of skills and offering lower-paying employment, George, Mair and Reid (2009) look to a 'bleak and unpromising future' for youth wishing to live and work in tourism-dependent Lunenburg. Similarly, a recent comprehensive community plan project proposal acknowledges the need to attract and retain tourism industry staff, while pointing to a

lack of housing available to them due to the accommodation of tourists (Upland, 2018). Indeed, socio-spatial imbalances in wealth distribution, viable employment opportunities and affordable housing are transforming the landscape. Consequently, cultural sustainability in Lunenburg, and across tourism destinations worldwide, is a critical challenge in the 21st century.

The importance of protecting cultural heritage is abundantly clear; without culture there may be no tourism (George et al., 2009). However, the transformation of culture into an intangible asset for tourism challenges its traditional function. Indeed, culture is deeply embedded in the history and development of community and helps to ensure community continuity. Culture is also a living, changing and adapting community identity and, in some sense, the ongoing evolution of Lunenburg's social fabric according to recent cultural manifestations through art, craft, morals, policies and customs defies tourism's propensity to freeze a community in time and space[15] (George & Reid, 2005). Nevertheless, Lunenburg's ongoing cultural evolution has been "[placed] into the hands of a new and transplanted entrepreneurial class, consuming travelling public and market forces", as seasonal tourists and second-home owners visiting the town significantly outnumber local residents (George & Reid, 2005: 96). Protecting culture, therefore, requires placing the host community at the center of tourism development so that culture may evolve "and develop naturally and not [be] determined by outside influences or economic imperatives" (George et al., 2009: 124). Still, facilitating localized cultural evolution outside and beyond the confines of global capitalism is highly challenging given that tourism functions as a worldmaking force, shaping people's lives and living places through processes of multi-scalar ordering. Indeed, tourism plays a powerful role in the making of worlds, cultures, peoples and places, propelling the commodification of virtually everything and increasingly flexible in its pursuit of profit (Hollinshead et al., 2009).

[15] Contrasting versions and visions of culture in Lunenburg are discussed in Chapter 5.

The opening sections of this chapter portray the dynamic socio-spatial transformations that have been taking place in the Town of Lunenburg following the Atlantic fisheries crisis and in conjunction with concurrent development as an international cultural tourism destination facilitated by UNESCO World Heritage Site status. Social sciences and humanities research supporting the development of the research context include key contributions by anthropologist Marian Binkley (1996; 2000a; 2000b), historian Ian McKay (1993; 1994), and sustainable development and tourism researcher E. Wanda George (2006), along with her collaborators (George & Reid, 2005; George et al., 2009), most notably. However, this localized area of inquiry has not been engaged with extensively in recent years despite ongoing socio-spatial transformation. Thus, adopting an interdisciplinary lens and focusing on the concept of tourism as work, the following section outlines the research problem thereby establishing the exploratory research agenda for this master's thesis. Finally, in conclusion to Chapter 1, the research questions guiding this project are presented and the goals and intended contributions of this qualitative tourism research are outlined.

1.4 Research problem

Tourism is an immense international business. The industry is comprised of a broad network of economic activities spanning the globe and impacting societies and landscapes worldwide. In 2019, travel and tourism accounted for 10.3 percent of global Gross Domestic Product (GDP), contributing $8.9 trillion USD to the world's GDP and producing one in ten jobs, worldwide, directly and indirectly related to the industry (WTTC, 2020a). International overnight visitation grew by nearly 4 percent in 2019 as compared with the previous year, with tourism destinations worldwide receiving approximately 1.5 billion visitors in 2019. Since the 2008-2009 global economic crisis, annual international overnight visitation has increased on average by 5.1 percent, with growth occurring in many regions of the world. Indeed, international tourism has

outpaced global GDP, reflecting the sector's resilience and potential. As a result, prior to the sudden and unanticipated onset of the global COVID-19 pandemic in 2020, the United Nations World Tourism Organization (UNWTO) projections for the 2020 travel and tourism industry forecast continual, annual growth in international tourism, in the range of 3-4 percent more visitors (UNWTO, 2019b). However, it remains to be seen if, when and how the international tourism industry rebounds following the ongoing global COVID-19 pandemic.

Comprised of a highly fragmented, constellation-like assemblage of interconnected actors, the wide range of businesses and organizations providing tourism-related services include operations of hospitality, food and beverage, transportation of all types, events and festivals, touring and guiding, marketing, and governance. Amongst the contingencies leading to the proliferation of tourism-based jobs in recent decades, the widespread transitioning from manufacturing and primary resources extraction to services-based economies in the global North has contributed to massive expansion of the rate of tourism production and consumption since the late 20th century (George et al., 2009; McDowell, 2009). Indeed, a complex series of factors has led to the deindustrialization of rural regions in Canada during the past few decades including technological advances, increased awareness of the devastating environmental impacts related to resources extraction, and increasing competition in the global marketplace (for a detailed account of post-WWII economic restructuring in rural Canada, see George et al, 2009). As a result, tourism development in rural and peripheral regions is commonly perceived as a strategy for economic diversification and growth, with the creation of jobs often revered as amongst the primary positive impacts of such development (George et al., 2009; Zampoukos & Ioannides, 2011).

Tourism management and economic approaches have dominated tourism labour research for several decades, drawing largely from a scientific-positivist paradigm. Biases in favour of the hospitality industry are demonstrated to be the result of

academic researchers' keen interest in human resources management, as well as their connection to business and hospitality management programs. Indeed, the production of practical knowledge focusing primarily on human resources issues in tourism and hospitality, as well as the economic impacts of job creation and employment, overshadows the intricacies and the complexities of tourism work and workers (Ladkin, 2011; Zampoukos & Ioannides, 2011). Moreover, the production of biased research is also due to the tendency for the hotel and restaurant sectors to be unambiguously tourism related, often categorized within national industrial classification systems. By contrast, many of the sectors contributing to the production of tourism experiences require workers to undertake activities, roles and responsibilities which are not clearly tourism-based (Zampoukos & Ioannides, 2011). As such, based upon the UNWTO's (2019a) most recent categorization of contemporary tourism's four key industries – platforms and technology, hotels and accommodation, tour operators, and community-based tourism – it is inherently difficult to understand the nature and the practices of tourism work and workers.

To uncover the intricacies and complexities of tourism work and workers, tourism research is placed within a wider theoretical context. Conceptualized by Lapointe and Coulter (2020) as a set of entangled threads, tourism is a powerful force making, de-making and re-making space and places; (im)mobilizing bodies that both consume and are consumed by tourism; and exploiting digital technologies that facilitate both the commodification of places and bodies, as well as the internalization of dominant economic rationale. Through these various processes, tourism relies upon the reproduction of social and spatial inequality (Lapointe & Coulter, 2020). Indeed, tourism research is multi- or inter-disciplinary, relating to human mobility, to embodied differences such as gender, race, age and so forth, to the concept of tourism as work, and to the worldmaking capacity of tourism. Thus, focusing on the production and manufacture of tourism experiences, tourism is henceforth understood as "the

continuous becoming of commercialized space in which experiences embedded in nexuses of mobilities are the products on offer" (Ek & Hultman, 2008: 224).

The tourism industry implicates an oftentimes subordinate workforce in a range of activities leading to the provision of leisure experiences. Moreover, waged tourism work takes place within an increasingly vast array of spaces and places, both physical and digital (for examinations of digital tourismscapes, see Ek & Hultman, 2008; Roelofsen & Minca, 2018). Indeed, through neoliberal economization beginning in the 1980s, numerous activities, services and relationships which existed previously outside the realm of economic exchange continue to become privatized and commodified (Brown, 2015; Lapointe et al., 2018; Lapointe & Coulter, 2020; McDowell, 2009; Veijola, 2009b). As increasing and increasingly diverse services and experiences are integrated into advanced capitalist economies, contemporary cultures are marked by the passage from worker to consumer societies (Bauman, 1998; Cohen et al., 2013; McDowell, 2009). Two fundamental characteristics of consumer services include: 1) the co-presence of both worker and consumer at the time of exchange; and 2) perishability, requiring the simultaneous production and consumption of an oftentimes immaterial product which cannot be stored for later usage. As a result, a series of new features of contemporary post-industrial service economies are emerging.

Firstly, the workforce is increasingly diverse, attributed largely to the remarkable feminization of the contemporary workforce. Implications of this shift include new work terms and conditions that apply to women as well as to economic migrants, which differ from the typical nine-to-five schedule and lifelong career attachment of Fordist-era jobs. Indeed, women tend to be employed in low-wage servicing jobs on a part-time basis, working in small, sometimes unorganized workplaces, as well as in other people's homes. Furthermore, with increased demand for such service jobs as working in leisure spaces, doing cleaning and providing child or pet care, employers tend to lack

loyalty to their workforce, treating workers as disposable and easily replaceable (McDowell, 2009).

Secondly, waged work is becoming more precarious. The co-presence, simultaneity and perishability of service work restrict the possibility for significant productivity gains given the high consumer to worker ratio. Indeed, a service worker frequently tends to the needs of as few as one single consumer at a time (e.g. taxi driver). As a result, cost reduction strategies implemented by businesses and employers include reducing work hours and increasing the flexibility of worker schedules. Moreover, the regulation and control of such work is degraded and increasingly decentralized, as membership of trade unions and professional associations continues on a downward trajectory (McDowell, 2009). An extreme outcome of these trends is the advent of zero-hour contracts in which workers are "kept on call but given no guaranteed hours, and paid only for the hours that they work" (Frayne, 2016: 241).

Thirdly, many services as well as the bodies of the people providing them are becoming commodified through the mechanisms of consumer capitalism, drawing into the realm of economic exchange activities and relationships previously relegated to the private sphere (Brown, 2015; Goodman, 2013; McDowell, 2009; Veijola, 2009b). Indeed, many types of service work resemble relational exchanges that were previously undertaken for 'love' within the home, the family or the local community; not for wages (Goodman, 2013; McDowell, 2009; Roelofsen, 2018). These transactions rely upon worker emotions, personality and style – embodied performances – as integral components of the immaterial product being sold (McDowell, 2009; Veijola, 2009a). Furthermore, the lowest quality and lowest status service work is disproportionately undertaken by women, economic migrants and young people, including men, producing a social division of labour (Ladkin, 2011; McDowell, 2009; UNWTO, 2019a; Veijola, 2009b). This feminized, precarious and performative labour, characteristic of late capitalist consumer economies, is variously theorized as

'emotional labour' (Hochschild, 1983), 'affective labour' (Hardt, 1999), and 'new work' (Veijola & Jokinen, 2008).

The provision of tourism experiences is emblematic of consumer service work. Indeed, tourism encounters involve embodied, face-to-face exchanges and transactions between guests and hosts, between tourists and workers. The culturally feminized nature of tourism labour requires both men and women working in this sector to perform emotional labour, aesthetics, and domestic tasks such as hostessing, cooking and cleaning; a series of practices and activities heretofore relegated to the private sphere of home. Moreover, through the commodification and reproduction of the intimacy and care of conventional arrangements between the sexes, tourism workers are both produced by, and producers of, affects in relational transactions. In the context of post-industrial service work, both gender and work are performances and part of what is being produced (Veijola, 2009a; see also Gopi, 2017).

Through the production of experiences, images and affects, tourism work is becoming a significant set of social and material relations. Indeed, the value of tourism experiences is measured by consumers' intangible feelings of wellbeing, satisfaction, excitement and even a sense of community. Highlighting the nature of work when experiences and services are that which is being produced, Veijola (2009b) draws upon Foucault (1997), remarking,

> Labour is not mere duration or time spent on the job when the product of it is a social relation or an experience of an affect, but a much more complex issue of organizing the relations between life, labour and capital. (Veijola, 2009b: 110)

Moreover, all interactive service work is place-specific, and each relationship between consumer and producer is tied to the location where the exchange takes places (McDowell, 2009). Tourism experiencescapes can be broadly categorized as either enclave or heterogeneous tourism spaces.

Tourism enclaves are places of encampment and seclusion such as all-inclusive resorts, cruise ships, theme parks, wildlife parks, golf courses and other segregated leisure zones (Ek, 2016; Minca, 2009; Pagliarin, 2017). Within these artificial and contrived landscapes life, culture and feelings are planned, managed and put on display through architectural and design techniques, scheduled activities, staff uniforms and the like (Edensor, 2001; Minca, 2009). The extraordinary and even superficial tourism experiences occurring in such 'non-places' are relatively detached from the rest of 'society', providing both workers and consumers an escape from ordinary working life, from the mundane, and from the rules that apply to the outside world (Edensor, 2001; Ek, 2016; Minca, 2009). The workers within such staged tourism attractions are likened to professional actors or 'cast members', pointing to the deeply performative nature of the tourism experience. Both workers and guests engage in a series of normative, playful encounters within a highly planned and managed setting (Edensor, 2001; Pagliarin, 2017).

Of particular interest here, heterogeneous tourism spaces develop within living communities and, as such, are socially and spatially regulated to varying degrees (George et al., 2009; Saarinen, 2017). Characterized by the blurred boundaries between leisure, labour and citizenship, in such places a range of both personal and professional activities slip into the realm of tourism (Gibson, 2009; Lapointe & Coulter, 2020; Rose et al., 2019; Saarinen, 2017; Tesfahuney & Schough, 2016). Facilitating this phenomenon, the advent of the sharing economy is propelling the integration of tourism activities into ordinary, everyday places and activities. The sharing economy is "a digitally based economy that putatively grants 'consumers' temporary access to each other's 'under-utilized assets'" enabling, most notably, the peer-to-peer exchange of tourism accommodations through online platforms such as Airbnb (Roelofsen, 2018: 24). Through this type of tourism production, the distinction between what is and is not work, when one is or is not working, and where work does and does not take place is progressively blurred (Roelofsen, 2018).

Within contemporary decentralized and unregulated tourism economies, everyday embodied performances and ordinary spaces are becoming objects of tourist consumption (McDowell, 2009; Roelofsen, 2018; Roelofsen & Minca, 2018). Indeed, whereas tourism is exceedingly flexible and resilient in its pursuit of commodification, growth and profit, this is a particularly 'slippery' economic form to theorize (Gibson, 2009; Lapointe & Coulter, 2020). Locally and globally, cultural evolution is conflated with such neoliberal capitalist ideals as commodification, profit, consumerism and, indeed, travel. Moreover, the internalization of these dominant ideals by a range of tourism actors is perpetuating the worldmaking agency of tourism, evolving according to hegemonic interpretations and perspectives of tourism worlds. Thus, Hollinshead, Ateljevic and Ali (2009) affirm:

> those who work in and alongside tourism and who work for or within that dominant vision (consciously or unconsciously) are said to work as agents (passive, normalizing agents) of that outlook on the world. (Hollinshead et al., 2009: 434)

Propelling the commodification of virtually everything and increasingly flexible in its pursuit of profit, tourism does not simply reproduce an unproblematic understanding of the world, nor "mirror some fixed world 'out there'" (Hollinshead et al., 2009: 428). Rather, tourism can be viewed as the productive manufacturing of reality – a reality which is inevitably advantageous to some populations and suppressive to others (Hollinshead & Suleman, 2018). Moreover, the production of precarious tourism labour is evidence of the tourism industry's simultaneous reliance upon, and re-creation of, the system of global capitalism (Aitchison, 2005). Indeed, tourism-related jobs are frequently described as low pay, low skill, temporary and/or part-time, highly feminized, with limited opportunities for career advancement and pay rises (Binkley, 2000a; George et al., 2009; Ioannides & Zampoukos, 2018; Ladkin, 2011; McDowell, 2009; Zampoukos & Ioannides, 2011).

However, despite the propensity for tourism worlds to evolve according to capitalism economic imperatives, worldmaking can also be inconsistent, producing alternative and contrasting visions and versions of a given world (Hollinshead & Suleman, 2018). Indeed, tourism is constituted by, and relies upon, the very peoples and places it (re)produces. Therefore, the potential to disrupt the ongoing and uneven processes of making, de-making and re-making culture is great. As such, ethically and creatively rethinking and reshaping tourism worlds is 'a cosmopolitan conundrum' which demands address. Thus, Swain (2009) implores us to

> attend to both the overarching political economy of globalization with world-wide ethical issues, and the highly localized cultural diversity that cosmopolitan behaviours and ideologies celebrates and constantly reworks. (Swain, 2009: 522)

This project is built upon the premise that the socio-spatial transformations taking place in Lunenburg both define, and are defined by, the various individuals and groups connected to that location. Indeed, Massey (2005) demonstrates that "identities/entities, the relations 'between' them, and the spatiality which is part of them, are all co-constitutive" (Massey, 2005: 10). However, it is argued that there has been little attention paid to the individuals and groups that are both subject to, and agents of, these ongoing dynamics. At the nexus of precarious and feminized work, increasingly diverse human mobilities, and cultural selection and production for tourism lies a particular postmodern subjecthood uniquely positioned within the intersecting forces and relations of power shaping contemporary tourism worlds. Through my personal, lived experience, it is apparent that regionally mobile women contribute significantly to Lunenburg's tourism workforce.

In-depth understanding of tourism work, workers and their worldmaking agency relies upon the inclusion of workers in the research process. However, insufficient attention has been granted to the lived experiences and the knowledge that tourism workers hold (Veijola, 2009a). Whereas the quality of tourism work is oftentimes precarious,

demanding in terms of emotional labour and thereby conferred a lowly status, it is nevertheless contingent upon the conditions for engaging in such work (Zampoukos & Ioannides, 2011). Regionally mobile women contributing to Lunenburg's tourism workforce are simultaneously subject to precarious employment conditions and objectification through tourism transactions, and capable of enacting their individual capacity to freely move to, within and away from chosen places. Thus, this complex positionality exhibits the unconventional blurring of boundaries between leisure, labour and citizenship; between travel and migration (Gibson, 2009; Minca, 2009; Rose et al., 2019; Saarinen, 2017). Indeed, consciously and unconsciously shaping tourism worlds, this complex positionality represents an alternative and potentially progressive standpoint through which the worldmaking power of tourism can be explored.

1.4.1 Research questions

Nearly thirty years after the onset of the Atlantic fisheries crisis, at a time when cultural tourism has been a well-established and seemingly reliable seasonal phenomenon, Lunenburg in 2019-2020 is the context for this research. However, as local, regional and global processes are neither categorical nor distinguishable, this project attempts to span, or even annihilate, scalar configurations (Ek & Hultman, 2008; Lapointe & Coulter, 2020). Indeed, both places and subjectivities are dynamic, socially constructed and economically produced, relating to practices and flows of becoming (Braidotti, 2011; Massey, 1994, 2005). Therefore, stressing the situatedness of knowledge, the in-between stage of becoming – a particular spatio-temporal moment – is an opportunity for bringing into representation the particular positionality of regionally mobile women working in tourism in Lunenburg. To guide this project, the primary research question is the following:

1) How do regionally mobile women engaging in tourism employment in Lunenburg enact their worldmaking agency?

To address this broad and open-ended query, a series of sub-questions are presented in an effort to circumscribe the research agenda. Firstly, it is suggested that providing opportunities for subordinate voices to be heard begins by actively engaging with alternative worldviews. Moreover, critically engaging with the embodied self and the complex web of social relations that compose subject positions is intended to provide opportunities for progressive cultural change; for democratic social transformation (Harding & Norberg, 2005; Braidotti, 2011; McKay, 1994). Thus, the first sub-question is the following:

a) How does situated knowledge provide meaningful understanding of tourism worlds?

Secondly, it is posited that engaging with regionally mobile women working in tourism will both uncover and facilitate critical reflection, thereby propelling dialectical thinking in regard to the worldmaking power of tourism. Simultaneously embodying privilege and disadvantage, these women enact their individual capacity to freely move to, within and away from chosen places while being subject to precarious employment conditions and uneven encounters through tourism service transactions. Thus, the second research sub-question is the following:

b) How do regionally mobile women working in tourism navigate and negotiate precarious employment and their potentiality for critique?

Thirdly, given that commonplace acts of normalization and naturalization occur in and through tourism thereby selectively producing cultural identities, it is suggested that alternative visions and versions of peoples, places, pasts and futures are excluded from profit-oriented tourism production. Moreover, applying a progressive and optimistic outlook, it is suggested that uncovering the non-capitalist relations and practices of tourism community stakeholders may provide opportunities for ethical, transformational worldmaking. Thus, the final sub-question is the following:

c) Which stories about Lunenburg, its populations, its pasts and its futures are excluded from dominant, profit-oriented cultural representation for tourism?

Insisting upon the dynamic multiplicity of spaces and subjectivities – of change as the only constant – this research occurs at a particular moment along the space-time continuum. Drawing upon the lived experiences of regionally mobile woman engaging in Lunenburg's tourism workforce, this positionality is presented as an inherently complex standpoint from which tension and contradiction relating to the ongoing dynamics shaping tourism worlds can be explored. The research approach intends to allow for alternative worldviews to be contested and captured; untangled from the messy set of interrelated, overlapping and dominating power structures that shape social life (Hollinshead, 2004; Lapointe & Coulter, 2020). Given the design of this research project, the implications of this endeavour are manifold and have been separated into four research goals and two intended contributions.

1.4.2 Research goals and contributions

This research project is aligned with the values and goals of the Critical Tourism Studies movement, advocating for social justice by shifting our ways of "seeing, being, doing and relating in tourism worlds" (Ateljevic et al., 2012: 1). Examining the dynamic and ongoing transformative processes shaping tourism worlds, the project mobilizes an interdisciplinary framework of critical and cultural theory in an effort to derive empirical evidence grounded in the lived experiences and knowledge of a distinct social positionality. The intention is to think through critical theory, deconstructing the "the play of power/authority/dominance in the selection and production of place and space in and through tourism", while remaining connected with the immediate socio-cultural conditions of lived experience, engaging with both the material and the symbolic manifestations and representations of power (Hollinshead et

al., 2009: 430; Aitchison, 2005; Braidotti, 2011). Thus, the following goals of this challenging endeavour are epistemic, political and theoretical in nature:

1. Following Hollinshead (2004), and Lapointe and Coulter (2020), this project aims to disentangle the dynamic, interconnecting, co-constitutive and multi-scalar processes conditioning the ongoing socio-spatial transformations of tourism worlds, from the micro-scale transactions between tourism workers and guests, to the social and spatial segregation, separation and exclusion upon which global capitalism relies.
2. Following Veijola (2009a), this project aims to validate the expertise and knowledge of subordinate tourism community members, creating tourism research from the point of view of performative, feminized tourism work and workers.
3. Following Swain (2009), this project aims to draw Hollinshead and his collaborators' work on worldmaking in the direction of embodiment, recognizing that multiple worldmaking agents, including complex local, mobile and researcher subjectivities, simultaneously and invariably interpret and shape the world according to such intersecting differences as gender, race, class, nationality, sexuality and so forth.
4. Following Swain (2009), and Hollinshead, Ateljevic and Ali (2009), this project aims to uncover alternative visions and versions of tourism worlds, especially ethical and sustainable alternatives, through non-capitalist practices of tourism community stakeholders.

Fulfilling this series of ambitious research goals, the contributions of this project are simplistic yet profound. Firstly, developing context-specific research based on dynamic, experiential and reflexive knowledge, this project contributes to the legacy of 'fifth-moment' feminist research in tourism studies. Following Denzin and Lincoln, 'fifth-moment' research agendas acknowledge "gender as one of a number of human

status characteristics which affects individuals' experiences and social identities (others include age, class, ethnicity, race and dis/ability)" (Pritchard et al., 2007b: 5; see also Phillimore & Goodson, 2004b). Gender aware and feminist scholarship remains a priority given that women continue to be marginalized in numerous facets of social life, especially in the realm of tourism employment. Thus, this critical and interpretive project is created by and for women in tourism.

Secondly, recognizing the ongoing and dynamic nature of socio-spatial transformation taking place in Lunenburg, this project contributes to the legacy of humanities and social sciences research addressing tourism development in Lunenburg and in Nova Scotia, more broadly. It has been approximately ten years since economic, social, cultural and historical analyses related to contemporary issues in town have been published by academic researchers. Indeed, much of the most recent research and data pertaining to the town, and tourism, include development and planning reports, statistics, and promotional materials (see, for example, Barlow et al., 2020; Ivany et al., 2014; SSHAC 2016; 2019; TNS, 2020b; UNESCO, 2020b; Upland, 2018; 2019; 2020). Thus, this academic research project provides a snapshot, so to speak, of the town of Lunenburg in 2019-2020.

The first chapter of this project has fulfilled two functions. Firstly, the contextual setting for the research has been established, positioning the town of Lunenburg, following the 1990s Atlantic fisheries crisis and the concurrent UNESCO World Heritage Site designation, as the setting for further inquiry into the dynamic and ongoing socio-spatial transformations shaping the tourism destination. Secondly, the research problem has been presented, highlighting the need for subjective and embodied accounts of tourism labour and spatial mobility in order to develop in-depth understanding of the uneven processes structuring tourism worlds. A series of research questions have been presented, along with the ambitious goals and intended

contributions of this research project. As a conclusion to this introductory chapter, the arrangement of the remaining chapters of this project is outlined.

Chapter 2 establishes the ontological, epistemological and conceptual framework for thinking through the research problem. The interpretive lens through which this research project is constructed is developed by mobilizing interdisciplinary concepts and theories developed through critical tourism studies, gender and feminist studies, urban and rural studies, mobilities studies, and social geography. Chapter 3 highlights critical qualitative inquiry as an effective research approach for addressing the research questions and meeting the research goals. More specifically, adopting autoethnography as both research process and product, the highly subjective and relational research design is justified. Chapter 4 presents the research findings in a creative and playful manner. Recounting prominent themes by weaving together a series of narrative accounts, the reader is invited to experience the lived worlds of regionally mobile women working in tourism in Lunenburg. Lastly, Chapter 5 discusses the non-capitalist – and non-tourism – relations and practices taking place in Lunenburg, focusing on recent progressive mobilization by tourism community stakeholders, especially the creative sector. Moreover, local and global impacts of the novel and ongoing global COVID-19 pandemic are addressed, highlighting the relative absence of international tourism as an opportunity for imagining ethical and sustainable tourism worlds. The project concludes by acknowledging the limitations of this research project, proposing areas for further inquiry and, ultimately, drawing attention to the worldmaking agency of tourism stakeholders, at all levels.

CHAPTER II

INTERPRETIVE FRAMEWORK

For the sake of capital accumulation, profit and commodification, advanced capitalism relies upon the efficient circulation and increased movement of things. Following Brown (2015), this international economic operating structure "opens up a form of cultural transformation where market forces become extended to the fabric of society" (Lapointe et al., 2018: 20). Indeed, the ongoing socio-spatial transformations shaping tourism destinations, such as Lunenburg, are propelled by the increasing, and increasingly diverse, globalized flows of capital, goods, information and people (Braidotti, 2011; Sheller & Urry, 2006; Tesfahuney & Schough, 2016). Global travel is comprised of manifold systems of flows including information and communication technologies, materials and manufacturing, as well as the fixed infrastructure facilitating these circulations. Rooted in the worldwide expansion of capitalism and colonialism from the 16th century onwards, mobility has, therefore, become a contemporary ideal; a fundamental cultural value of advanced capitalism (Bauman, 1998; Sheller & Urry, 2006). Indeed, highlighting the ubiquity of tourism in the present era, contemporary consumer culture is qualified as 'a society of tourists' (Bauman, 1998: 97).

The movement of capital, goods, information and people is highly regulated through varying degrees of control both reflecting and reinforcing power, and redirecting movements that do not contribute to the maximization of gain (Bauman, 1998; Korstanje, 2018; Sheller, 2016; Tesfahuney & Schough, 2016). Regulation and control

stem from centerless, fragmented and pervasive profit-oriented power relations which function through the organization of hierarchical differences. According to Bauman (1998), globalization has led to an unruly and self-propelled state of world affairs, and "no one seems now to be in control" (Bauman, 1998: 58). However, globalization does not merely describe the world but also reveals the ongoing process of the world being made (Hollinshead, 2007; Massey, 2005). Through both the external and internalized ordering processes of dominant power, such making often includes the production of social and economic inequalities including spatial segregation, separation and exclusion. Indeed, the project of globalization attempts to hide, but nonetheless relies upon, social inequality, division and exclusion – modes of establishing otherness (Massey, 2005). Thus, the normative conception of globalization as the inevitability of capitalist market expansion and of the increasing unbounded interconnectedness of places worldwide hierarchically produces peoples and places based upon socially constructed differences.

The so-called underdevelopment of peripheral nation-states of the global South and of deindustrializing regions of the global North implies that the cultural trajectory of peoples and places worldwide is inevitably to become more like 'us', that is, the powerful and privileged people and places of 'the first world' (Massey, 2005). Massey (2005) evocatively describes the uneven processes and practices of globalization, noting,

> Capital, the rich, the skilled […] can move easily about the world, as investment, or trade, as sought-after labour or as tourists; and at the same time, whether it be in the immigration-controlled countries of the West, or the gated communities of the rich in any major metropolis anywhere, or in the elite enclosures of knowledge production and high technology, they can protect their fortress homes. Meanwhile the poor and the unskilled from the so-called margins of this world are both instructed to open up their borders and welcome the West's invasion in whatever form it comes, and told to stay where they are. (Massey, 2005: 86-87)

Indeed, social and spatial stratification is produced through globalization. Whereas we all live in the same world, the world is nevertheless contrived for the benefit of those with money (Bauman, 1998; Braidotti, 2011; Massey, 2005). Determinants of social and spatial (im)mobility relate to the intersecting social positions and divisions of gender, race, class, sexuality, nationality, (dis)ability, age and so forth. According to Bauman (1998), society has become polarized, producing postmodern subjectivities categorized according to the freedom to move freely within the globalized world, and those whose involuntary movement is also a function of their dedication of service to the mobile elite. However, adopting a more nuanced outlook, globalized, consumer societies are demonstrated to be replete with complexity and contradiction, producing equally complex and contradictory subjectivities which are not easily essentialized nor categorized (see Cohen et al., 2013). Thus, by bringing into representation a particular positionality at a specific moment in time and space, many of the overlapping and interrelated power structures and flows shaping social life can be uncovered.

2.1 Ontological and epistemological framework

Following this brief introduction in which globalization and the logics of advanced, neoliberal capitalism are presented as the contemporary dominant forces shaping tourism worlds, this chapter continues by establishing the ontological and epistemological foundation for this project. To begin, a theoretical description of the dynamic interplay between subjectivity and power relations is provided followed by a presentation of situated knowledge as an approach for creating meaningful understanding of tourism worlds. Next, the conceptual framework is introduced, structured according to a series of complex social constructs, practices and processes which relate to the particular subject position of regionally mobile women comprising Lunenburg's tourism workforce. These concepts include gender, lifestyle mobility, and space and place. Lastly, the concept of worldmaking agency is presented, addressing

the power of tourism to selectively produce cultural identities while acknowledging the potentiality for individuals and collectivities within tourism worlds to both (re)imagine and (re)create sustainable, ethical alternatives. In fulfilling its intention, this chapter draws upon a broad interdisciplinary scope of primarily western-based research and critical theory, stemming mostly from critical tourism studies, feminist and gender studies, urban and rural studies, mobilities studies, and social geography.

2.1.1 Nomadic thought

The subject position of the regionally mobile woman contributing to Lunenburg's tourism workforce is a figuration through which the power relations that define this complex social position can be mapped. Following Braidotti (2011), this is not a figuration in the metaphorical sense. Rather, deriving from the feminist philosophy of 'politics of location', or situated knowledge, figurations are more materialistic mappings of situated, embedded, and embodied positions. This mapping out of the interplay between subjectivity and power connections is dynamic and ongoing given that "power is a situation or a process, not an object or an essence" (Braidotti, 2011: 4). In an attempt to identify possible sites or strategies of resistance, uncovering power relations begins by critically engaging with "micro-instances of embodied and embedded self and the complex web of social relations that compose subject positions" (Braidotti, 2011: 4; Massey, 2005). The intention is to think globally while acting locally.

The philosophy of nomadic thought, developed by Braidotti and inspired by Deleuze and Guattari, is adopted here although, admittedly, rather simplistically. Whereas power is a process, subjectivity is the effect of constant flows of power connections. Indeed, "subjectivity is a socially mediated process of relations and negotiations with multiple others and with multilayered social structures" (Braidotti, 2011: 4). Therefore, the subject is dynamic and changing, collectively assembled and externally related,

acting in a time continuum. Acknowledging that change is the only constant – that we live in permanent processes of transition – nomadic thought places movement and mobility at the heart of thinking. In practical terms, whereas “thinking is about tracing lines of flight and zigzagging patterns that undo dominant representations”, nomadic thought involves removing the focus from dominant, non-reflexive positions – the figurative and embodied white, heterosexual man – and placing emphasis on understanding the world through alternative figurations (Braidotti, 2011: 2; see also Veijola & Jokinen, 2008).

This project is built upon the premise that the socio-spatial transformations taking place in Lunenburg both define, and are defined by, the various individuals and groups connected to that location. Indeed, Massey (2005) argues that “identities/entities, the relations 'between' them, and the spatiality which is part of them, are all co-constitutive” (Massey, 2005: 10). Evidently, tourism plays a powerful role in the making of worlds, cultures, peoples and places, propelling the commodification of virtually everything and increasingly flexible in its pursuit of profit (Hollinshead et al., 2009). Furthermore, the production of low-pay, seasonal or casual tourism labour is evidence of the tourism industry’s simultaneous reliance upon and re-creation of the system of global capitalism (Aitchison, 2005). However, tourism is constituted by and relies upon the very people and places it (re)produces, and the potential to disrupt the ongoing and uneven processes making, de-making and re-making peoples and places is great.

Applying a progressive outlook, this dialectical thinking promotes active engagement in the imagining of sustainable alternatives (Caton, 2013). Indeed, criticality is not merely oppositional but, rather, is intimately connected with creation (Braidotti, 2011).

Thus, alluding to a comment made by Jameson (1994)[16], despite the seemingly inevitable continuity of globalized capitalist production, the imaginative conception of both space and the future as open enables politics which can make a difference (Massey, 2005). In practical terms, instances of progressive detachment from dominant representations, as well as opportunities for ethical transformation, are created through reflection and reflexivity, by questioning assumptions, by using imagination and by creating awareness of the ways we make the world (Braidotti, 2011; Caton, 2013; Massey, 2005). Paraphrasing Braidotti (2011), power is both productive and restrictive, striking an affirmative route between empowerment and entrapment (Braidotti, 2011: 6).

Engaging with the complex positionality of regionally mobile women contributing to Lunenburg's tourism workforce brings into representation a series of dynamic, overlapping, mutually constitutive and multi-scalar practices and processes. Whereas globalization and advanced capitalism constitute a decentralized and fragmented locus of power, the subjective and embodied experiences of these women relate to their work, as previously described, as well as to their gender, their capacity for spatial mobility and the spatiotemporal context of Lunenburg in 2019-2020. However, it may be challenging to think through critical theory while remaining connected with the immediate socio-cultural conditions of lived experience, engaging with both the material and the symbolic manifestations and representations of power (Braidotti, 2011; Aitchison, 2005). Thus, following Aitchison (2005), this complex task is achieved through feminist analyses of tourism accommodating elements from both poststructural and standpoint feminism. Indeed, nomadic thought is utilized as a philosophical tool for exploring the contested workings and reworkings of subjectivity–power relations in a localized context. Next, situated knowledge is

[16] "It seems to be easier for us today to imagine the thoroughgoing deterioration of the earth and of nature than the breakdown of late capitalism; perhaps that is due to some weakness in our imaginations" (Jameson, 1994: xii).

presented as an approach for uncovering alternative visions and knowledges in regard to cultural production and tourism in Lunenburg.

2.1.2 Situated knowledge

The research problem is addressed through a creative and interpretive qualitative research approach, placing emphasis on understanding the world from the perspective of its participants. In collaboration with the researcher, a small group of women co-construct evocative, thick description of our lived personal and interpersonal experiences relating to spatial mobility and tourism service employment in Lunenburg. Both tourism and tourism work have the potential to contribute to sustainable development and gender equality; neither is wholly good nor wholly bad (UNWTO, 2020a). However, the global tendency for women to be disproportionately subject to precarious employment conditions within the tourism industry and thus exert the emotional, performative labour inherent to the co-creation of tourism service transactions persists. Indeed, whereas tourism worlds are continually shaped by systemic inequalities, UNWTO (2020a) contends:

> The majority of people employed in tourism worldwide are women, both in formal and informal jobs. Tourism offers women opportunities for income-generation and entrepreneurship. However, women are concentrated in the lowest paid, lowest skilled sectors of the industry and carry out a large amount of unpaid work in family tourism businesses. Women are not well represented in the highest levels of employment and management of the tourism industry. (UNWTO, 2020a)

Standpoint epistemology is a move towards local, historically contextualized, situated knowledge that draws upon the experiences of subordinate groups, including women (Humberstone, 2004). Intending to produce information both wanted and needed to facilitate the wellbeing of women working in tourism and, ultimately, create more sustainable tourism worlds, all knowledge claims of research participants are accepted

as equally valuable and valid. A compelling tool for qualitative inquiry used initially in feminist research, in recent years standpoint epistemology has been widely adopted across the social sciences to frame research projects (Denzin & Lincoln, 2018; Harding, 2009; Phillimore & Goodson, 2004b). However, Humberstone (2004) notes the paucity of this type of thinking in tourism studies, calling for tourism researchers to adopt and embrace standpoint epistemology thereby allowing for the tensions and contradictions within tourism worlds to be dialectically highlighted.

Meaningful and transformative examinations of women's positions within tourism worlds, including the labour force, are limited by the productivist and business-oriented academic climate. Tourism Studies programmes are often inscribed into Business Management faculties within which tourism education is framed by such values as scientism, capitalism, neoliberalism, individualism and materialism (Airey, 2008 in Figueroa-Domecq et al., 2015). In response, feminism, as a branch of critical theory, provides opportunities for reimagining and reinterpreting research problems and methods; for examining tourism's power structures; and for building reflexive and reflective knowledge (Figueroa-Domecq et al., 2015). Indeed, recognizing that research can be used to favour democratic social transformation and advance social justice, standpoint methodologies enable disadvantaged social positions to become 'powerful intellectual and political resources' (Harding & Norberg, 2005: 2012-13). Furthermore, feminist epistemologies address the propensity for conventional research to discriminate against or empower specific social groups thereby enabling institutions, the media and the law to govern everyday lives for their own fulfilment (Braidotti, 2011; Harding & Norberg, 2005).

Feminist philosophies of science emerged from the 1970s women's movements as a response to the understanding that disembodied scientific objectivity and the manufacture of knowledge, according to a set of normative ideals, are intimately connected with power and prestige (Goodson & Phillimore, 2004b; Haraway, 1988).

Indeed, science is always already imbued with value positions and biases, and impartial research approaches fail to address the needs of societies' most vulnerable groups thereby maintaining and reproducing uneven relations. Through 'strong objectivity', standpoint epistemology turns the positivist research process on its head. In opposition to taken-for-granted and non-reflexive scientific objectivity, situated knowledge relies on embodied, accountable objectivity (Haraway, 1988).

Along with the research context, the socially situated positionality of researcher must be critically looked at and accounted for. Establishing what has become an imperative component of critical qualitative inquiry, Harding (1992) states:

> Strong objectivity requires that the subject of knowledge be placed on the same critical, causal plane as the objects of knowledge. Thus strong objectivity requires what we can think of as "strong reflexivity". This is because culture-wide (or near culture-wide) beliefs function as evidence at every stage in scientific inquiry […] (Harding, 1992: 458)

Feminist objectivity relies on critically positioning, reflecting upon and theorizing as rigorously as possible one's own social location (Haraway, 1988; Hirsh et al., 1995). This strategy allows for any assumptions to be transformed into a research framework including the motivation for engaging with a research problem, the nature of the relationship between researcher and research participants, and the presentation of research to eventual audience(s) (Hirsh et al., 1995; Ollivier & Tremblay, 2000; Swain, 2004). Thus, facilitating reflexivity and critical positioning, autoethnography – combining characteristics of autobiography and ethnography – is adopted as a methodological tool for undertaking the research process and creating the research product. Indeed, the personal experiences of both researcher and research participants are drawn upon in order to examine and critique a series of socio-cultural constructs, practices and processes shaping our lived experiences (Ellis et al., 2011). Guided by values of social justice and wellbeing, further insight into the research design will be provided in the following chapter. Establishing nomadic thought and situated

knowledge as the ontological and epistemological underpinnings of this project, the following sub-section outlines the conceptual framework assembled in order to address the research questions presented in Chapter 1.

2.2 Conceptual framework

Aiming to develop understanding of the dynamic and ongoing socio-spatial transformations taking place in Lunenburg, it is suggested that engaging with the particular positionality of regionally mobile women contributing to Lunenburg's tourism workforce will highlight the tensions and contradictions surrounding the evolution of the town. Indeed, by bringing into representation the interplay between subjectivity and power relations within the localized context of Lunenburg in 2019-2020, a series of interconnected and mutually constitutive practices and processes emerge. Attempting to untangle the complex, non-linear and multi-scalar processes shaping tourism worlds, and acknowledging the individual and collective agency of community actors actively contributing to the ethical representation of peoples, places and pasts, this conceptual framework is sub-divided into four broad themes. These themes – gender, lifestyle mobility, space and place, and worldmaking agency – relate directly to the socially mediated subject position being engaged with, the place in which tourism transactions occur, and the power relations defining, and defined by, the particular subjectivity and location examined here.

2.2.1 Gender

Gender relates to the socially constructed characteristics of men and women and is also culturally and politically contingent. For Butler (1988), the creation of gender, itself, is primarily due to political interests. Gender, therefore, is a complex concept which cannot be fully understood based on biological difference between men and women.

Following de Beauvoir's claim that "'woman' is a historical idea and not a natural fact", gender is conceived of as the cultural interpretation of biology facticity (de Beauvoir, 1949/1974 as cited in Butler, 1988: 522). However, although gender is distinguished from biological sex, the social, cultural and political constitution of gender does not preclude the influence of biology and its link to society (Butler, 1988; Chambers & Rakic, 2018). Nevertheless, rejecting the possibility of any innate essence to a particular gender, postmodern feminists contend "there is nothing about being 'female' that naturally binds women" (Haraway, 1991: 155 in Munar, 2017: 523). Rather, gender identity is inherently fluid because it is contingent upon the conditions for, and consequences of, gender performativity (Munar, 2017).

Gender is heterogeneous, unstable and ambiguous, and any account of the world and of the self is contingent, localized and subjective (Munar, 2017). Indeed, gender is an identity marker instituted through a repetition of acts, socially constituted over time, and "is in no way a stable identity or locus of agency from which various acts proceed" (Butler, 1988: 519). Rather, gender attributes and acts relate to the various ways that bodies exhibit and produce cultural signification. Given that gender does not signify a stable, essentialized identity but, rather, is a dynamic set of performative acts, 'woman' cannot be a universal classification. Indeed, according to the various contexts and conditions of gender performativity, diversity and difference among women are produced in terms of relative power and disadvantage (Swain, 1995). Nevertheless, societies institutionalize gender identity as a formal, hierarchical status which typically situates women as 'gendered', that is, different from and subordinate to men. Therefore, in order to advance feminist politics, the category of women is theorized as a political tool (Spivak, 1985 in Butler, 1988).

Because the tourism industry is built upon a network of human relations and interactions, global and local gender relations both impact and are impacted by tourism (Swain, 1995). Women participate in and experience tourism worlds as consumers,

producers, residents of host communities and as researchers and educators in distinctive and socially mediated ways. Whereas gender inequity persists in all facets of society, gendered power relations are particularly apparent within the tourism industry (Figueroa-Domecq et al., 2015). Thus, within societies structured by social division based upon gender as well as other socially constructed markers of difference such as economic status, race, nationality, age, sexuality, (dis)ability and so forth, women are subject to processes of domination and coercion rather than ethical and loving politics. An illustrative incidence of structural inequality relates to the disproportionate representation of women in the tourism workforce, thereby subjugating this group to economic and sexual exploitation through abusive employment practices and precarious work conditions (Figueroa-Domecq et al., 2015).

The historic and continued oppression of women has led to much of the academic scholarship on gender and tourism to be articulated through feminist approaches. Paraphrasing Butler (1988), feminist theory seeks to understand the ways in which pervasive political and cultural structures and processes are enacted and reproduced through individual practices, recognizing that subjective experience is structured by, and structures, political arrangements (Butler, 1988: 522). Although there is no universal definition of feminism, feminist inquiry is united in its pursuit of ethical political and social change (Chambers & Rakic, 2018). Through examinations of the structural social injustices detrimental to women – and, indeed, to everyone in society – the incorporation of gender analysis into mainstream tourism research began taking hold in the 1990s (Swain, 1995). Prominent early works include Kinnaird and Hall's edited collection, *Tourism: a gender analysis*, published in 1994; Swain's introduction to the Special Issue *Gender in Tourism*, published by Annals of Tourism Research in 1995; and Sinclair's edited collection, *Gender, Work and Tourism*, published in 1997. However, more recent critical accounting demonstrates the persistence of gender disparity within the tourism academic landscape, reflecting systemic inequalities at broader scales. Thus, gender-aware and feminist researchers advocate for a collective

effort to improve understanding of diversity and inclusion in academia; confront tourism's underlying power structures; and, question the epistemological foundations of academic careers (Chambers et al., 2017; Figueroa et al, 2015; Munar et al., 2015; Pritchard & Morgan, 2017).

Women continue to experience inequality and oppression on a global scale, material and symbolic manifestations of which are abundant in the tourism industry and academic landscape. Nevertheless, women are central to the tourism industry which is not only one of the most important economic activities in the world but also employs large numbers of women, worldwide (Sinclair, 1997; UNWTO, 2019a; 2020a). Ongoing efforts are made by critical tourism scholars to move beyond research agendas in which "women are invisible and subsumed into a male norm [and/or] women are recognized as 'other'" (Pritchard et al., 2007: 5-6). The challenge, therefore, is for critical interpretive tourism research to dispute dominant discourses which shape and condition tourism worlds, including the creation of tourism knowledge (Pritchard et al., 2007). Indeed, transformation needs to occur at the epistemological level, disrupting hegemonic hetero-patriarchy within the tourism academy (Chambers et al., 2017; Pritchard et al., 2007). Having already established situated knowledge as a research strategy to advance social justice, within the context of tourism work, this begins by integrating workers into the research process; introducing them as agents of knowledge and expertise in the tourism industry (Veijola, 2009a).

Focusing here on the experiences of women who choose to temporarily or permanently relocate to the town of Lunenburg, the work they undertake is highly intertwined with both their gender as well as their capacity to freely move between urban and rural places in Canada. Given that their work may be undertaken in an effort to support a chosen lifestyle in a particular place, the subject position of voluntarily mobile tourism worker represents amongst the most fortunate workers contributing to the industry. Indeed, the circumstances of employment are important factors in the subjective

experience of performing tourism work, as the quality and nature of tourism work are contingent upon the conditions for engaging in such work (Zampoukos & Ioannides, 2011). The following concept highlights the unconventional blurring of boundaries between leisure, labour and citizenship; between tourism and migration.

2.2.2 Lifestyle mobility

Tourism sites are intrinsically spaces of flows with varying degrees of rootedness, exemplifying simultaneous and contrasting forms of human mobility. For Urry (2000), diverse spatial mobilities are remaking the 'social', "materially reconstructing the 'social as society' into the 'social as mobility'" (Urry, 2000: 2). However, the rights to travel are highly uneven and barriers to flows, implemented through formal and informal policing, reinforce social disconnection and exclusion (Sheller, 2016). Thus, the unequal and differential capacity or potentiality for people to be mobile in geographic space relates to individual access to, competence for and appropriation of movement as three key determinants for achieving mobility (Kaufmann, 2004 in McIntyre, 2013). According to selective, uneven access to movement, increasing and increasingly diverse patterns of human mobility are reshaping contemporary tourism landscapes.

These flows may be routinized, circular or nonlinear, including temporary one-time visits, movements between primary and secondary residences, and permanent relocations to or away from a destination. Indeed, community makeup in community-based, cultural tourism destinations is becoming increasingly complex through the ongoing post-industrial transformation process, including a mix of long-term residents, business owners, lifestyle migrants, artists, tourists and second home owners, to name these few (McIntyre, 2013). Migration and tourism are mutually constitutive and interrelated, with mobility touching such diverse and opposing groups as the touring elite, the disenfranchised and numerous additional mobile subjectivities (Bauman,

1988; Cresswell, 2011; Ray, 2020). Indeed, the emergence of a broad range of mobile subjectivities in recent decades, in conjunction with the advent of services-based economies in the global North, is producing cultural convergences in tourism landscapes which are much more complex than a series of one-time encounters between local hosts and mobile guests.

Exhibiting the unconventional blurring of boundaries between leisure and labour market participation, and between travel and migration, tourism labour mobilities dissolve the distinction between production-led and consumption-led mobility (Cohen et al., 2013; Lundmark, 2006; Minca, 2009). Although tourism labour migration may address labour shortages, especially in rural and peripheral destinations (George et al., 2009; Joppe, 2012; Lundmark, 2006), many mobile tourism workers are not solely motivated by work opportunities. Rather, along the metaphorical voluntary-involuntary mobility continuum, tourism labour mobilities fit somewhere in between economic or labour migration and leisure travel. Indeed, there is general consensus among labour geographers and critical tourism researchers that regional tourism labour mobilities differ from other forms of labour migration based upon the simple, yet fundamental, notion that labour and the maximization of economic gain are not the primary motivations for movement. Furthermore, a range of factors have been demonstrated to strongly affect experiences of tourism labour mobility, including an individual's place of origin; their travel patterns and length of stay in a destination; their socioeconomic status and phase of life; their values, motivations and aspirations; and their desire for a sense of belonging. Nevertheless, the nature of mobile tourism workers, especially those moving within, or from, the global North, is less well understood than other more familiar mobile subjects such as tourists, economic migrants and refugees (see Adler & Adler, 1999; Ateljevic & Doorne, 2000; Ball, 1988; Bianchi, 2000; Joppe, 2012; Lundmark, 2006; Ooi et al., 2016; Tuulentie & Heimtun, 2014).

Due to the recreational nature of tourism work, the attractive landscapes of tourism destinations and the relative abundance of tourism-related employment opportunities, especially in peripheral areas, tourism workers with a middle-class background embarking on a life of transience are often driven by lifestyle choices. For many workers and entrepreneurs, the non-monetary benefits related to voluntary tourism labour mobility, such as the opportunity to engage in their preferred leisure activity, outweigh the challenges related to precarious employment as well as the demands of performing emotional labour (Ateljevic & Doorne, 2000; Ball, 1988; Pagliarin, 2017). Representing a segment of the postmodern workforce there is, nevertheless, a significant variety of lived experiences within the category of tourism 'leisure workers' or 'tourist workers'. Indeed, short-term, seasonal workers may be highly motivated by leisure pursuits and detach only briefly from their more conventional lifestyles and career tracks. Long-term tourism workers may pursue a circuitous lifestyle of tourism leisure work moving freely from one destination to another, effectively following the tourism seasons worldwide (Adler & Adler, 1999). Others may evade high living costs in urban centres, searching for an affordable and casual lifestyle in a rural or peripheral region, engaging in tourism work in an effort to support an alternative way of life. Through North-to-North, urban-to-rural flows, these migrants form temporary as well as more permanent foreign resident populations in tourism destinations (Bianchi, 2000; Lundmark, 2006).

Voluntary relocation to a tourism-oriented community or region relates to the perception that such a place will provide an enhanced or different lifestyle (McIntyre, 2013). This process of relocation is theorized as both lifestyle mobility and as amenity migration (see Gosnell & Abrams, 2011; Moss, 1994), giving new meaning to a series of notions formerly disconnected from one another (Ateljevic & Doorne, 2000; Cohen et al., 2013; Lundmark, 2006; Minca, 2009). Lifestyle relates to values and attitudes, practices and orientations, offering a sense of individual and collective identity. As postmodern identities shift from class-based and relating to logics of production

towards aesthetic consumption practices, these everyday practices become central to how we act and who we are (Cohen et al., 2013; McDowell, 2009). Nevertheless, within advanced capitalist consumer societies, lifestyle choice is always limited and framed by dominating or internalized forces and socially hierarchical arrangements. Thus, the freedom to make choices, including decisions about mobility, exists for a privileged few (Bauman, 1998; Korstanje, 2018).

As travel expands, becoming more commonplace especially for the more affluent in societies, the combination of lifestyle choices and practices of mobility can be crucial for those privileged enough to experience them. Lifestyle mobilities evoke the inherent ambiguities and complexities of movements and moorings, described by Cohen, Duncan and Thulemark (2013) as:

> on-going semi-permanent moves of varying duration, [offering] a lens into more complex forms of corporeal mobility that may involve multiple 'homes', 'belongings' and sustained mobility throughout the life course […] and so we contend that a return to any identified 'origin' cannot be presumed. (Cohen et al., 2013: 4)

Through the advent of complex, nonlinear movements motivated by the desire for a better quality of life or an alternative lifestyle, the possibility for acts of mobility to represent stability, for a sense of belonging to not be fixed, and for home to be conceptualized simultaneously as sedentarist and mobile, have emerged. Movement through space is both roots and routes – "fluid, on-going, multi-transitional and reflecting [a] multiplicity" (Cohen et al., 2013: 06). Thus, within a tourism destination, the novel and alternative lifestyle mobilities and amenity migrations encompass an expanding range of actors including retirees, multi-home owners, lifestyle entrepreneurs and 'urban refugees' (McIntyre, 2013). Indeed, the phenomenon of lifestyle mobility, or amenity migration, is typically constructed as a manifestation of the counterurbanization movement.

Referring to inter- and intra-regional, urban-to-rural mobilities within developed economies, the literature addressing counterurbanization focuses on the social, cultural and political implications of demographic shifts in rural regions (Guimond & Simard, 2010; McIntyre, 2013). Whereas the desire for an improved quality of life is a key motivation underlying the desire to relocate, the decision to move may be influenced by idealized images of places distributed through a variety of media, including destination marketing. The imagined and idealized worlds of in-migrants and locals create, in many cases, conflicting versions and visions of how a place is and should be. Indeed, ideological differences and socioeconomic discrepancies reproduce complex socio-cultural hierarchies within tourism destinations, where "the same place has many meanings depending on personal interests, social networks and life situations" (Tuulentie & Heimtun, 2014: 380). As a result, localized tensions may arise including cultural clashes, gentrification, and disparities in regard to participation in infrastructure and policy decisions (George et al., 2009; Guimond & Simard, 2010; McIntyre, 2013; Stockdale et al., 2000). Moreover, in many rural communities, socio-spatial reconfigurations through counterurbanization are creating an ongoing feedback loop which, in some cases, exacerbates socioeconomic disparity and differential access to private and public spaces in tourism destinations. Indeed, privileged mobilities are propelling rural gentrification and, in turn, amenity migration is reinforced through the attractive renewal of rural regions as leisure and cultural destinations (George et al., 2009; Guimond & Simard, 2010).

Although patterns of lifestyle mobility are reserved for the relatively privileged, of particular interest here are mobile tourism workers due to the inherent complexity of their positionality, as well as the paucity of research on the matter. Indeed, Ooi, Mair and Laing (2016) contend "there appears to be limited research on those amenity migrants who commonly exist at the other end of the socioeconomic spectrum – seasonal workers" (Ooi et al., 2016: 246). This subjectivity is amongst those uniquely positioned at the nexus of privilege and precarity, highlighting the tensions and

contradictions which underpin contemporary services-based, consumer societies. Likewise, the concept ‘marginal gentrifier’, developed by Rose (1984) and inspired by Bourdieu (1979), has been used by social geographers to address those middle-class migrants belonging to a class that is richer in cultural capital than in economic capital (Estevens et al., 2020; Guimond & Simard, 2010; Phillips, 1993). Examinations of a diverse range of individuals and social groups both subject to and stimulating socio-spatial segregation and exclusion in a variety of contexts include university students, artists, ethnic minorities, and gay households (see Estevens et al., 2020; Smith & Holt, 2007). The positionality of marginal gentrifier highlights the risk for an over-emphasis on mobile lifestyles to undermine the presence of suffering amongst the seemingly wealthy (Phillips, 1993).

In 21st century cities and towns in many regions of the global North, in-migrants with alternative lifestyles, values and creativity have a strong impact on the revitalization process while being simultaneously subject to exclusionary practices, namely prohibitive residential and commercial markets (Estevens et al., 2020; Guimond & Simard, 2010). Likewise, the cultural production and economic rejuvenation driven by mobile tourism workers paradoxically subjugates them to oftentimes precarious working conditions and the emotional demands of performative labour. Indeed, the connection between tourism development and gentrification in post-industrial consumer economies within rural, and urban, settings is acknowledged (see Cocola-Gant, 2018; Estevens et al., 2020; George et al., 2009; Gotham, 2005; 2018; Gravari-Barbas & Guinand, 2017; Lew, 2017). However, whereas the term ‘marginal gentrifier’ may be appropriate for theorizing regionally mobile women comprising the tourism workforce, this application does not yet appear to be made by either tourism studies researchers or rural geographers.

Through the mapping out of both the forces driving, and the socio-spatial manifestations of, lifestyle mobility, including tourism labour mobility and migration,

it is apparent that the social dynamics which constitute a tourism community are inevitably linked to a range of social, cultural, economic and political processes stretching beyond the localized context. Nevertheless, tourism work is place-specific, and each relationship between consumer and producer is tied to the location where the exchange takes places (McDowell, 2009). Thus, the global is part of what constitutes the local, the inside as part of the outside, in Lunenburg as elsewhere (Massey, 1994). Through the concepts of space and place, the town of Lunenburg is theorized as the product of a simultaneous multiplicity of relations and exclusions, and always already in the process of being made.

2.2.3 Space and place

The local and the global are co-constitutive, although Massey (2005) notes the tendency for the local to be imagined as the product of globalization while neglecting the counterpoint to this. Whereas the local is implicated in the production of the global – that is, in the reproduction of neoliberal capitalism – marginal and peripheral places are oftentimes constructed as 'the victim of globalization' thereby dismissing the agency of local places (Massey, 2005: 101). Indeed, capitalist globalization can seem to be a threatening force from the perspectives of the global South and of deindustrializing places in the global North. Emanating from the nonreflexive position of 'the first world', the normative conception of globalization involves the inevitability of capitalist market expansion and of the increasing unbounded interconnectedness of places worldwide. Thus, peoples and places are produced through hierarchical spatial and temporal differentiation (Massey, 2005).

The so-called underdevelopment of peripheral nation-states and regions implies that the cultural trajectory of peoples and places in these regions is inevitably to become more like 'us'. Indeed, the notions of marginality and periphery imply a concentration of economic and technological power in the center, that is, within the cities of the global

North. For Massey (2005), this 'a-spatial' view of globalization, a "tale with a single trajectory", denies the multiplicities and the potential differences of peoples and places (Massey, 2005: 82). Moreover, the future 'catching up' supposedly foretold of peripheral and underdeveloped places cannot be true because of their hierarchization within capitalist globalization (Massey, 2005: 82). Indeed, the project of globalization attempts to hide, but nonetheless relies upon, social inequality, division and exclusion – modes of establishing otherness (Massey, 2005: 84). This powerful imaginative geography legitimizes its own production through a political project intending to make the world to be this way (Massey, 2005).

Space and places are actively created through the mobilities, fixities and infrastructural contexts that channel the flows of capital, goods and people to, within and away from a region. Shaped through ongoing processes of formation, "space, place and landscape are best approached as 'verbs'" (Cresswell & Merriman, 2011: 7). Following the relational geography tenet, the spatial is conceived of as being constructed out of social relations – connections and disconnections – stretched out at various scales. Therefore, space cannot be understood as static but rather as inherently dynamic given that social relations are never still (Massey, 1994). Furthermore, conceiving of the spatial within a network of dynamic social relations inherently implies the existence of "a simultaneous multiplicity of spaces: cross-cutting, intersecting, aligning with one another, or existing in relations of paradox or antagonism" (Massey, 1994: 3). As processual social interactions are differentially experienced and variously interpreted by those holding divergent positions within them, so too are relational space and places (Massey, 1994). Thus, space is the product of ongoing social relations and material practices; a dynamic simultaneous multiplicity (Massey, 2005).

Places are open and porous. As a particular articulation or moment within networks of dynamic social relations, a place is formed through relations which stretch beyond the particular mix of localized connections that define its own uniqueness. What gives a

place specificity is the particular configuration of social relations constructed at a particular locus. Nets of intersecting, multi-scalar social relations are constructed over time, laid down, decayed and renewed. Challenging any claims to place as bounded, as bearing internal histories, as being a site of an authenticity and unproblematic in its identity, "the identities of places are always unfixed, contested and multiple" (Massey, 1994: 5). As the movement of people and things between locations near and far relies on spaces in which to enact mobility, mobilities and spatialities are intimately interconnected and mutually constituted; both are always already imbued with types, strategies and social implications of movement within contexts of power, and as such are full of meaning (Cresswell, 2006; Massey, 1994; 2005). Indeed, it is through the negotiation of relations within the multiplicities of space and places that the social is constructed (paraphrasing Massey, 2005: 13).

There is no pre-given, coherent, collective identity to place that is merely subject to disturbance by external forces. Nor does place hold a singular history, a chronological series of incidents reducing the past, the present and the future to a limited trajectory (Hollinshead, 2007; Lew, 2017; Massey, 2005). Rather, place is a spatio-temporal locus at which political engagement in the negotiation of relations and trajectories, in both the social and natural realms, occurs. The character of a place is a product of the connections and disconnections, the relations and the exclusions, that are continually negotiated within a wider setting. This constellation of processes – a coming together of trajectories – is what gives place its specificity. This understanding of place, as open and "as woven together out of ongoing stories", constructs place as in process, "as unfinished business" (Massey, 2005: 131). For Massey (2005), globalization refers to the ways the world is always already being made – a constant and conflictual constitution of the social. Herein lies both the uniqueness of place and the politics of place making (Massey, 2005).

Places are created by people to reflect individuals and collectivities through the spontaneously occurring organizing process of place making (Lew, 2017). Through a mix of both localized and globalized influences, elements of place making are both tangible and intangible, including urban design, built heritage, food, art, stories and imaginations. Successful place making, intended to enhance human connectivity, social interaction, and social and relational capital, requires awareness of the consequences of ongoing social and cultural change. This process is both planned – top-down activities reflecting, to various degrees, social and political structures, ideologies, experiences and identities beyond the local community – and organic.

Through individual agency, organic place making shapes places through everyday, mundane social practices and as such is an innate human behaviour. For Lew (2017), this spontaneous form of place making is particularly fundamental to the cultural soul of a place. Paradoxically, within the context of contemporary, post-industrial consumer culture, successful hybridized place making is likely to "enhance a [place's] competitive edge", attracting the creative classes, external interests and cultural tourists (Lew, 2017: 453). Indeed, through large and small, intended and unintended acts, peoples and places are selectively produced for and through tourism (MacKay, 1994; Hollinshead et al., 2009). Effectively transforming place according to a planned, neoliberal place making agenda, community-based tourism development often relies upon, markets and intends to capitalize upon the spontaneously occurring cultural character of a place (George et al., 2009; Lew, 2017; MacKay, 1994).

Chapter 1 presented in detail the ongoing social, cultural and economic dynamics related to Lunenburg's transition from primarily fishing and boatbuilding activities to cultural tourism activities. Social, cultural and economic transformation has been stimulated by the Atlantic fisheries crisis of the early 1990s and the concurrent UNESCO World Heritage Site designation of Lunenburg's Old Town neighbourhood, in 1995. UNESCO status has been capitalized upon, recognized early on for its

potential as a top-down, place making catalyst (George et al., 2009; Kayahan & VanBlarcom, 2012). Indeed, achieving Word Heritage Site designation is considered a deliberate effort to generate significant social and economic impacts, "using heritage as a tool to develop powerful identities for places and to initiate actions for making fundamental changes to [place]..." (Research Consulting Ltd & Trends Business Research Ltd, 2009, in Kayahan & Vanblarcom, 2012: 252). However, in contrast to the previous researchers, George, Mair and Reid (2009) consider tourism development in Lunenburg, around the turn of the 21st century, to be a passive response to pressures induced by globalization, including the loss of traditional economic activities.

UNESCO designation is also framed as an 'unexpected', 'timely and fortuitous event' which happened to coincide with two 'external factors': the collapse of the fishery as well as "a growing focus and strategic positioning of tourism, in particular, cultural tourism, throughout the entire province of Nova Scotia" (George et al., 2009: 41; Graham, 1998). Again, in contrast to George, Mair and Reid (2009), MacKay (1994) demonstrates that the state-led positioning of Nova Scotia as a tourism destination has a lively, centuries-long legacy and is neither an 'external' nor a new phenomenon (MacKay, 1994). Rather, by the mid-1990s, it could be argued that cultural selection and production of antimodernist Folk culture for tourism, as a socioeconomic strategy for attracting capital, skilled labour and demographic growth, is *integral* to the cultural character of the province. Indeed, the so-called Ivany report positions Nova Scotia as intrinsically conservative, underdeveloped and culturally resistant to change, thereby promoting the expansion of in-migration, including tourism, as an opportunity for the province to 'reinvent' itself (Ivany et al., 2014: 46).

This literature, as well as the majority of the texts cited in Chapter 1, examine the effects of tourism development in Lunenburg and in Nova Scotia, more broadly, reiterating a series of common themes, events and dynamics. However, what this disciplinarily and ideologically diverse research reveals are the multiple,

heterogeneous realities that exist in regard to the particular spatio-temporal context. Moreover, as readers engage with each text, it invariably becomes a powerful worldmaking tool, effectively (re)creating the very peoples, places and pasts it intends to describe and analyze (Denzin & Lincoln, 2018; Hollinshead et al., 2009). Thus, building upon the notion of place making, worldmaking incorporates the social and temporal dimensions of both localized contexts and of situated lifeworlds. The following section describes the worldmaking power of all tourism stakeholders, in Lunenburg and elsewhere, influencing the making, de-making and re-making of tourism worlds (Hollinshead et al., 2009).

2.2.4 Worldmaking agency

As the contemporary globalized world shifts from capitalism to hypercapitalism, from modernity to postmodernity, tourism increasingly frames the discursive, material and ideological world. Conflated with geopolitics as well as capitalist and imperialist ideologies, tourism acts as a normalizing agent, spreading the tastes and lifestyles of the West. Involving multiple agents at multiple scales in the service of capital accumulation, tourism also seems to be expanding for tourism's sake (Hollinshead et al., 2009; Lapointe et al., 2018; Tesfahuney & Schough, 2016). Through the processes of "conquering, transforming and transcoding [the] world and life in the interest of tourism", peoples and places are becoming consumer products, and virtually everything is potentially touristifiable (Tesfahuney & Schough, 2016: 12). As such, the shift from tourism to post-tourism is characterized by "a generalized social condition that entails de-differentiation between tourism and other social realms" (Jansson, 2018: 101). Indeed, it is increasingly difficult to draw boundaries between tourism and other activities, and the distinction between consumer, tourist, citizen and human is progressively blurred (Gibson, 2009; Rose et al., 2019; Saarinen, 2017; Tesfahuney & Schough, 2016).

Tourism is actively created by conquering territory, instilling a tourist spatial and lifestyle order, and exploiting any previous world order for the purposes of tourism (Tesfahuney & Schough, 2016). Through patterns reminiscent of colonialism and imperialism, tourism makes, de-makes and re-makes populations, destinations and heritages, generating new and often corrective knowledges about peoples, places and pasts (Hollinshead et al., 2009). The ordering power of tourism as a governance regime has evolved from state-led tourism development. Indeed, through privatization and economic deregulation, the state provides an operating framework to allow for market forces to prevail (Lapointe et al., 2018). As a result, the state, itself, is mediated by tourism, becoming an overriding force in the organization of space by "defining and encoding places as destinations and sightseeing attractions" (Tesfahuney & Schough, 2016: 28; Hollinshead, 2009b). Thus, worldmaking is used to describe the commonplace acts of normalization and naturalization which occur in and through tourism, addressing the power of tourism to selectively produce place images, narratives and cultural identities by reifying certain events, spaces and personalities (Hollinshead et al., 2009). This concept, encompassing a broad spectrum of processes and practices, is defined by Hollinshead (2009a), as:

> the creative and often "false" or "faux" imaginative processes and projective promotional activities that management agencies, other mediating bodies, and individuals strategically and ordinarily engage in to purposely (or otherwise unconsciously) privilege particular dominant/favoured representations of peoples/places/pasts within a given or assumed region area, or "world", over and above other actual or potential representations of those subjects. (Hollinshead, 2009a: 643)

Chapter 1 demonstrated the worldmaking agency of tourism, a powerful force in the making, de-making and re-making of populations, destinations and heritages for the benefit of privileged travellers and tourists. Tourism does not simply reproduce an unproblematic understanding of the world, nor "mirror some fixed world 'out there'" (Hollinshead et al., 2009: 428). Rather, tourism can be viewed as the productive

manufacturing of reality – a reality which is inevitably advantageous to some populations and suppressive to others (Hollinshead & Suleman, 2018). Indeed, according to McKay's (1994) thorough account of cultural selection and production for tourism in Nova Scotia, mediators of culture have historically been white, middle-class and urban. Rural peoples of the province have been transformed into cultural assets, reproduced as 'static and timeless' and whose culture "richly contrasts with the evils experienced elsewhere of metropolitan modernity and of urban-industrial living" (Hollishead, 2009b: 530; McKay, 1994). For the sake of profit, Nova Scotia's Folk culture has been produced for an international market of affluent tourists, travelling from Europe, the Unites States and urban centers in Canada.

In Lunenburg, UNESCO World Heritage Site designation is both revered and criticized for its potential to transform the town into a 'living history museum without walls', conflating the cultural evolution of the town with its tourism potential (George et al., 2009; Graham, 1998). Celebrating Lunenburg residents' capacity to preserve the town's cultural heritage, UNESCO (2020b) insists: "The inhabitants have managed to safeguard the city's identity throughout the centuries" (UNESCO, 2020b). However, heritage does not simply and innocently signify a series of traditional practices and artefacts recounting the cultural legacy of the town. Rather, through the prestigious accreditation by UNESCO, cultural heritage becomes a commodity created to satisfy contemporary consumer demand (George et al., 2009).

A variety of interest groups and organizations engage purposefully in the ordering and regulation of peoples, places and pasts for tourism, including promotional and management agencies, as well as other mediating bodies such as UNESCO. Given the breadth of tourism's perceived benefits, the business interests of managerial development span multiple scales and innumerable organizations, including UNWTO and the WTTC, DMOs such as Destination Canada and TNS, the private sector including airline companies, hotel operators and the Airbnb platform, as well as

entrepreneurs, to name these few. Moreover, deliberate efforts to produce natural (i.e. national parks), cultural (i.e. towns and cities) and contrived (i.e. resorts) tourismscapes is an agenda infiltrating research centres and academic institutions, committed to supporting strategic planning, management and operations of increasing and increasingly diverse tourism destinations. However, in addition to these top-down promotional, management and operational initiatives, individual actors are also becoming passive, normalizing agents, more or less aware of their biases in the collective manufacturing of realities (Hollinshead et al., 2009).

The potentially democratic process of worldmaking allows for each and every actor connected to, or disconnected from, a tourism destination to passively and/or actively engage in the creation of the tourism worlds we all visit/inhabit/work within/promote/are excluded from, or otherwise relate to. Attesting to the scope and scale of worldmaking for tourism, as well as the unavoidable engagement in this process, Hollinshead, Ateljevic and Ali (2009) affirm:

> those who worldmake (each and every one of us!) are already aesthetically conditioned and politically pre-imbued with what is worth seeing and celebrating […] worldmaking activities are like breathing: if you are there in the business of tourism, and you are 'sentient', *you are engaging in it*. (Hollinshead et al., 2009: 432 emphasis in original)

Indeed, there is virtually no innocent or neutral act of worldmaking. Given the simultaneous multiplicity of dynamic social relations connected to, and disconnected from, a tourism destination, worldmaking is inherently constant and conflictual; a political process (Hollinshead & Suleman, 2018; Massey, 1994; 2005). When structured by globalized capitalist accumulation and profit, and neoliberal place making agendas, worldmaking practices and strategies are likely to reproduce and/or exacerbate socio-spatial inequity. Indeed, on a global scale, tourism's ordering power reproduces hierarchical conceptions of places and peoples through colonial, racist and sexist beliefs, symbolic of the continued ordering of masculine and racialized power

and (im)mobility (Tesfahuney & Schough, 2016). Thus, whereas worldmaking is inevitably advantageous to some populations and simultaneously suppressive to others, it is important to understand which biases dominate worldmaking practices and whether they cause harm or disenfranchisement to populations and/or to alternative understandings about culture, nature and the lived world (paraphrasing Hollinshead & Suleman, 2018: 435).

Locally and globally, cultural evolution is conflated with such neoliberal capitalist ideals as accumulation, commodification, profit and travel. Embedded, hegemonic interpretations and perspectives of tourism worlds are reproduced by a range of tourism actors, whether they know it or not. However, despite the propensity for tourism worlds to evolve according to capitalist economic imperatives, worldmaking can also be inconsistent, producing alternative and contrasting visions and versions of a given world (Hollinshead & Suleman, 2018). Whereas profit-oriented power relations function through, and reinforce, hierarchical differences, ethically and creatively rethinking and reshaping worldmaking is, for Swain (2009), 'a cosmopolitan conundrum' which demands address. Thus, Swain (2009) implores:

> we must attend to both the overarching political economy of globalization with world-wide ethical issues, and the highly localized cultural diversity that cosmopolitan behaviours and ideologies celebrates and constantly reworks. (Swain, 2009: 522).

Taking into account the various actors, structures, ideologies and material conditions of tourism worlds, worldmaking is 'a wonderfully holistic notion' (Caton, 2013). Nevertheless, although the worldmaking agency and authority of tourism is well developed in the limited yet profound worldmaking literature, the ways in which worldmaking extends productively and hopefully to the ethical creation and positive transformation of tourism worlds is somewhat less advanced. This discord may be due, in part, to the attribution of worldmaking agency and authority to 'tourism' itself – ongoing cultural and political processes, a set of practices, a series of commercial

activities, etc. – rather than to the embodied actors, embedded in particular spatio-temporal contexts, who invariably enact and interpret worldmaking for and through tourism. Despite the consistent acknowledgment of each and everyone's worldmaking capacity, practical and empirical evidence to support this truth is underrepresented (for a notable exception, see Mair, 2009). Thus, drawing from the key contributions to this literature, three strategies for imagining and creating sustainable alternatives and futures in tourism worlds are identified.

Firstly, uncovering and creating alternative visions and versions of tourism worlds requires critical thinking in regard to the ways in which the world is understood and represented, by deconstructing the way tourism is made in a particular place (Hollinshead et al., 2009). Although it is acknowledged that the non-economic (i.e. non-capitalist) dynamics of worldmaking power are not well understood, this is not to say that such alternatives do not already, or could not potentially, exist (Hollinshead et al., 2009). Indeed, Swain (2009) proposes that ethical, transformational worldmaking may take place through the non-capitalist practices of tourism stakeholders and communities. Therefore, ethics involves bringing principals into action by thinking about tourism beyond or outside of global capitalism (Swain, 2009).

Secondly, the instrumentality and authority of worldmaking agency does not naturally fall into the hands, so to speak, of any particular individual, group or organization. Rather, whereas worldmaking acts are large and small, material and symbolic, intended and unintended, the conditions of knowing and understanding the world influence the production of actions that 'make sense' (Caton, 2013; Hollinshead et al., 2009). Although we are all heavily influenced by dominant discourses and ideologies, bringing imagination and interpretation into the light by examining the source of so-called 'common sense' can reconnect us with our own power as worldmaking agents. Thus, "[opening] a critical space in which we can envision different futures for tourism

knowledge and practice" requires acknowledging our inescapable role in the production of tourism worlds (Caton, 2013: 349).

Thirdly, the versions and visions which each and every individual, group or organization conceive of in relation to a place, its populations and its pasts relate to the embodied subjectivity of the particular 'worldmaker'. However, Swain (2009) points out that Hollinshead and collaborators do not explicitly or fully think about the embodied differences of worldmaking positionalities acknowledging, nevertheless, this may simply be implied (Swain, 2009). In response, Swain (2009) draws Hollinshead's writing on worldmaking in the direction of embodiment, recognizing that multiple worldmaking agents, including complex local, mobile and researcher subjectivities, simultaneously and invariably interpret and shape the world according to such intersecting differences as gender, race, class, nationality, sexuality and so forth (Swain, 2009). Thus, mapping the dynamic power relations that produce and define social positions in tourism worlds may lead to progressive detachment from dominant representations and to the creative imagination of ethical alternatives and of sustainable futures (Braidotti, 2011; Caton, 2013; Massey, 2005).

Tourism is the powerful worldmaking medium of our time. An agent of globalization, tourism plays an active role in the dynamic and ongoing transformations of local contexts (Saarinen, 2004; Swain, 2009). Nevertheless, tourism tends to generate different and unique places and cultures across the world, given that there is no 'neat and tidy' worldmaking system (Hollinshead, 2007; Hollinshead et al., 2009). Whereas tourism is comprised of the very peoples and places it intends to make, de-make and re-make for the leisure consumption of the mobile elite, the potential to disrupt subjugating worldmaking processes begins by acknowledging the worldmaking agency of every embodied actor in tourism worlds. Indeed, by recognizing that "[i]magination, choice, and world shapes [are] linked in a productive circle", worldmaking agency and authority is entrusted to every individual, group and organization connected to, and

disconnected from, a particular tourism destination (Caton, 2013: 349). Finally, given the pervasiveness of tourism, the imagination and creation of alternative and ethical versions and visions of peoples, places, pasts and futures is an epistemic endeavor. As researchers, we are urged to look beyond the limits of global capitalist relations to the non-capitalist practices – and, potentially, non-tourism practices (Brouder, 2018) – of tourism community stakeholders (Hollinshead et al., 2009; Mosedale, 2012; Swain, 2009).

2.3 Synopsis: Metaphorical and embodied figurations

Metaphorical figurations have been developed as a strategy for constructing theories of postmodern ethics, of globalization, and of rootless and meandering existence (Cresswell, 2011; Veijola & Jokinen, 2008). Indeed, the voluntary/involuntary mobility binary is a simplistic paradigm developed by Bauman (1998), producing and classifying the ideal-types of 'tourist' and 'vagabond'; of consumer and of those dedicating themselves to the production of 'tourist services' (Bauman, 1998: 92). For Bauman (1998), postmodern consumer society is stratified according to degrees of mobility; to "[the] freedom to choose where to be" (Bauman, 1998: 86). Moreover, following Bauman's categorization, these subject types can be reframed through political intent according to "the political apathy of the 'tourist' versus the political resistance of the 'vagabond'" (Ray, 2020: 8). Although helpful for examining postmodern, consumer culture, Bauman's binary categorization is nevertheless critiqued.

Bauman's (1987; 1998; 2005) categorization is proven to have little resonance in some contexts, including the non-West. Moreover, the metaphorical tourist, insofar as it represents actually embodied and socially embedded subjects, is nevertheless subject to the conditions for voluntary mobility thereby contradicting the very notion of freedom and choice (Ray, 2020: 3). Indeed, Korstanje (2018) theorizes the mobilities

paradox according to which freedom is conferred to tourists through a 'false sense of free will' (Ray, 2020: 3; Korstanje, 2018). Engaging in popular commercialized practices of mobility – be they automobility, mass tourism or otherwise – is regarded as coerced, intense flexibility. For example, (auto)mobility as a source of freedom "facilitates drivers to move elsewhere but they are always limited in a system of roads and ways, which are prefixed in favor of a structure of auto-space" (Korstanje, 2018: 12). Therefore, although Bauman's figurations are replete with symbolism, they do not adequately evoke the material conditions of the embodied and embedded subjects who, through their everyday acts of living, working, imagining and choosing, navigate and negotiate the postmodern world. Simply put, specific life-worlds do not translate into universal sociological categories (Ray, 2020).

By contrast, the figuration of the regionally mobile woman contributing to Lunenburg's tourism workforce is not a metaphorical subjectivity. Rather, the social figure is developed as a particular subject position from which the dynamic interplay between subjectivity and power relations can be mapped[17]. Moreover, embodied postmodern subjectivities undergo permanent processes of transformation and as such are complex. Therefore, the notions of gender, lifestyle mobility, Lunenburg, as a relational place, and the worldmaking agency of tourism and tourism stakeholders have been conceptualized. Indeed, tourism worlds are highly influenced by each of these aforementioned social constructs and cultural processes. Thus, these interconnected dimensions are thought of as cumulative layers of complexity that characterize this particular subject position which, nevertheless, do not constitute an exhaustive representation of this figuration. Indeed, numerous embodied differences such as age, sexuality, and family status are omitted from this analysis, allowing for substantial diversity within this socially constructed group.

[17] For example, Veijola & Jokinen (2008) use the embodied social figure of 'hostess' as a theoretical tool for understanding tourism, contemporary subjectivities, and social and symbolic orders.

The subject is dynamic and changing, collectively assembled and externally related, acting in a time continuum. The process of becoming assumes that identity takes place in between binaries, in the spaces that connect "nature/technology, male/female, black/white, local/global, present/past" (Braidotti, 2011: 217). Therefore, it is only at a specific location in time and space that the nonunitary subject is engaged with. Bringing into representation a particular positionality at a specific moment in time and space, many of the overlapping and interrelated power structures and flows that shape social life can be uncovered. Moreover, the conceptualization of the regionally mobile woman contributing to Lunenburg's tourism workforce, supported in this chapter by an interdisciplinary interpretative framework, is based upon my own lived experience. Indeed, through living and working in Lunenburg, it is apparent that this positionality is prevalent within the research context. Thus, the following chapter outlines autoethnography as a strategy for addressing the research questions presented in Chapter 1. Positioning the researcher as both interpreter and interpreted, as analyst and storyteller, Chapter 3 justifies the autoethnographic process and the creation of evocative, thick description of our lived personal and interpersonal experiences (Ellis et al., 2011).

CHAPTER III

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

> *I recall the moment I fell in love with Lunenburg. It was an evening in early May when we danced around the kitchen. I pressed a local farm egg into flour, forming a ball of dough while steam rose from the stock pot, prepared for cooking many pounds of fresh mussels. Taking turns rolling out and hanging up fresh pasta, I looked to my newfound friend and asked, hopefully: 'Is it always like this here?' Smiling warmly, with excitement in her eyes, she answered: 'Yes, it is!'*

The development of theoretical and relational understandings of the broader economic, cultural, political and historic context in which my experiences take place has enabled critical reflection about such phenomena as gender division within the service industry, lifestyle mobility, and worldmaking for and through tourism. It appears that women, particularly educated and creative white, urbanized women from away, contribute meaningfully to Lunenburg's seasonal tourism workforce. What I recall as a magical and idyllic summer of living and working in Lunenburg, some years ago, is also combined with feelings of conflict and anxiety. The desire to carefully unravel the cultural, political and economic threads that weave together forming patterns of precarious, performative labour, uneven mobility and selective cultural production, emanates from personal experiences of tension and contradiction in relation to tourism.

Placing emphasis on the perspectives of its participants, this exploratory and descriptive qualitative research begins to generate theory from the lived experiences of regionally mobile women comprising Lunenburg's tourism labour force, including myself. Experiencing simultaneous privilege and disadvantage, individual and

collective experiences of lifestyle mobility and tourism industry employment in Lunenburg are analyzed and expressed by mobilizing the interpretive framework outlined in the previous chapter. Embracing the dialectics that underpin society, critical thinking highlights opposing interests and contradictions. The purpose of this chapter is twofold.

Firstly, this chapter begins by establishing qualitative inquiry as a values-led way to approach social inquiry and to practice research. Whereas tourism research is dominated by business management agendas, this research strategy is framed by the CTS movement and, more specifically, by feminist approaches. Secondly, autoethnography is presented as the research process for addressing the questions and goals, outlined in Chapter 1. Situating myself as informant, researcher and author, the autoethnographic approach facilitates conversations about experiences of injustice and enables critical reflection regarding the uneven processes shaping tourism worlds. Optimistically, these conversations provide insight into the social and spatial segregation produced for and through tourism, thereby highlighting opportunities for creative and ethical alternatives.

3.1 Qualitative inquiry

"A text does not mirror the world; it creates the world" (Denzin & Lincoln, 2018: 18). The pursuit of social justice through transformative inquiry is the role of contemporary qualitative critical research. To do so, a wide variety of strategies have been and continue to be created for addressing research problems, orientated by reflexive, participatory, and emancipatory inquiry and praxis. Given the immensity of the field and the overarching impetus to 'make the world a better place', the researcher is tasked with carefully designing a research strategy within the range of possible methods in order to meaningfully address the problem at hand (Denzin & Lincoln, 2018). A values-led way of conceptualizing and approaching social inquiry and practicing research,

qualitative research is both process and product, at the meeting place where science and art connect (Chang, 2013; Phillimore & Goodson, 2004b; Ryan & Mooney, 2018; Tullis, 2013).

Increasingly sophisticated qualitative research in the social sciences has emerged since the qualitative versus quantitative 'paradigm wars' of the 1980s (Denzin & Lincoln, 2018). As opposed to quantitative methods, qualitative research does not address phenomena using measurements nor produce calculable results. There is no hypothesis to test nor facts to verify and observe through the research process. Transferred to the realm of social sciences, objective thinking rooted in empirical observation with the pretense that results can be extrapolated and generalized broadly has been characteristic of the natural sciences. In contrast, qualitative inquiry critiques this reasoned, positivist approach to knowledge production, giving meaning to the researcher's subjective positionality and the relationship between researcher and researched, recognizing the situatedness of knowledge (Denzin & Lincoln, 2018; Haraway, 1988; Phillimore & Goodson, 2004b). Indeed, this qualitative research process is guided by philosophical underpinnings – nomadic thought and situated knowledge (see section 2.1) – determining how research is approached and interpreted (Phillimore & Goodson, 2004b).

The open-ended nature of a qualitative research project is exploratory and descriptive in its process and product. The researcher is *bricoleur*, piecing together sets of practices to form a research approach (Phillimore & Goodson, 2004b: 34 emphasis in original; Denzin & Lincoln, 2018). The messy and nonlinear research process is highly subjective, taking into account the ethics, values, politics and histories of the researcher. Inspiring hope and providing opportunities for people to resist oppression, "the field of qualitative research is on the move and moving in several different directions at the same time" (Denzin & Lincoln, 2018: 29). Whereas qualitative inquiry is a radical democratic practice and can help initiate positive transformations,

guidelines and research agendas imposed by funding and research institutions can limit practices through 'methodological conservatism' within neoliberal political regimes (Denzin & Lincoln, 2018). Indeed, the business world of tourism continues to rely heavily on quantitative research approaches, statistically oriented for forecasting trends and addressing their bottom line (Phillimore & Goodson, 2004b). Indeed, much work remains to be done to transcend the academic climate 'saturated by positivist discourses', producing research that is non-reflexively framed by institutionalized neoliberal economic discourses and patriarchal structures (Chambers et al., 2017; Figueroa et al, 2015; Munar et al., 2015; Pritchard & Morgan, 2007; 2017).

Following Ellis and Bochner (2006), my personal life experiences relating to tourism work and spatial mobility are the root of this research project. Paying attention to feelings, thoughts and emotions through 'systematic sociological introspection', I am attempting to understand what I, and those around me, live through (Ellis & Brochner, 2006: 737; Chang, 2013). The problematization of socio-spatial transformations related to tourism development in Lunenburg, examined from the perspectives of regionally mobile women working in tourism, is a critical qualitative project designed to dialectically highlight tensions and contradictions relating to labour, mobility and cultural production. Thus, adopting autoethnography as a research methodology, the lived experiences of a small group of women are examined through a series of one-on-one conversations. The following section describes the research process, positioning the researcher as both interpreter and interpreted, as analyst and storyteller, in the production of evocative, thick description of our lived personal and interpersonal experiences (Ellis et al., 2011).

3.2 Autoethnography

Autoethnography is a methodological tool combining characteristics of autobiography and ethnography, drawing upon personal experience to examine and critique cultural

phenomena (Ellis et al., 2011). It is both scientific and artful in its form, meeting the standards of social science research while performing affective, therapeutic writing (Ryan & Mooney, 2018; Tullis, 2013). Aiming to understand culture by studying relational practices, values and shared experiences, the life of the researcher is studied alongside cultural members' lives (Ellis et al., 2011; Roelofsen, 2018). "[N]ot visiting, nor leaving the field, but living in the field", the autoethnographer is always at the center of the research phenomenon (Valtonen & Haanpää, 2018: 131).

Autoethnographic research draws upon the personal experiences of both researcher and research participants thereby implicating collaborators, as well as their intimate others, in the project (Chang, 2013; Ellis et al., 2011). Using reflexive and narrative techniques, autoethnography embraces subjectivity, affect and the heterogenous multiplicities of the self (Ellis et al., 2011; Haraway, 1988). Adopting a multi-scalar approach, the research problem is addressed through the exploration of practices and performances of tourism labour and spatial mobility, enacted within the localized context and contingent upon fragmented and decentralized power relations produced through and alongside globalization and consumer capitalism. Autoethnography is both a research process and a product.

The research process begins by recognizing the centrality of the researcher as interpreter and interpreted, as analyst and storyteller. The remainder of this chapter is organized according to the following activities: 1) critically reflecting upon and theorizing the autoethnographer's position (Haraway, 1988; Roelofsen, 2018 Tullis, 2013;); 2) highlighting the relational ethical concerns inherent to the autoethnographic research design, drawing upon relationships both within and extending beyond the spatio-temporal research context (Tullis, 2013); 3) describing the nature of participation, a collaborative endeavour between researcher and participants utilizing purposeful sampling and conversational interviews to compile research data; and 4) presenting the strategy for analyzing and representing research findings, a process

falling somewhere along the continuum from artistic to analytic (Chang, 2013; Tullis, 2013; Ryan & Mooney, 2018). Inspired by the contributions of feminist autoethnographic researchers within the CTS movement, this project design facilitates the production of meaningful, embodied, narrative research.

3.2.1 Positioning the researcher

Growing up in central Halifax, Nova Scotia at the turn on the 21st century, pursuing a career in the hospitality and tourism industry, especially within the food and beverage sector, came naturally. As a hard-working, creative and curious young woman, I embraced the many opportunities available to me in these sectors. At the age of 20, I moved to Montréal, Québec to attend a Culinary Arts program with the goal of one day returning to Nova Scotia to operate my own small business. Throughout my twenties, I developed skills in my field, attaining the position of sous-chef at an intimate fine-dining restaurant in downtown Montréal.

Working long, stressful shifts late into the night, I embraced the prevalent service-industry culture of partying and substance abuse, living a life of excess and duress. Seeking opportunities for further career advancement and desiring a more stable work environment, I enrolled in an undergraduate tourism and hospitality program within the business management faculty at UQAM. Easily relating my work experience to the business theory being taught, I became particularly interested in the employment conditions within the hospitality and tourism sectors. Indeed, noticing the differential positions of the various individuals and social groups that comprise the industry, I began situating myself within the social hierarchy.

During my education, I was invited to work as a cook, for a summer, in a restaurant in Lunenburg, Nova Scotia. I was among an entirely white, female staff, mostly university educated and urban-based, living temporarily in and around the colourful and bustling

tourist town. I was surprised by the stark gender division within the tourism workforce, and I felt uneasy about the cultural clashes I perceived between transient tourism workers, local residents and tourists. I was stressed by the pressure to perform exceptional food service, and I was disappointed by the conditions of my employment, despite my expertise. I simultaneously loved and loathed the summer spent working and living in the region.

Comparing and contrasting the various service work positions that I held over the course of many years piqued my intellectual curiosity. However, these thoughts lay dormant for some time, until I began a master's degree program in Tourism Development at UQAM in 2017. The opportunity to critically reflect upon tourism worlds led me to examine my own career and lifestyle, fundamentally connected with both service sector employment and spatial mobility. At the age of 30, studying critical social theory provided me with the intellectual capacity, and the time, to delve into my messy thoughts and feelings. Positioning myself within broader economic, social and cultural processes, I began understanding, accepting and expressing reflexive and affective responses to my lived experience. Meeting, for the first time, with some of the most influential tourism scholars at the eighth CTS conference held in Ibiza, Spain in 2019, I was inspired to perform autoethnography as a methodology for exploring my simultaneous privilege and disadvantage.

In 2019, I returned to Lunenburg County to establish residence and pursue employment as a frontline tourism worker. Beginning to value the implicit knowledge from which meaningful questions could be posed, I designed this research project as my master's thesis. Introspectively and selectively drawing upon my own lived experiences, this research is produced by relating to the similar and contrasting experiences of regionally mobile women comprising Lunenburg's tourism workforce. Embodying the roles of researcher, informant and author, the autoethnographic approach is a conversation about social justice, facilitating critique of the uneven processes shaping tourism

worlds. Drawing upon the personal experiences of both researcher and research participants, countless actors are implicated in the project. Thus, the following section addresses the relational ethics of the autoethnographic research design.

3.2.2 Relational ethics

Guided by such values as respect, wellbeing and justice, UQAM's ethics committee for student research projects implicating human beings (CERPÉ) has approved this research project. From the conception of the project, through the course of participation, to the representations of research participants' intimate embodied and affective accounts, strategies are implemented to respect all collaborators and honour their contributions. Indeed, autoethnographic research draws upon the personal experiences of both researcher and research participants, thereby implicating in the project collaborators as well as their intimate others (Ellis et al., 2011). For this reason, relational concerns have remained the foremost priority in the design of the research process and product. Whereas UQAM's ethics committee is particularly concerned with the protection of research participants, I acknowledge my own vulnerability, as well as the exposure of everyone implicated in the project.

3.2.2.1 Vulnerability

The autoethnographic text exposes others while simultaneously making the author, themself, vulnerable. Whereas the interrogation of past experiences as well as the writing process may be therapeutic, these activities can evoke memories and emotions that require professional attention (Tullis, 2013). Indeed, self-exploration related to ongoing experiences of spatial mobility and service sector employment has been generating a range of affective responses. These include a sense of autonomy and of self-control, as well as darker feelings relating to a lack of self-worth and capability.

Juxtaposing my capacity to freely move from place to place with the precarious working conditions that, ultimately, led to professional burnout some years ago, the guidance and support of a psychologist, during the creation of this research project, has been essential. Situating myself within the broader economic, political and cultural context that continues to shape my life, it has become apparent that drawing upon situated knowledges would further develop the understanding of such experiences. Thus, women considered to be part of a shared social position, and with whom common experiences could be mutually relatable, have been invited to participate in the research.

Engaging research participants with whom commonalities could be discussed and explored, there is no hierarchy nor relational authority between myself, as researcher, and the collaborators. Rather, given our shared positionalities, the research process provided opportunities for solidarity and friendship to arise. The research strategy, described in the following sub-section, called upon members of small group of women to each undertake an individual, in-depth conversational interview, allowing for researcher and participant to probe, together, aspects of our daily lives as they relate to tourism employment and spatial mobility. Reminiscent of talk therapy, the conversational interview approach focused on active and empathetic listening. Furthermore, feeling a responsibility to exchange with each participant as much personal information as they were offering me, we thereby shared in the experience of vulnerability inherent to the disclosure of intimate, personal thoughts and feelings (Ryan & Mooney, 2018).

The importance of seeking alternative knowledges and of cultivating critical thought was collectively understood, enabling the research process to become a series of enriching and validating experiences for both researcher and participants. As an exercise in introspection and in the cultivation of critical thought, I adopted an analytical mindset, guiding the conversation through questions and prompts based upon

my own subjective experiences, values and academic knowledge. However, when faced with thoughts and questions for which I held academic knowledge, I refrained from employing a pedagogical tone. Rather, opportunities for sharing academic knowledge occurred prior to, and following, the interview. Indeed, I have remained available for participants to communicate with me should they wish to gain further understanding of the uneven forces that shape our tourism worlds.

Discussing aspects of each participant's daily life as it relates to tourism employment and spatial mobility, the conversations were quite ordinary in their form and in their content. However, reflecting upon my own personal experiences while engaging with critical social theory enabled me to anticipate somewhat difficult conversations to emerge. Indeed, emotionally charged topics such as financial precarity, verbal and sexual harassment in the workplace, and the absence of a strong sense of belonging were discussed. While no matters of immediate concern were addressed and no one involved was in danger, I was prepared to be supportive in case of need. Second Story Women's Centre (SSWC) in Lunenburg[18] was pre-emptively identified as a potential support system available to research participants.

3.2.2.2 Consent

Protecting identity and keeping private information confidential are imperative to the research process. More specifically, the protection and preservation of relationships between participants and their employers, their landlords and their community, more broadly, has been, and continues to be, of utmost concern. Thus, informed consent was provided by each collaborator to voluntarily participate in this project, with the condition of anonymity (see Appendix A). Indeed, by contrast to journalistic reporting

[18] SSWC provides many services for women, girls and other gender oppressed people including support, counselling, referrals, personal development programs, advocacy, wellness programs, etc. (SSWC, 2020).

in which active and engaged community members may wish to be identified, this project takes for granted that no research participant wishes to speak openly and transparently of the personal and sensitive issues that emerge. Therefore, given the small size of the town's community and the limited number of tourism actors within it, personal details are altered and omitted with the primary objective of protecting the privacy of research participants and their community members.

Public scrutiny of the autoethnographic text is a potentially gratifying and affirmative experience. However, it can also be painful for a personal story to be critiqued (Ryan & Mooney, 2018; Tullis, 2013). Therefore, as a strategy for protecting the identities of all collaborators as well as their intimate others, anonymity is achieved in the presentation of research findings by combining and conflating all research participant narratives, including my own. Whereas the essence and meaningfulness of both the research process and product are more important than the precise details of personal accounts, the creation of composite characters is employed as a technique for de-identifying and obscuring individual narratives. Continuing to live and work within the research context, I am careful to protect the people and the relationships that have shaped both this project and the community of Lunenburg (Ellis et al., 2011).

Because the accurate representation of individual embodied and affective experiences is not a key priority, participants have not been systematically invited to review and validate interview transcripts, nor authorize the presentation of research findings. This is a moral choice precluding participants from being autonomous and voluntary collaborators throughout the research process. However, based upon the nature of participation and the style of narrative representation in Chapter 4, ongoing consent and member checking have not been deemed necessary for this project (Tullis, 2013).

3.2.3 Research participation

Probing together, in conversation, the topic of research, this project is a collaborative endeavour between researcher and research participants (Ellis et al., 2011). Participation was organized through purposeful sampling based upon a set of criteria developed through both personal experience and formal knowledge. Utilizing open-ended discussion as a means for gathering relevant data, an interview guideline was developed and loosely followed (see Appendix B), allowing participants to reveal issues most meaningful to them. A single individual conversational interview was held with each of the five research participants in Lunenburg at the beginning of the tourism season in 2019[19]. Additionally, in order to include my own experience in the findings, I participated in a conversational interview as informant, facilitated by a trusted friend. In total, the research dataset is composed of the transcripts of six in-depth and open-ended conversational interviews undertaken in 2019 and 2020, supported by research journal entries produced during the recruitment and interview period.

3.2.3.1 Purposeful sampling

A set of criteria was developed to narrow the scope of potential research participants in order to effectively address the research questions and fulfill the research aspirations. These are based upon four key areas including participants' gender identity, their professional status, the location of their employment and their experience of spatial mobility. Intending to engage with women who experience both lifestyle mobility and precarious tourism employment, the criteria were designed to recruit women who actively choose to live in the Lunenburg area and who work in the tourism sectors,

[19] For logistical reasons, the number of individual conversational interviews per research participant has been reduced from two to one.

either by choice or by default. Thus, anyone identifying as any other gender, as well as young women under the age of 18, have been excluded from participation.

Purposeful sampling relied upon the effective communication of the research project to potential participants. Through the use of a recruitment poster combined with casual encounters, both the nature of participation and the aims of the research project were disclosed to potential participants (see Appendix C). A handful of standard size paper posters were displayed in public areas including the municipal library, grocery stores and cafés. Furthermore, copies of the recruitment poster were manually distributed to shops, food and beverage establishments, museums and tourism associations, enabling me to both introduce myself as student-researcher and describe the research process to the women moving through and working in these spaces. In total, five women agreed to participate in one single recorded conversational interview conducted by me, student-researcher. Additionally, having voluntary moved to Lunenburg, myself, in the summer of 2019 to establish residence and work in the tourism sector, I wished to include my own experience in the research findings.

Forming a cohesive social group, at the time of participation each collaborator identified as:

1. a woman, 18 years of age or older;
2. working in the tourism sector during the summer of 2019;
3. holding a paid position operating partially, or wholly, within Lunenburg's World Heritage District; and
4. (re)establishing residence or temporarily living in Lunenburg County[20].

[20] This criterion was met according to participants' experience of living both in, and away from, Lunenburg County within the past five years and each, for a minimum of four consecutive months (i.e. equivalent to the duration of Lunenburg's tourism season).

The six participants were anglophone, white and Canadian. All of the research participants were in direct contact with consumers/guests/tourists/locals/customers on a regular basis. All have lived in major Canadian cities, and most discussed experience with university education. Within the group, age ranged from early twenties to fifties, although most participants were between 30 and 39 years of age. Whereas statistical validity is in no way of concern, the qualitative research design aimed to draw upon the lived experiences of at least five, and no more than ten, regionally mobile women comprising Lunenburg's tourism workforce. Although the limited number of research participants does not conflict with the purpose of this project, limitations relating to the recruitment process were nevertheless encountered, and are disclosed at the end of this section.

3.2.4 Data collection

Probing into the experiences of lifestyle mobility and precarious tourism labour, contemporary political, economic and cultural processes shaping the tourism landscape could be explored, holistically. Taking place in comfortable and sometimes not-so-quiet locations, our recorded conversations were conducted in homes and in workplaces, both mine and theirs. Each interview lasted between roughly 60 and 90 minutes, allowing some participants to slowly and reflexively recount prominent moments in their lives, and others to enthusiastically articulate their frustrations regarding the injustices experienced within their tourism worlds. Allowing for participants to spontaneously discuss issues that were of most import to them, the interview guideline was only loosely followed.

Each interview began by asking the broad opening question: 'Can you tell me about your experience working in tourism in Lunenburg?'. The conversational style facilitated retrospective and introspective thought while allowing the conversation to flow in various directions. As a research participant, I waited several months before

engaging in a guided conversational interview in order to meet the research criteria. Conducted in early 2020, the conversation was facilitated by a close female friend in her mid-thirties and roughly my age, enrolled in a master's degree program in the social sciences. Despite the vulnerability inherent to this type of interview, most participants conveyed their appreciation for the opportunity to discuss matters seldom addressed or expressed.

The research design effectively produced a rich dataset complimented by journal notes taken during the recruitment and data collection phases. Despite the substantial dataset, some limitations to the recruitment strategy may account for the modest participation rate, situated at the lower end of the targeted number of participants. Firstly, the topic of research as outlined in the recruitment poster and presented verbally may have been unclear and/or unappealing to potential participants. Furthermore, the nature of participation may have been a deterring factor due to time constraints and/or the degree of personal implication in the project. Secondly, the participation criteria could have been perceived as ambiguous and maybe even controversial. In one instance, a recruitment poster was distributed to what appeared to be an unambiguously tourism-oriented business. However, the business was identified by a woman working there as a community-based business thereby eliminating the possibility of her participation. Lastly, although several potential participants met the research criteria and expressed interest in participating in the project, many of them intended to seek permission to do so from their supervisors. As a result, none of the women concerned with their superiors' approval participated in the project. These limitations are described in greater detail in conclusion to Chapter 5.

Using purposeful sampling within the small community in which I live and work, personal and professional relationships with participants were in some cases pre-established and in others subsequently developed. Respecting and protecting the people and the relationships that are implicated in the project has remained of utmost concern

throughout the research process, the importance of which is equally prominent in the research product.

3.2.5 Analysis and representation

Autoethnographic writing builds upon ethnography and autobiography, mobilizing scientific and literary expressions "[seeking] to produce aesthetic and evocative thick descriptions of personal and interpersonal experience" (Ellis et al., 2011: 277). Creative liberties are taken to carefully weave together segments from the transcribed narrations, deliberately combining and contrasting the six distinct voices according to emergent themes. By creating composite characters and, thereby, intentionally de-identifying participants, personal details including workplaces and relationships are obscured. Blurring the boundaries between our individual experiences, our life stories are strategically linked to both the localized and the broader cultural contexts, as well as to the academic literature (Tullis, 2013). Indeed, interpretive analysis proceeds throughout the representation of the co-narrative account in Chapter 4, highlighting the values, thoughts and feelings of the autoethnographer.

Identifying and interpreting the patterns of meaning emerging from the lived experiences of regionally mobile women working in Lunenburg's tourism industry, transcripts of the six individual in-depth conversational interviews serve as the primary resources from which the research findings are constructed. Thematic analysis of the dataset progressed through a process of reading and rereading the six narrative accounts. However, analysis has not been limited to the transcribed texts, but has developed throughout the various phases of the research process by paying attention to my everyday life. For example, awareness of both the local and global contexts reveal that the people and the tourism organizations implicated in this research continually change, moving within the localized landscape and sometimes disappearing, altogether. The primary themes emerging from the research process include 1) the

diversity of mobile lifestyles; 2) the emotional labour and cognitive strain inherent to both services-sector work and informal tourism work; 3) the individualized and subjective construction of tourism's spatial, temporal and psychological boundaries; 4) divergent lifestyle aspirations, given the capacity for regionally mobile women to freely move to, through and away from Lunenburg; and 5) their potentiality for critical reflection in regard to the uneven processes shaping tourism worlds. Whereas the four initial themes relate, primarily, to the particular spatio-temporal context, the final emergent theme expands beyond the localized landscape, recognizing the worldmaking authority of tourism and of global capitalism. Indeed, the literal and symbolic practice of taking time to breathe emerges as an opportunity for critically and creatively imagining and re-making ethical and sustainable tourism worlds.

The representation of research findings in Chapter 4 lies somewhere along the continuum from artistic to analytic. Exploring the personal and the cultural, the research strategy draws upon both personal introspection and in-depth conversational interviews with women of a socially constructed group, producing accounts both personal as well as beyond the scope of the author's experience. Nevertheless, emphasizing the affective and embodied experiences that have been recounted, the research findings are presented using the first person, singular 'I'. However, as emergent processes, each participant's complex identity and lifestyle are combined with the others to form a sometimes harmonious and often discorded narrative – a beautiful cacophony, of sorts. Indeed, the story moves easily between unique individual accounts and collective experiences and, therefore, the literal number of voices is irrelevant.

As a novice researcher, writer and autoethnographer, the production of a narrative text that is adequately scientific and artistic, both legitimate and imaginative, is a daunting task (Ryan & Mooney, 2018). However, inspiration for creating this project is rooted in the contributions of feminist researchers and writers within the CTS movement who

have experimented with this 'methodological play field' in order to produce meaningful, embodied, narrative research (Veijola & Jokinen, 1994). Poignant autoethnographic accounts written by and for women in tourism include, most notably, Veijola and Jokinen's *The Body in Tourism* (1994); Munar's *To be a feminist in (tourism) academia* (2017); Ryan and Mooney's *Autoethnography: adding our stories to EDI research* (2018); Valtonen and Haanpää's *The Body in Authoethnography* (2018); and Roelofsen's *Performing "home" in the sharing economies of tourism: the Airbnb experience in Sofia, Bulgaria* (2018). Indeed, it was during a beach-side soirée spent in the company of some of these women that the possibility of performing autoethnographic research was first discussed.

The findings presented in the following chapter are conveyed through theoretically rigorous and aesthetically compelling expression characteristic of autoethnographic writing. The presentation of findings adopts a more informal tone, making this scholarly work accessible to audiences beyond the academic context (Holman Jones et al., 2013; Ryan & Mooney, 2018). Indeed, the reader is invited to embark on the adventure of regional mobility and precarious, feminized tourism labour, provided with the opportunity to navigate and negotiate various aspects of postmodern subjecthood. In this manner, the audience becomes integral to the text, empathizing with or resisting certain elements of the narrative (Ryan & Mooney, 2018). Presented in the style of a 'Choose Your Own Adventure' story, Chapter 4 is both scientific and artful in its form, meeting the standards of social science research while performing affective and playful, therapeutic writing.

CHAPTER IV

RESEARCH FINDINGS

The autoethnographic narrative recounts the co-authors' need for change and adventure in life. Indeed, the co-narrators have moved around a lot and have lived in a lot of different places – "moving around feels easy, even when it's not". This is an account of life stories developing simultaneously and sometimes interacting, but mostly proceeding along separate tracks. By virtue of the heterogeneity of the experiences within this social group, the narrative account reads more like a 'Choose Your Own Adventure' story than a coherent autobiography. A tale of 'Choose Your Own Adventure' is a form of interactive storytelling in which the reader becomes the protagonist and is an agent in how the narrative unfolds. Adventure is both noun and verb, encompassing elements of excitement, danger, uncertainty and risk (Merriam-Webster, 2020). This form of popular children's fiction is alluded to in order to embrace the collection of narrative accounts, replete with convergences and turning points thereby paving the way for multiple possible life worlds (Rodgers, 2012).

This chapter is designed to provide meaningful empirical evidence, as well as thematic analysis, of the ongoing and dynamic socio-spatial transformations taking place in Lunenburg. Fulfilling this task, the narrative text integrates critical theory and lived experience through dialectical and creative thinking and expression (Aitchison, 2005). Alluding to the interpretive framework presented in Chapter 2, the embodied and affective narrative account is expressed in the words of research participants allowing the reader to relate to, empathize with or resist certain elements of the text (Ryan &

Mooney, 2018). Indeed, the narrative text portrays personal lived experience that is both unique to the research participants and quite ordinary in its content. However, as a word of caution, some passages are emotionally fraught, especially those recalling and expressing experiences of financial precarity, uncertainty, abuse in the workplace, crossed boundaries and social disconnection, and may be triggering to some readers. Therefore, in an effort to meet the standards of social sciences research while providing the reader with context – and periodical emotional pauses – each of the five themes presented is briefly analyzed before the corresponding narrative account is delved into. This strategy effectively blurs the boundaries of two prominent autoethnographic 'types', namely descriptive-realist and analytical-interpretive (Chang, 2013; Ryan & Mooney, 2018).

4.1 Choose your own adventure

The autoethnographic account of regionally mobile women contributing to Lunenburg's tourism workforce in 2019 explores: 1) mobile lifestyles; 2) emotional labour and dissonance; 3) spatial, temporal and psychological boundaries; 4) futures; and 5) critical reflection. Within each of these five themes, contrasting and contradictory experiences, as well as the conditions surrounding them, are presented. Indeed, the co-narrators' simultaneous subjugation and agency permeates the accounts and, in a playful manner, is transferred to the reader. Thus, the reader is invited – and in some instances obligated – to string together a component from each theme, constructing a singular tale among the many possible life story narratives.

4.1.1 Mobile lifestyles

Blurring the boundaries between citizenship, leisure and labour market participation, between travel and migration, a series of distinctive lifestyles are shaped by, and

shaping, the localized landscape (Gibson, 2009; Rose et al., 2019; Saarinen, 2017; Tesfahuney & Schough, 2016). Whereas the local and the global are co-constitutive, the Town of Lunenburg is interpreted, experienced and represented by regionally mobile women working in tourism in 2019 according to the simultaneous multiplicity of practices, relations, aspirations and ideologies which differentiate the women of this social group (Massey, 1994; 2005). Indeed, tourism work, including entrepreneurship, may be part of what draws spatially mobile women to Lunenburg, but it is not necessarily the primary motivating factor for (re)establishing residence, permanently or temporarily, in Lunenburg County (Adler & Adler, 1999; Ateljevic & Doorne, 2000; Bianchi, 2000; Joppe, 2012; Lundmark, 2006; Ooi et al., 2016; Tuulentie & Heimtun, 2014). Thus, differentially relating to Lunenburg, three distinctive mobile lifestyles emerge from the narrative accounts. This story begins by offering the reader a choice to engage in one of the following mobile lifestyles:

1. Entrepreneurship, in which Lunenburg is a business opportunity; or
2. Art making, in which Lunenburg is a creative and collaborative community; or
3. Social activism, in which Lunenburg is a politically progressive town.

4.1.1.1 Entrepreneurship

Growing up, I had the idea of having my own shop one day. I have management experience, and I had a little bit of money to invest in something. It was during one of those times when I was driving around and discussing shop ideas that the concept and the name just kind of came to me. With how busy things are in the summer, Lunenburg seemed like a good spot. I know that it's quite packed in town during the summer, but what will I do when there'll be no one coming in? How will I handle that? It's an experiment trying to figure it all out, because there's definitely a huge difference between summer business and off-season business here.

I'm not a professional because I haven't gone to school for something related to my business, but I definitely can add something. I'm always asking tons of questions and questioning plans and thought processes. That's just the way I am, and what makes me really good at picking up on things. Even when things happen and I'm not totally in control, I can get myself out of it by making the decisions I need to. I want to offer something that is very good quality and that no one else is offering here. I'm trying to make a statement. The design and branding of my business are quite intentional – they help with creating experiences and managing expectations. To promote my brand, I use pictures of Lunenburg and by doing that I'm highlighting the town. But I worry that some people will think that I'm using the town. I might actually get criticized for it.

It's important for small businesses to support other small businesses. And I think it's important for our economies and our communities to have small businesses that are successful. You want everyone to be doing well because everyone is going to draw people to the community. Doing things collaboratively and wanting others to succeed is important in any kind of economy, but especially in a tourism economy. It keeps these places alive, and we need these places. In smaller communities, I believe that having very vibrant and solid small businesses employing people is the best bet. If each business employs four or five people and there are twenty businesses, that's a good chunk of jobs. If one of the businesses closes, that's very sad. But the town would only lose five jobs.

I work in a beautiful building and rent is reasonable for a commercial space. But, investing in a rental space – working on the space, and paying for construction material and labour time – can be an opportunity for the owner if they want to sell it. I increase re-sale value, apparently. The owners can decide to renovate the commercial space and in a few months the rent could increase, or the space could be sold. I have no idea what's going to happen, long term. I have no idea if rent will go up, or if the space will

be used for something else. It's in the hands of the landlord. Sometimes I wonder if my ideas of a change were the right ideas.

4.1.1.2 Art making

Art making is a direct path from your thoughts and your emotions and who you are to whatever it is that you're making. It's about exploring self. I've been through some things that were really hard and I'm feeling all of these feelings. Art is about expressing and exploring and hurting and loving. It's perfect for me. There are a lot of creative people that appreciate the process because they understand what goes behind making things. The artists in the community, they're all making their own things as well. They understand there's a process to that.

The creative community here is really wonderful, and I feel a lot of support from the people that I spend time with. People are open to ideas and wanting to make new things. There's this big information sharing thing, which is really great, rather than being kind of closed and competitive. The sense of community that is created in this space is amazing. Collaboration is my favourite thing!

I like having my creative space here when it's quieter through the winter. I always have to be creating something, that's just the way my mind works. I am the type of person where I can be talking and then I'll stare off into space for a little bit, but usually in my head I'm going through design; designing something or working something out. I have things that I've been working on for years that one day will, I think, amount to something. It's like personal therapy, or something. I don't know. There's an innate drive. I don't know how to explain it completely.

I'm still figuring out what it means to be an artist. It can be really exciting to have freedom and to do whatever you want but, also, it's really exhausting. I often think

about not wanting to be an artist, which makes me chuckle. About having job security and not always working independently. It's less difficult if you work for a bigger company or have a career. It's exhausting to be self-driven and self-motivated, and to always come up with new ideas and to stay excited – which is half the work of being an artist. I want to be able to do something more with my artwork, my creations that I like to make. I'm trying to figure out how to do something different that has more focus on my creative side. Being an artist, I want to spend most of my time doing that, but it can also be difficult to cobble together.

4.1.1.3 Social activism

We can't carry on with the way industry has been going. Things have to change. It's a constant battle when things are produced for cheap and the profits are incredible. Some industries are like modern day slavery, it's just not always in our own backyard. Power and hierarchy really get to some people's heads; they create this weird thing. Putting someone below you just to meet a goal doesn't feel right. I feel like I'm in a psychological experiment. But I'm hopeful that people are thinking about sustainability, about consuming things more slowly. I try to be positive about the future as much as possible.

I'm trying to focus on what's good and seeing the little changes that I can make. I think people are becoming more conscious of their overall impact with the environmental changes that are happening with the world, and what needs to be changed. Locally, there are initiatives and organizations that help bring the overall mindset to our daily lives. Being conscious of how we can have an impact on the world by our daily practices, I think, is important. It's the only way things are going to change. We keep waiting for government policies and all these other things and for, you know, these big companies to be paying fairly overseas in their manufacturing. There aren't many

options when the person who has the power to enforce such policies is also behaving inappropriately. That's out of our control.

I'm somebody who thinks of these things all the time – I always have. It affects me emotionally; it stresses me out. But I can only do what I can do, on a daily basis. And I don't try to force my thoughts on anybody because I know from my own life that people can only do what they can do. I'm always trying to figure out if I'm doing the right thing, and I have that battle with myself all the time. Is this benefitting society, is this what the world needs? Is this going to be sustainable in this community? I question all these things all the time.

Travelling kind of opens your eyes to new ideas, new spaces, new people, new environments, that sort of thing. But, it's difficult to start conversations about sustainability here, just working with the flow of people that come through town. There are some opportunities for bringing awareness to people – the ones that want to stop and have the conversation. But there's a lot of people that just don't care, really. It's definitely a slow movement.

4.1.2 Emotional labour and dissonance

In order to meet our financial needs, regionally mobile women convene in Lunenburg's tourism workscapes, regardless of lifestyle. Indeed, the increasingly deregulated tourism industry allows for a myriad of actors to engage in 'a miscellany of jobs and tasks', the nature of which is highly context specific (Minca, 2009: 96; McDowell, 2009; Zampoukos & Ioannides, 2011). Experienced here is frontline service work wherein both the worker and consumer are present at the time of exchange. It is here, within tourism workscapes, that the cacophony of voices is, perhaps, loudest,

highlighting the contradictions – the cognitive dissonance – experienced within this realm[21] (see section 3.2.5).

Interactive tourism service work provides opportunities to engage in preferred activities including talking with people, sharing information about services and experiences offered in the region and learning new skills, and this self-expression is meaningful and potentially liberating (see Pagliarin, 2017). However, tourism is exceedingly flexible and resilient in its pursuit of commodification, growth and profit, and everyday embodied performances and ordinary spaces are becoming objects of tourist consumption (Gibson, 2009; Lapointe & Coulter, 2020; McDowell, 2009; Roelofsen, 2018; Roelofsen & Minca, 2018). As a result, adverse psychological effects may be produced, including emotional exhaustion, burnout and alienation from one's true self (Ek et al., 2020; Pagliarin, 2017; Van Dijk & Kirk, 2007).

Following Hochschild (1983), emotional dissonance is theorized as a component, or a consequence, of emotional labour according to the incongruence between service workers' affective state and/or emotional expression, and business organizational norms. Notions of 'surface acting' and 'deep acting' are employed by tourism researchers to analyze discrepancies between employee performances and managerial expectations (see Ek et al., 2020; Giacomel, 2018; McDowell, 2009; Van Dijk & Kirk, 2007; Veijola & Jokinen, 2008). By contrast, according to labour market liberalization, workers – themselves – manage what is and is not work, when one is or is not working, and where work does and does not take place[22]. Indeed, within the Town of Lunenburg,

[21] Tourism work-related cognitive dissonance – the incongruence between two or more thoughts, between thought and behaviour, and/or between behaviour and beliefs (Van Dijk & Kirk, 2007) – is alluded to in the introduction to Chapter 3. Indeed, unpacking experiences of cognitive dissonance related to the provision of tourism experiences serves as an underlying, motivating factor for undertaking this autoethnographic research project.

[22] Recently, the self-regulation/management of embodied, performative tourism work – i.e. emotions, personality and style – is theorized according to Foucauldian biopolitics – the internalization of capitalist market logic by individuals according to the 'economization' of previously noneconomic spheres

a range of personal and professional activities and spaces slip into the realm of tourism production, especially through the peer-to-peer exchange of tourism accommodations through the online Airbnb platform (Roelofsen, 2018). Thus, engaging in precarious, feminized and deregulated cultural tourism work, the reader necessarily undertakes emotional labour and experiences cognitive dissonance through both:

1. Services sector work; and
2. Sharing economy work.

4.1.2.1 Services sector work

The service industry is just kind of a default for me. It's simple to get a job doing this. And I love talking to people – it's my favourite thing. The morning is the time to see regulars, and it's really nice knowing them and them knowing me. The relationships to regular customers hold a special place in my heart. I like working in a service job partly because it is so social. Being extroverted and having a friendly demeanour – being able to make small talk and be energized by those interactions – is really good if you work in service. It can be fun. But if you're fairly shy or introverted, like me, then I'm still tired by the end of the day. It's not great.

There's a quiet mandate to be positive and express good humour at jobs like this. So, I need to get myself into this place where I'm smiling and feeling good, and honestly it feels a bit like a skill. It's an ability to not let things get to me or act as though things aren't getting to me – even when I'm being yelled at. It's such an interesting juxtaposition, the relationships with staff and with customers. Having a boss scream something horrible and hurtful, and then interacting with customers in a caring and outgoing way, is a complete shift. The thing is, you don't want to be faking the

(Lapointe & Coulter, 2020; see also Gopi, 2017; Minca, 2009; Pagliarin, 2017; Roelofsen, 2018; Roelofsen & Minca, 2018; Veijola, 2009b).

kindness. You want to be real because fakeness is just so, I don't know, obnoxious. It's kind of like this cycle. To just always keep going back, with a smile. It's challenging, and I like challenges. But that challenge gets old. It's definitely not ideal – I think a lot of people wouldn't be doing it if it wasn't the only job they could get.

When I'm finished work, I need to come home and I need to stop smiling and being energetic, extroverted and agreeable – always there to help someone figure out their problems. They're always right. I need to turn that off to re-energize. I couldn't host people all the time, put other people's interests and comfort before my own. I can match people's feelings and do things that they want to do, so when I'm hosting, I'm never fully relaxed. It's not a level playing field. We're not just two people interacting. I'm here and I'm working, and they're here for an experience. Some people don't get that, and it's a relief when those people leave. It's quite exhausting.

Everyone at work is really supportive and nice and kind. We all help each other, it's this kind of community. The friends and the connections are really important, because I need them. They're the reason I stay, other than the paycheck.

4.1.2.2 Sharing economy work

There's a lot of Airbnb in Lunenburg. I could find a tenant and charge a few hundred dollars. But I mean, with Airbnb you can just make so much money. It's hard to turn that down. The Airbnb is a tidier and simpler version of how it would be if only I were living there. It is very curated to try to make it appealing and, the way I wrote the profile, there aren't any surprises so people can see exactly what's going on. Transparency is important. If you try to hide something, they're going to see it when they arrive and then write a bad review. I have pictures of the Airbnb on my profile, really nice photos with nice lighting and all that stuff. There are some stereotypical East Coast details and design choices, like anchors and seaweed and lobster traps, that

would not be in the space if only I were living there. I see these things every day, I don't need them in my bedroom.

Something I like so much about Airbnb is letting people enjoy and experience what I have. Airbnb lets you have more of a unique, warm and interesting experience, rather than staying at a hotel. I try to make people feel relaxed and welcome, so when people come in there's a nice little card describing my favourite places to go and offering recommendations of restaurants and outdoor activities. It feels nice to help contribute to people's trips in a positive way – I just want to help people have the best time while they're here. You kind of curate somebody's experience. You pick and choose experiences through your own networks and interests and recommendations, in a way that will be interesting and compelling, and supportive of businesses that I want to support. There's a lot of power in that position, to a certain extent. It feels more personable than getting information at the information centres or in accommodations, where people are *trying* to be friendly. But everything is tainted with one's own personality and tastes, so I'm not giving the same advice that somebody else might give.

A lot of people planning trips have questions in the evenings and weekends when they're not at work. When you're interacting with people who are planning a vacation, they're in this curious mindset. So, it feels very appropriate to share my experience of coming here and my favourite things to do here. It feels pretty natural and kind of nice to be an ambassador for a place, especially when I've chosen to be here. It's an amazing place, but I'm also very honest. If someone is booking a trip, and it's the beginning of March and they're wondering if there is anything going on, I'll tell them, 'Honestly, there's not that much'.

There's a lot of juggling my things, my time, my connections and my space. I'm tethered to the end of a phone and a computer and do a lot of communicating with

people that way. Every time my phone rings, I have to answer in a semi-professional way because I don't know who is calling or what they want. It ends up being fairly unpredictable and all over the place. I have a bit of communication with people before they arrive, just chatting through text or over the phone, or most often through the app. But I don't know a whole lot about the people that stay at my Airbnb. I've only met a couple guests out of all the people that have stayed. I'm so busy and want to eliminate complications so I got a keypad lock so they can let themselves in if they come late or their plans change.

This work is different from working in the tourism industry. It's more casual, it's a self-learned skill. You're not a professional, but you're learning all these skills to make something happen. It's little bits and pieces of amazing people that have amazing talents, in this place together doing beautiful things. Some of the best tourism providers are not people that are part of a structured, organized industry.

4.1.3 Spatial, temporal and psychological boundaries

As a heterogeneous tourism enclave, the spatial and temporal boundaries of tourism activities in Lunenburg are neither fixed nor regulated (George et al., 2009; Saarinen, 2017). Nevertheless, tourism in Lunenburg is concentrated in the warmer months, and the annual ebb-and-flow of the town's tourism season is marked by drastic shifts in pace. Indeed, tourism workers and business owners tend to generate most of their annual income in a short period of time. As a result, tourism work in a seasonal tourism destination is exemplary of precarious work through flexible work schedules, low pay, and even abusive employment relationships (McDowell, 2009).

The production of tourism experiences evokes a range of affective responses from tourism workers (Veijola, 2009a). Furthermore, labour shortages lead to overwork and exhaustion in the summer, in stark contrast to the underwork experienced during the

colder months. Nevertheless, divergent perceptions regarding the relative duration, physical location, and even psychological nature of Lunenburg's tourism activities are individually and collectively defined by Lunenburg's tourism workers, residents and visitors. Thus, according to differential personal projects such as community building, seasonal migration and tourism industry innovation, tourism workers are not unanimous in their experience of tourism work as a set of seasonal activities. The reader must contend with the ambiguity of tourism's spatial, temporal and psychological boundaries, choosing to engage in tourism as either a:

1. Seasonal tourism industry; or
2. Year-round tourism industry.

4.1.3.1 Seasonal tourism industry

My friendships grow in the fall and winter, because there is time. I get jobs through friends, and through friends of friends, so I'm close to my co-workers and their families. I can tell the tourist season is starting when those friendships flip back into employment relationships. But, the chaos of tourism work is really only three months, at the most. No matter what you're doing, I think for the most part everything is happening during the summer. It's Canada. Even if I was building or doing something different, the season for generally getting things done is the summer.

The ice cream and the horse-and-buggy tours start in the same week. That's around the time when people start asking, 'When do the tourists start showing up?'. I laugh to myself and think, 'Are you one?' Around mid-May, people stop asking and it's just more obvious that there are tourists around. Working in tourism is kind of a wild experience. It's really fast paced, and I feel like it pretty easily takes up your whole life. It's hard to describe. It's kind of awful. I can laugh about it but it's not funny, it's pretty intense. I have two full-time jobs, sometimes more. I just start picking up jobs and then eventually I realize I have to drop a couple of them in order for it to make

sense. Any days that I have off from one, I spend working at another job. During the summer you hold your breath the whole time, you run, move as fast as you can, do everything and try not to let it break you. It comes from financial need – to make enough money in a short period of time. I have been needing work and I am getting a lot of work here.

I love talking to people from different places, hearing their journey, seeing them in one place I work and then another, and remembering them. It's quite exciting. When they're happy, I feel really happy. Even though these are one-time interactions, I try to make it a really fun experience. Most people are from out of province – mostly Canadian and a bunch of Americans and some from off the continent. This is their idea of Lunenburg, and that should be a really great time. But tourists ask certain questions, want to have a certain kind of conversation and want to be given something. They want to be given a holiday experience. They want entertainment. They want something to be made of where they are. They also want to know what I do on the off-season and they want to know about the area. Sometimes I don't really play along, and I try to keep my answers pretty minimal. I feel like my answers are pretty disposable, and I don't always care enough to try really hard to give them something they will love. I try to be nice, but there's so much else that needs to be done at work. I have a lot of responsibilities.

We're just a bunch of people running around and it's kind of absurd. So, it feels good when my employer is grateful for the work that I do. There are subtle ways I feel respected as a worker, and as a person in general. For instance – it doesn't quite make sense – but, taking the work seriously while at the same time not taking things too seriously, realizing that at the end of the day it's all a joke – that attitude helps. Also, making sure that people working at the business have enough skills and resources to do their job well. Some employers take themselves way too seriously and want to be in power, and their efforts to make their employees feel considered are kind of phony – not totally genuine. Bosses can be really manipulative or really aggressive and get

what they want. It's quite silly. Sometimes I feel reduced to being a worker that the boss gets to bestow things on. I don't care about the salary when it's a point of pride – a competitive edge – for my employer to pay me an extra dollar or two per hour. There are other things that feel good, like teaching me skills and offering me freedom and so many other simple kindnesses. But there aren't a lot of rights that are taken into consideration when people are working in this industry.

It's all about making money in a short amount of time, and there's a lot of mental health and just health in general that's sacrificed in order to do that. Business owners are so stressed that they're often violent. We've got three months to make the profit for the year, and the ways that people deal with this stress are alcohol, drugs and screaming. It's horrifying, but I'm a shy person so I don't say much about it. We're all working so much. You can start taking on the stress of the people you're working with, and then at some point I realize that it's not really my problem. I want to take on the stress but it's not worth it. It feels so profit driven. On top of that, I find working with a lot of guys a bit intimidating. I have been sexually harassed by the older men I work with. I have felt small and I'm a tall person; I don't usually feel small. There's something about big guys slapping your ass. How am I supposed to come to the boss and tell them 'I really hate it when this person slaps my ass,' when they're acting the same way? Of course I'm not going to be comfortable coming to the boss about something like that because they're doing the same thing!

As a people pleaser, I want to do many jobs and it's not physically possible. I work a lot. That kind of motion – moving from one job to the next – is what instills stress. You can spread yourself too thin and if you do too many jobs, you just do a shit job. I am just so exhausted by the end of the summer. I definitely take too much on. I can be a bit of a maniac, taking all of my responsibilities very seriously. But I like working close to the water's edge, that's mostly enough to keep me happy. I can swim before or after work, if I make the time. But, really, there isn't always time to learn new things and do

outdoor activities. All the nice days, I'm at work. I get to see people travelling and exploring, but I'm not out doing it. I'd just like to take a big long summer vacation. Honestly, the summer feels like a blackout. You're so exhausted that your alarm doesn't even wake you up in the morning.

4.1.3.2 Year-round tourism industry

Tourism is like any other business and it should be thought of as a twelve-month business. In Lunenburg, it is not. I want to demonstrate that if you're marketing well, a year-round business in a rural community can be wildly successful. I work regular business hours, and some days it is quite busy because the business is actually open. There is no sign that says, 'Open by appointment' or 'Call this number'.

Many businesses in the community are closed or have reduced hours during the off-season. When you have some businesses that stay open and have all these buildings around that are closed and don't even leave a light on, you look down the street and it all looks dark. Imagine what it's like in winter when it gets dark at four-thirty. If you drove into town in the winter and didn't know any better, you'd think there are no restaurants even open and you would just turn around and drive out. Visitors come and see beautiful sights and the restaurants are only open restricted hours and there are very few stores open. Most of the galleries are closed. They're not going to come here to go to the pharmacy but, you know, this is the store that's open.

It's weather related, too. We don't get a lot of snow down here, and for a lot of people that's a good winter. People move here for the mildness of the weather on the South Shore. But winter tourism has dropped significantly since I've been here because there's nothing open here. It makes me laugh – when we have snowstorms down here, the whole town will close. It's panic. People are told not to go out on the road. And,

this spring has been so rainy that it's been really tough, because it's that weekend- that Saturday-crowd, that really makes your month.

Seasonal business is terrible for the people that don't leave. During most of the year, businesses are closed and the owners go away. And then they come back, and nothing has been done to apply pressure or work towards improving things. This town doesn't have enough benches for people to sit on. People are always complaining about public washrooms and parking, and nothing gets done. Why can't we have picnic tables and nice planters on the ground with flowers? These are not expensive things. Nobody knows anything about tourism. We have lobster and even how that is promoted is bored and tired, and a little bit too corny. I want to try to get a marketing levy so that we can get some decent money to do some marketing for Lunenburg. But it might not work because some of the businesses worry that marketing will draw other entrepreneurs here and take money away from the current establishments.

The town isn't flourishing anymore. All I hear people do here is complain that they don't have enough money. There doesn't seem to be any money for tourism. But, if the town wants to grow its tax base, it's going to be through tourism – that's what we have to offer. This absolutely devastating thing happened and now the town has a second chance because someone had enough forethought to say, 'Let's get a UNESCO site and let's develop tourism'. I wonder if that's why they don't want tourism to grow anymore, because they don't want to take a chance for it to go down. I think what happened in the nineties was a traumatic time for people – they were pretty scary times. But the town will never move forward as long as people cling onto the past. We need to celebrate the past even if it requires doing a bit of work. It's like a hamster running around in a wheel.

We have to address industry here. Who cares about housing concerns if people can't work twelve months of the year and make money to work here? You could throw up a

thousand houses tomorrow and people would buy them and Airbnb them to make money off of them. No one can afford to live here because businesses can't pay a decent wage – because they're only open a few months of the year. We have the opportunity, now, with tourism. But tourism is never going to grow here if the attitudes don't change. It simply will not. Our community spends time doing reports and thinking of ways to grow our community, but they just complain all the time. Even the Ivany report[23] has been twisted for people to use it as an excuse not to do things. It reinforces this idea of 'we're poor, we've always been poor, it's a struggle and we resist change'. They've always considered themselves a have-not part of Canada – 'We fish, and now give us unemployment[24]'.

That attitude is killing year-round businesses. But, working full time in the off-season is difficult because of work-life balance, and because of the amount of people coming through. If I want to continue, I have to work out my summer-winter balance. It's tough. Even if the business closes during the winter, there are still business costs. The change in pace is really stressful; it's a huge transition. I am in love with this place, but I have to do something different for next year. This is craziness.

4.1.4 Futures

Mobile tourism workers exemplify the unconventional blurring of boundaries between leisure and labour market participation, between travel and migration, dissolving the distinction between production-led and consumption-led mobility (Cohen et al., 2013; Lundmark, 2006; Minca, 2009). Tourism labour geographies are complex, nonlinear

[23] The 2014 Report of the Nova Scotia Commission on Building Our New Economy is referred to in Chapters 1 and 5. Recalling a passage from Chapter 1: "Ivany and Commissioners (2014) call for the province's residents to adopt a 'new attitude' in order to overcome sentiments pervading the collectivity including negativity, stigmatization of success and resistance to change (Ivany et al., 2014)".

[24] Referring to federally funded Employment Insurance (EI).

movements, and mobility patterns may be temporary, circuitous, transient or permanent (Adler & Adler, 1999; Bianchi, 2000; Lundmark, 2006; Ooi et al., 2016; Tuulentie & Heimtun, 2014). Indeed, tourism labour in-migration to Lunenburg is a counterurbanization movement; however, the (im)permanence of this type of lifestyle mobility is highly inconsistent. Subjective experiences of (in)formal tourism work and entrepreneurship influence both in- *and* out-migration.

In Lunenburg, community makeup is increasingly complex, and things shuffle every year – businesses, workers, residents and tourists come and go (see McIntyre, 2013; Urry, 2000). Indeed, cultural production and rural economic revitalization both attract and exclude spatially mobile tourism workers – those middle-class migrants belonging to a class that is richer in cultural capital than in economic capital – including the creative class (Estevens et al., 2020; Guimond & Simard, 2010; Phillips, 1993). Insofar as tourism development proceeds according to principles of neoliberal capitalism these 'marginal gentrifiers', exhibiting unconventional lifestyles, are both subject to, and agents of, socio-spatial segregation through tourism gentrification (see Estevens et al., 2020; Rose, 1984). The consequences of this 'shuffle' may include significant incremental increases to property values through high rental property turnover and/or high rates of property (re)sale[25].

For some, Lunenburg County represents a place of belonging. For others, the tourism region constitutes a temporary stopping place amongst on-going, semi-permanent moves of varying duration (Cohen et al., 2013). Others, still, evade the region, perceiving that another place will provide enhanced or different opportunities (McIntyre, 2013). Indeed, the choice to stay in place or to continue moving freely is

[25] Couterurbanization research often addresses localized tensions, ideological differences and socioeconomic disparity according to *permanent*, middle-class in-migration (see George et al., 2009; Guimond & Simard, 2010). However, in conjunction with lifestyle and tourism labour mobilities, community makeup is constantly shifting according to the highly dynamic, nonlinear nature of rural tourism in-migration. Arguably, the increase in real estate values due to this 'shuffle' is a pressing research agenda.

interconnected with subjective experiences of tourism work, seasonality, community relationships, appreciation of the natural and built environment, and aspirations. Thus, navigating and negotiating the challenges and opportunities of precarious tourism work and of living in Lunenburg County, these women choose different futures. Imaging possible futures, the reader is provided with the option of either:

1. Staying in Lunenburg; or
2. Moving away.

4.1.4.1 Staying in Lunenburg

I embrace the chaos that happens. I can really take joy from the highs and lows of being busy. I'm able to work a lot in the summer, make money, and then be more relaxed and have less money, which feels good. But the tourism season is an awkward time. Sometimes I think about going back to school and then I realize I'm still working, so there's no way. Tourism definitely doesn't end on September 1st or after the Labour Day weekend. And anyways, I love this time of year. Our summer bleeds into fall so nicely, and the water is the warmest in September. It's the time of year when I can really get into the water and the waves are so big. The waters are so great here. Everything I do in the ocean has a feeling of newness. There's so much stuff that I know and also don't quite know about the ocean. And there's something so special about this time. Maybe, because it doesn't last forever.

If things were always quick, you might feel guilty about taking the time to slow down. But when busy-ness is removed from the equation, you have no choice but to slow down. I'm starting to realize that maybe this seasonal shift – this seasonal contrast that is so integral to living in Lunenburg County – is a pace that can be accepted, adopted and gotten used to, especially if everybody else is doing it. Having the slow winters and the fast summers, it's a nice balance. Rather than, if you're in a city, and it's just always fast. It's really nice to get the energy from the sun, and from everyone being

out. I can enjoy people coming and going, but what I really value, being in a small town, is having familiarity with people. Taking the time to say hello to people on the street, smiling at them, that's an East Coast thing. You feel that after only being here for fifteen minutes.

In Lunenburg, there's a nice amount of shops, and people are friendly. Going through Old Town Lunenburg, I will often find houses that I've never noticed before, and remark on how great the garden is or some other sort of detail that's been done. You can walk to different places, and people will be out in their yards and you can chat with them. It's an optimistic place. Sometimes you'll go through a town and you'll just keep driving. But here, there are a lot of dreams of being able to have a cute little home, a sense of community, that's how it feels. It keeps you grounded and reminds you that there is time and room for that. It's very special. The people here are important to me and give me a reason to stay.

4.1.4.2 Moving away

When you're working so hard on everything and you don't have much of a personal life, or personal happiness, somewhere, it's not great. Being a woman that isn't from here, I don't think that the community is very interested in what I have to say. I'm very glad that I never bought property down here. I can't dream, I can't aspire, I can't do any of those things here – it's criticized. It's one thing to be career-oriented and quite another to live in a place where everything closes down for 4 or 6 or 8 months of the year, depending on the business. Eventually, you come to terms with what life actually is and what the priorities are. Work isn't great and it's not that reliable, so being here has to be about something else.

I meet young girls here and I tell them, 'Go away and get educated and work hard. Just go'. They're smart and they can't stay here. They can do anything, but they can't do

that here. This town doesn't offer a lot to go out and do. There aren't a lot of social meeting places – not in the way that I've experienced in cities. There's so much potential in Nova Scotia and I worry that it will always be unrealized potential. It will feel good to get out of this part of the country. Like, actually physically remove myself from these spaces. I'm really aggressively trying to make as much money as I need, and then go away. I seem to have fallen into a kind of transient way of living. It feels easy, in a sense, even when it's not. It's the way I make things work, and now there's no reason for me to be here. Lunenburg has to get over itself – it isn't the prettiest place. There are tons of beautiful places in Nova Scotia, and in other provinces. I could be anywhere else. I can pick up and I can plop down anywhere, and I'll fit wherever I am and I'm going to do great. If I don't feel a community, I don't have to be here.

The tourism industry may not be good for Lunenburg. Things shuffle every year – businesses change spots and close, and new ones open. Fishing was seasonal, but people still had enough money to own a house and raise a family. This place is going to be condos and summer homes, and only wealthy people will afford to be here. There will be no long-term economy here – zero. Businesses will be expensive and there won't be anything local. It will be factory outlets and some nice coffee shops, and the rest of the town will be summer homes. It's going to be like a resort. This will not be any kind of living community; it will be a ghost town in the winter. People already have to drive to buy food and stuff like that, and it will hit a point where there's not even a pharmacy here. Young people can't afford to live here. Most people, especially in Nova Scotia, are working from paycheck to paycheck. This is a heartbreaking place.

4.1.5 Critical reflection

Tourism communities are intrinsically spaces of flows with varying degrees of rootedness, exemplifying simultaneous and contrasting forms of human mobility; the 'social as mobility' (Urry, 2000). The project of globalization attempts to hide, but

nonetheless relies upon, social inequality, division and exclusion (Massey, 2005). Indeed, whereas the women of this social group enact their capacity for voluntary mobility, they are not fully aware of the dominant forces controlling and channelling the flows of capital, goods, information and people, both reflecting and reinforcing power (Korstanje, 2018). Moreover, precarious tourism employment is not unique to Lunenburg but, rather, is a contemporary cultural phenomenon reproduced in a wide range of spaces and places (Ek & Hultman, 2008; McDowell, 2009; Roelofsen & Minca, 2018; Veijola, 2009a).

Confined and restricted within the system of global capitalism, the pursuit of a mobile lifestyle as a strategy for evading social and spatial exclusion or segregation may be ineffectual. Optimistically, however, regionally mobile women contributing to Lunenburg's tourism workforce in 2019 articulate experiences of exhaustion, entrapment, stress and abuse, thereby suggesting an implicit awareness – however abstract – of the oppressions exerted upon them by overarching systems. Thus, regardless of lifestyle and of aspirations for the future, critical reflection is facilitated by instances of detachment from dominant representations. Ultimately, the reader is invited to think critically, question assumptions and become aware of how the world is being made, by:

1. Taking time to breathe.

4.1.5.1 Taking time to breathe

At some point, you realize that you have a breaking point, or that you've kind of been broken the whole time. I realize, 'Wow, this actually affects me strongly'. I realize that the way I am living my life really affects me. I feel like I cannot be content being still. I left those jobs and still feel the same level of stress, of needing to do something. I stand in my kitchen moving cups around because there's nothing else to do. I feel idle if I'm not moving. It's such a weird feeling to be sitting still. There's so much weird

pressure people put on themselves to make money. Working becomes addictive. The fast-pace – this rat race in a hamster wheel – becomes very addictive, and suddenly you're taking people's shifts. I guess the pressure comes from myself, but it feels external. It feels very capitalist, but I also feel like it's completely under my control and I just need to take time to breathe. I'd rather be poor and just scraping by and be really enjoying what I'm doing. I don't need that much. Just realizing that makes me feel better.

I'm not comfortable working in the realm of tourism, when I think about what I'm doing. Those sectors are problematic. I don't mean that they're bad – I don't feel like it's cut and dry. They're just problematic. They exist within a realm of problem. It's weird that people have flown across the country, from I'm not exactly sure where, and line up to do this thing. To get into nature and then get out, get into clean clothes and go have a really nice dinner and stay in a comfy hotel. It's never been easy in my mind. I don't think there are easy answers for it. Tourism in Nova Scotia has sometimes been created falsely. I think people have ideas – strong ideas about Nova Scotia when they come here – and have for decades, if not centuries. They are looking for the experience of quaint fishing communities and there's some kind of checklist, even if it's vague. 'Oh, we gotta do something on the water, and we gotta eat some seafood.' I don't know what the right words are, and I don't know exactly what the phenomenon is of going somewhere to find something different or exotic. It makes me uncomfortable and I feel uncomfortable serving within it.

Living in a UNESCO heritage site means that appearances must be upkept, and it is mostly for people who come for short periods of time more than it is for people who live here. For example, I can tell that many buildings are only freshly painted on one side, the street-side façade. I haven't thought a lot about why this is a UNESCO heritage site and what exactly, aside from having to paint your house a certain colour, it means. Thinking about this also makes me think of all the ice cream that is consumed

in this town. When the ice cream shop opens, all of a sudden I see people walking around, slow-licking their ice cream cones. That's when I realize: 'Oh my god, it's started'. At least half the people on the street in the summer are just licking ice cream. It's weird to think, 'What and who am I serving?'

I haven't figured out the proper terms for the ways in which I feel disrespected at work. I feel like to them I'm just a worker, like people are taking advantage of me or objectifying me. When I talk about it, I feel upset. I feel very upset because I feel there are so many people being abused and mistreated. And they shouldn't be. They're not saying anything because they need their job and that thought really upsets me. Being hurt by people affects your self-worth and your mental health so much, and maybe you don't even realize. Being emotionally abused just adds a whole other element of chaos. When I think about it, I think my experiences are common. I think that quite a few people experience negative things working in the service industry. I feel like potentially it is women who would speak up.

The work would be much more worth it if I were getting something out of it other than cash. I've worked a full summer and only gone to the beach once, on my free afternoon before work. It's pretty awful. Being outside is important for emotional wellbeing. Nature feels good. It's very grounding and healthy to be in nature. It's nice to think about why I'm here, why I'm interested in wanting to be a part of stuff. I think it can be hard to be aware of how situations are affecting you while you are still in them. It's only afterwards, thinking back. When you're in the situation, you're just trying to deal with it and your coping mechanism is just to keep moving quickly. There's no time to think. I need to sit and breathe, maybe sleep.

4.2 Navigating and negotiating tourism worlds

As researcher and storyteller, interpreter and interpreted, I have made the deliberate decision to analyze and present research findings according to the autoethnographic method. Aiming to integrate critical theory and lived experience, the goals of this project are epistemic, political and theoretical in nature. Following Code (2011), the creation of both narrative and fictional accounts can be effective epistemological tools: "a way of *showing* the Other instead of trying to provide statements or judgements about her" (Munar, 2017: 517 emphasis in original; see also Veijola & Jokinen, 1994). Thus, inspired by feminist tourism researchers advocating for autoethnography as a method for creating playful and meaningful embodied, narrative research, the merits of this approach – and potential faults – are briefly reviewed. Indeed, readers may find the autoethnographic text unsatisfactory or uncomfortable to engage with, for several reasons.

Firstly, a more conventional academic audience may perceive this chapter to lack scientific rigour (Ryan & Mooney, 2018). Indeed, there is a plethora of meaningful connections – and disconnections – that could be made by employing an alternate strategy for analyzing and presenting research findings. Secondly, the development of critical awareness relating to challenging personal and interpersonal situations, as told through the collective voice of research participants, may be upsetting to those who empathize with, relate to, dismiss or are otherwise triggered by aspects of this account. Indeed, extending the vulnerability inherent to the autoethnographic method to the audience, a gentle warning was provided in the introduction to this chapter in an effort to sensitize readers to potential emotional discomfort generated by engaging with this text. Thirdly, this embodied narrative account may contradict alternate lived experiences or challenge preconceived notions relating to tourism work, spatial mobility and worldmaking agency. Indeed, values-laden biases pervade the academic realm, influencing individual experiences and perceptions in everyday life. Therefore,

by validating the knowledge and expertise of research participants, specifically, and tourism workers, more generally, the reader is invited to accept any discomfort generated through the presentation of this ongoing and dynamic story; a story replete with loose threads. Indeed, discomfort or dissatisfaction experienced by engaging with this unconventional text is reminiscent of the complexity, contradiction and precarity that so many of us living in contemporary tourism worlds are perpetually made to navigate and negotiate.

Throughout the chapter, the dynamic interplay between subjectivity and power connections is evoked, bringing critical awareness to the overarching worldmaking power of tourism and of global capitalism, more broadly. Drawing worldmaking in the direction of embodiment, the evocative, thick description of lived experience, supported by brief corresponding interpretive analysis, highlights the simultaneous subjugation and agency of individual tourism workers sharing common experiences according to gender, lifestyle mobility, space and place, and worldmaking agency. Most importantly, this in-depth, narrative account conveys the sense that awareness of individual worldmaking agency is not fully understood nor realized. Indeed, agency is mostly appropriated and enacted through the individualized capacity to define and embody a preferred mobile lifestyle; by exercising the freedom to move to, away from, or stay in Lunenburg County. However, it is contended, here, that this type of instrumentality may not assist in the release from the overarching sense of entrapment which emerges, almost palpably, from the narrative account. By contrast, grappling with the tension and contradiction produced for and through tourism in Lunenburg, it is argued that much of the power and control which regionally mobile women contributing to Lunenburg's tourism workforce exert is through a diverse range of coping strategies (see Mosedale, 2012).

4.2.1 Coping strategies and practices

Coping is conceived of narrowly, here, and does not encompass maladaptive strategies for managing difficult and complex situations. For example, the following refrain alludes to a strategy that is not entirely beneficial: “When you’re in the situation, you’re just trying to deal with it and your coping mechanism is just to keep moving quickly. There's no time to think”. This practice of persistent, quick movement is not adaptive but, rather, reproduces the conditions for stress, exhaustion and entrapment. By contrast, coping relates to practices enabling the successful management of situations leading to an enhanced quality of life. According to Mosedale (2012),

> Practices can be helpful in analysing how overarching phenomena such as class, gender, networks etc. are enacted, (re)produced and potentially transformed in everyday practices by individuals who themselves embody these phenomena. (Mosedale, 2012: 196-97)

Table 5.1, presented on pages 123-124, outlines four coping strategies expressed by research participants, and several examples of corresponding practices as outlined in the narrative account.

Table 5.1: Four adaptive coping strategies and their corresponding practices

1. Self-preservation
Creating meaningful and supportive connections at work and in the community
Spending time alone to re-energize
Communicating honestly and transparently
Using information technologies to manage interactions and responsibilities
Learning new skills
Recognizing beautiful people, places and things
Finding humour in situations, laughing, and not taking things too seriously
Swimming in the ocean and doing other outdoor activities
Establishing spatial, temporal and psychological boundaries between work/non-work; tourism/non-tourism

Table continues from page 123.
2. Critical reflection
Acknowledging a breaking point; trauma
Recognizing the addictive nature of work and working
Questioning strong ideas about peoples, places and pasts
Questioning who benefits – and who does not – from tourism
Recognizing objectification and abuse in tourism work, and the prevalence of such experiences in the sector
Introspection and retrospection
3. Optimism and hope
Taking time to breathe, connect and dream
Thinking about sustainability; about consuming things more slowly
Focusing on what's good and being positive about the future
Noticing the little changes that each of us can make
Opening your eyes to new ideas, new spaces and new people through travel
Starting conversations about sustainability
4. Creativity (i.e. personal therapy)
Building awareness of one's expertise and knowledge
Doing things collaboratively, not competitively
Self-reflection (exploring self)
Expressing emotions such as pain and love
Curiosity

Source: Author

The analysis of practices and actions is an epistemological strategy for interpreting socioeconomic processes through ordinary, everyday activities and relations (paraphrasing Mosedale, 2012: 197; Braidotti, 2011; Ellis et al., 2013). Importantly, voluntary spatial mobility is not included amongst these coping strategies because it is contended that the freedom to choose and to move is oftentimes controlled and ordered

through the external creation of a 'false sense of free will' (Korstanje, 2018; Ray, 2020). Indeed, contemporary capitalist societies value and therefore facilitate spatial mobility. This may lead to experiences of ambivalence in regard to ongoing movement, such as that which is reflected here: "I seem to have fallen into a kind of transient way of living. It feels easy, in a sense, even when it's not." Likewise, profit generation and monetary gain are not included amongst the coping strategies because it is contended that these activities are not inherently fulfilling. Indeed, the following passage highlights the ambivalence that can be felt towards engaging in waged tourism work within the capitalist system: "I'd rather be poor and just scraping by and be really enjoying what I'm doing. I don't need that much. Just realizing that makes me feel better". By contrast, the above-noted adaptive coping strategies and practices are non-capitalist in nature, enacted by research participants despite the ubiquity of tourism in contemporary societies and the propensity for tourism worlds to evolve according to capitalist economic imperatives (George et al., 2009; Gibson, 2009; Hollinshead et al., 2009; McKay, 1994; Tesfahuney & Schough, 2016). Therefore, framing the enactment of these non-capitalist practices and relations as tourism community stakeholder agency, it becomes possible to view and create tourism in Lunenburg according to alternative versions and visions of peoples, place, pasts and futures.

This narrative text demonstrates that cultural evolution in Lunenburg is a function of worldmaking for and through tourism, of globalization and of consumer capitalism, as much as it is related to the spontaneous everyday practices and relations taking place within the localized context. Rather productively, this examination of the ongoing and dynamic socio-spatial transformations taking place in Lunenburg, from the perspectives of regionally mobile women working in tourism, highlights several unethical and untenable contemporary processes characteristic of deindustrializing rural communities in the global North (see also Chapter 1). Reflecting upon the widespread transitioning from manufacturing and primary resources extraction to services-based economies, Cheer (2020) conceptualizes tourism as an extractive

industry, pointing to culture as a finite resource: "although [tourism] doesn't extract things out of the ground, we would agree that it extracts quite a lot from the communities that are dependent upon it" (Cheer, 2020; see also Schmallegger & Carson, 2010). Unlike primary resource extraction activities such as mining, forestry and fishing which deplete natural resource stocks and generate environmental degradation, both locally and globally, cultural selection and production for and through tourism threatens a localized community's social fabric – the connections amongst peoples, places, pasts and futures – and, paradoxically, its economic potential. Indeed, whereas the tourism landscape and living culture are mutually-constitutive, cultural evolution may proceed despite a decrease in, or absence of, tourism activity. However, it is understood that the inverse is not possible; without culture there may be no tourism (George et al., 2009).

According to this narrative account, the (un)ethical and (un)tenable nature of post-industrial services-based activities can be gauged by the proliferation of cognitive dissonances within tourism workscapes, including wellbeing and indifference, hope and hopelessness, happiness and stress, health and exhaustion, and empowerment and entrapment. Extrapolating these embodied, relational manifestations to a broader scale, tourism communities thereby evolve according to the simultaneous production of such incongruities as mobility and fixity, social cohesion and segregation, privilege and disadvantage, justice and abuse, and sustainability and capital accumulation. Indeed, these examples of cognitive and *social* dissonance[26] manifest in Lunenburg in relation to tourism, conceived of here as "the continuous becoming of commercialized space in which experiences embedded in nexuses of mobilities are the products on offer" (Ek &

[26] It is not clear whether the notion of cognitive dissonance has been extrapolated to the societal level, and addressing this matter is beyond the scope of this project. Nevertheless, what I am expressing resembles what artist, musician and theorist, Mattin (In press), calls social dissonance: "a structural form of cognitive dissonance [;] the discrepancy between what we do (buying and selling commodities) and what we believe about ourselves as non-commodified entities [;] the condition we inhabit [;] structural alienation" (Urbanomic, 2021).

Hultman, 2008: 224), thereby pointing to the ambiguity and contradiction of contemporary life ordered and controlled according to mobile, experiential consumerism and global capitalism. Nevertheless, the research findings demonstrate that such practices as slowing down, spending time alone and connecting with nature, to name these few, provide the conditions for critical reflection and, potentially, for cultivating non-capitalist worldmaking agency.

4.2.2 Cultivating critical awareness

Particular outlooks on the world become embedded and hegemonic, obscuring other actual or potential interpretations and perspectives. This dominant vision is said to have 'worldmaking authority' within a setting or context (paraphrasing Hollinshead et al., 2009: 434). At the global scale, the ongoing expansion of accumulation, profit and commodification through the systems of global capitalism and of international tourism are among the dominant visions being reproduced. Locally, the commodification of Lunenburg's cultural heritage, especially since the UNESCO World Heritage Site designation awarded to the town in 1995, has reinforced – to both locals and outsiders – the cultural character of the town according to such qualities as settler colonialism, maritimicity and 'Germanic traits' of endurance and hard work (Barlow et al., 2020; George et al., 2009; Hollinshead et al., 2009; McKay, 1994). Reproducing what and whom Lunenburgers want – or ought – to be, this prominent cultural symbolism reflects a naturalized and normalized version of Lunenburg's people and past. Indeed, Lunenburg's built heritage, marine industries and traditional values such as 'hard work, innovation, craftsmanship, and endurance' continue to characterize the localized physical and symbolic landscape (Barlow et al., 2020: 21).

However, this project is built upon the premise that tourism is constituted by, and relies upon, the very peoples and places it (re)produces. Therefore, despite the ubiquity of tourism in contemporary societies and the propensity for tourism worlds to evolve

according to capitalist economic imperatives, the potential to disrupt the ongoing and uneven processes making, de-making and re-making peoples and places is great. To begin, progressive detachment from dominant cultural representations requires cultivating critical awareness in relation to our biases in the collective manufacture of realities; our inescapable role in the production of tourism worlds; and, non-capitalist practices by tourism community stakeholders. Indeed, the imagination and creation of alternative and ethical versions and visions of peoples, places, pasts and futures is an epistemic endeavour which may, nonetheless, lead to the understanding that neither tourism nor capitalism are inevitabilities (Brouder, 2018).

It is perhaps time to pause and take a breath, both literally and metaphorically. By happenstance, two emergent social phenomena have disrupted the research context in 2020, facilitating the imagination of alternative versions and visions of cultural evolution in Lunenburg. Locally, contemporary arts and culture stakeholders are calling for the promotion and celebration of Lunenburg's arts and culture sector as a strategy for cultivating cultural vitality and community sustainability. This mobilization indicates that Lunenburg's contemporary creative community is undervalued and/or underrepresented in the imaginaries of both locals and outsiders (see Barlow et al., 2020; Upland, 2019; 2020). Indeed, the (re)production of Lunenburg's traditional maritime identity and colonial heritage for and through tourism undermines the town's vibrant contemporary arts and culture, especially through siloed marketing campaigns (Barlow et al, 2020). Barlow and Associates (2020) assert, promotional materials are "out of date, incomplete, confuse types of arts assets or are poor representations of a sector filled with expert designers and artists" (Barlow et al., 2020: 25).

Globally, the sudden onset of the COVID-19 pandemic[27], declared as such by the World Health Organization (WHO) on March 11, 2020, has been destabilizing the global economy and fundamentally transforming contemporary societies, worldwide. To limit the spread of disease, all non-essential travel has been discouraged through a series of local and global mobility restrictions thereby placing extreme pressure on the international tourism industry. Indeed, international travel has slowed and nearly halted, producing economic losses equivalent to over five times the impact due to the 2008-2009 global financial crisis (WTTC, 2020b). Nevertheless, for tourism industry stakeholders, tourism researchers and travellers, immobility is providing an opportunity to pause and critically examine the role of tourism in contemporary societies (see "Iso-CHATS", 2020; Lew et al., 2020; Marcotte et al., 2020; UNWTO, 2020b).

Chapter 1 revealed a powerful, hegemonic narrative which (re)produces cultural identity in Lunenburg, and in Nova Scotia, according to the representation and promotion of antimodernist and maritime Folk culture for and through tourism. The commodification of culture – the objectification and reconstruction of peoples, places, pasts and presents through a consumer value system – is demonstrated to exacerbate post-industrial uneven development, including the precarization and feminization of services sector work and workers, and rural tourism gentrification, through the expansion of both Airbnb activities and the real estate market. Whereas cultural evolution in Lunenburg has become a function of worldmaking, globalization and consumer capitalism, it is also related to the spontaneous everyday practices and relations taking place within the localized context. Indeed, culture refers to identity, practices and relations, and it is evident that, like notions of tourism, place, gender, etc., culture "means different things to different people" (Barlow et al., 2020: 12). The

[27] "COVID-19 is the disease caused by a new coronavirus called SARS-CoV-2. WHO first learned of this new virus on 31 December 2019, following a report of a cluster of cases of 'viral pneumonia' in Wuhan, People's Republic of China" (WHO, 2021).

meaning of culture is context-specific and relates to ‘user intent’, that is, the ideological and aspirational framework used to define a term (Barlow et al., 2020; Lapointe et al., 2018). In this context, therefore, it is posited that curiosity and creativity may generate an affirmative route towards the discovery, imagination and shaping of ethical and sustainable tourism worlds by following the thread of non-capitalist practices and relations of tourism community stakeholders (Braidotti, 2011; Caton, 2013; Hollinshead et al., 2009; Massey, 2005; Swain, 2009).

This chapter has meaningfully addressed two of the three research sub-questions as presented in Chapter 1 (see section 1.4.1). Indeed, the autoethnographic text demonstrates the efficacy of drawing upon situated knowledge and embodied experience as a strategy for understanding tourism worlds. Moreover, exploring the simultaneous empowerment and entrapment experienced by regionally mobile women working in tourism, this narrative highlights the cognitive dissonance inherent to this positionality. Subsequently, guided by the third research sub-question, the following and final chapter of this thesis project leads this exploratory research into new and, perhaps, unanticipated directions. As presented in Chapter 1, the final sub-question is the following:

> Which stories about Lunenburg, its populations, its pasts and its futures are excluded from dominant, profit-oriented cultural representation for tourism?

Drawing upon a series of novel resources and insights, the discussion identifies non-capitalist practices and relations, effectively de-making dominant cultural representation in Lunenburg in an effort to begin re-making the tourism community according to ethical and sustainable alternatives. In 2020, cultural evolution proceeds according to the dynamic uncertainty induced by the ongoing COVID-19 public health and economic crisis, and despite the relative absence of international tourism in Lunenburg. Rather optimistically, a hopeful and progressive convergence between contemporary arts, recreation, tourism and hospitality, and social activism is emerging,

alongside the faltering of public trust in such institutions and systems as policing, public health, the housing market, mass media, government and the globalized 'free market'. Thus, deconstructing the hegemonic power of both international tourism and global capitalism, the discussion in Chapter 5 explores cultural evolution in Lunenburg and in Nova Scotia, more broadly, shaped by the peoples connected to – and extending beyond – the region.

CHAPTER V

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

Tourism does not simply "mirror some fixed world 'out there'" (Hollinshead et al., 2009: 428). Likewise, "[a] text does not mirror the world" (Denzin & Lincoln, 2018: 18). Rather, both tourism and tourism research can be viewed as the productive creation of tourism worlds. Normative and normalized worldmaking for and through tourism often produces a reality which is simultaneously advantageous to some populations and suppressive to others (Hollishead & Suleman, 2018). By contrast, this exploratory research seeks to overcome social and spatial segregation in tourism worlds by uncovering and activating the non-capitalist worldmaking agency of tourism community stakeholders, including the creative sector. As researcher, storyteller, tourism community stakeholder, woman, entrepreneur, social activist, etc., I intend to assert my own tourism worldmaking agency firmly rooted in social justice, ethics and sustainability.

There is neither a clear beginning nor a neat end to this ongoing and dynamic story. Indeed, this master's thesis project, implicating a wide range of actors within and extending beyond the immediate research context, is simply a snap-shot of Lunenburg – one of Nova Scotia's top tourist attractions (TNS, 2020a) – in 2019-2020. However, within this timeframe two prominent events have emerged and been converging, producing a significant shift within the research context. On a global scale, the ongoing COVID-19 pandemic is destabilizing the global economy and the international tourism industry, including Lunenburg's tourism sector. Locally, Lunenburg's arts and culture

stakeholders are mobilizing, asserting their intention to celebrate and build upon the work and practices of contemporary arts and artists as a strategy for cultivating cultural vitality and community sustainability (Barlow et al., 2020; Upland, 2019). Indeed, the ongoing and dynamic economic, socio-spatial and cultural transformations taking place, both locally and globally, continue to fuel critical reflection regarding tourism in Lunenburg! Thus, this final chapter is a continuation of the previous four, albeit draws the discussion in new and unanticipated directions.

Chapter 5 is designed to fulfill two aims. Firstly, drawing upon a series of novel resources and insights, the discussion identifies non-capitalist – and non-tourism – practices and relations, addressing 1) the connections and disconnections between arts, culture and tourism in Lunenburg; 2) impacts of the global COVID-19 pandemic; and 3) examples of social injustice exacerbated by the pandemic as well as progressive civic engagement. Secondly, in conclusion to this project, methodological limitations to the research will be acknowledged followed by the proposal of a series of context-specific research agendas. Finally, a brief reflection upon the notion of sustainability will complete this project, effectively calling for tourism stakeholders at all levels to embrace this opportunity for positive transformation.

5.1 Discussion: non-capitalist – and non-tourism – practices

Identifying alternative practices and relations, the aim of this discussion is to frame novel socio-cultural shifts as an opportunity for ethical and sustainable transformation. Following Gibson-Graham (1996; 2006), the greatest barrier to imagining and enacting ethical and sustainable alternatives in society is the perpetual reconstruction of advanced global capitalism as ‘an invincible force’ (Brouder, 2018; Mosedale, 2012). Therefore, overcoming the hold of both tourism and capitalism is an epistemic endeavour which may lead to the understanding that neither tourism nor capitalism are inevitabilities (Brouder, 2018). Indeed, several critical tourism researchers suggest that

uncovering and/or creating alternative and sustainable worldmaking practices involves recognizing and examining the non-capitalist – and non-tourism – activities and relations of tourism community stakeholders (Brouder, 2018; Hollinshead et al., 2009; Mosedale, 2012; Swain, 2009). Whereas there is no neat and tide worldmaking system, worldmaking for and through tourism is conceived of, here, as a fundamentally democratic process, relying upon the peoples, places, pasts and futures it attempts to make, de-make and re-make.

5.1.1 (Dis)connections: arts, culture and tourism in Lunenburg

During the mid-1990s in conjunction with UNESCO World Heritage Site designation, the attractivity of Lunenburg drew an influx of artists to town (Upland, 2019). According to the recent Arts & Culture discussion paper prepared by Upland, the development of Lunenburg's arts community has been happening alongside deindustrialization and cultural tourism development. Highlighting this dynamic, Upland (2019) explains:

> Artists are renowned throughout the world as creative users of found space, particularly adaptive-heritage reuse, and Lunenburg is a good example of this trend. Old fishing warehouses have been transformed into weaving studios and museums, churches are regularly used for concerts and plays, and heritage homes have been turned into art galleries. (Upland, 2019: 18)

With a generation of artists settling in the region comes a range of creative practices and events, perpetuating the attractivity of Lunenburg. Indeed, "Lunenburg is home to an incredibly vital cultural sector – artists, heritage workers, creative business owners are present in higher numbers locally than elsewhere in the province" (Barlow et al., 2020: 34). Recently, a database of 153 cultural resources, or 'assets'[28], in the Town of Lunenburg has been identified, including community organizations; cultural industries;

[28] Cultural 'assets' include "physical or financial resources, people, skills, possessions or other qualities" (Upland, 2019: 2)

facilities and spaces; heritage; events and festivals; and marine industries (Upland, 2019: 2). The following organizations are examples of the town's prominent cultural hubs.

The Lunenburg School of the Arts (LSA), an incorporated not-for-profit and volunteer-run organization, announces "the Town of Lunenburg is our campus" and offers extensive programming such as artist-led workshops, artist exhibitions, musical performances, craft sales and more (LSA, 2020). The Nova Scotia College of Arts and Design (NSCAD), in collaboration with the Town of Lunenburg, offers year-long community studio residencies, providing studio space and affordable housing for NSCAD university graduates. Through this program, a regular influx of young artists is drawn to Lunenburg, many of whom subsequently settle and/or work in town (Upland, 2019; Wilson, 2020). The Lunenburg Academy of Music Performance (LAMP), a registered charity, is an international post-graduate center for studies in performance and interpretation, providing instruction to talented young musicians and performances to public audiences (LAMP, 2020). LAMP is housed in the restored Lunenburg Academy, a massive wooden Victorian schoolhouse built in 1895 and repurposed, in 2012, as a mixed-use community cultural centre. Tenants of the Lunenburg Academy include the Lunenburg branch of the South Shore Public Libraries, Nevermore Press book publishing, Eurocentres Language School, the South Shore Genealogical Society, and more. Lunenburg's creative sector is largely organized through non-profit, charitable and volunteer-run structures. Indeed, "[a]lmost all of the work included in arts and culture programming, management and coordination, relies on volunteers at one point or another (Upland, 2020: 19).

Recent mobilization by contemporary arts and culture stakeholders, engaged in the promotion and celebration of Lunenburg's cultural sector, indicates that Lunenburg's contemporary creative community is undervalued and/or underrepresented in the imaginaries of both locals and outsiders (see Barlow et al., 2020; Upland, 2019; 2020).

Indeed, traditional maritime identity and local heritage are somewhat disconnected from the contemporary arts and culture sector, especially through siloed marketing campaigns (Barlow et al., 2020). Moreover, previously established economic and demographic trends (see section 1.2) threaten the town's cultural continuity, and 'museumification' remains a concern for Lunenburg community stakeholders (George et al., 2009; Upland, 2020). Therefore, recognizing the diversity and breadth of Lunenburg's cultural sector is intended to support the health of community life, and involves the establishment and management of a vision of Lunenburg's cultural vitality (paraphrasing Barlow et al., 2020: 7). For Barlow and Associates (2020), cultural vitality "leads to engaged citizens, curious visitors and a distinct sense of self-identity", and is thereby directly related to community sustainability (Barlow, 2020: 9).

The strategies for creating an image and vision of cultural vitality include developing promotional activities featuring both arts *and* heritage, measuring the economic impact of arts, fostering appreciation of local arts, and cultivating involvement in arts by diverse populations (Barlow et al., 2020 emphasis added). The development of such goals suggests that the image of contemporary arts and culture is overshadowed by Lunenburg's traditional cultural heritage identity and, by extension, is not capitalized upon for and through international tourism. According to Brouder (2018), within a tourism destination "there are economic movements that may go unnoticed because of their subtlety or difficulty in measuring them or because they are not growing rapidly" (Brouder, 2018: 917). Indeed, Lunenburg's creative sector is easily qualified as 'non-capitalist', consisting of alternative economic practices – "social exchanges that *do not* follow the 'rules' of a capitalist market economy" (Mosedale, 2012: 195 emphasis in original). Furthermore, this arts-led initiative for cultivating cultural vitality is consistent with creative place making, advocating for an 'ecological approach' to urban and rural revitalization in order to address issues of gentrification, participation and exclusion (Courage & McKeown, 2019). For Courage and McKeown (2019), actualizing the regenerative potential of creative place making includes "[encouraging]

self-organization and agency and [integrating] citizens' existing placemaking practices" (Courage & McKeown, 2019: 3). Thus, although contemporary arts and culture, and maritime cultural heritage, may appear to be disconnected through the selection and production of tourism experiences, these distinct cultural realms are, nevertheless, highly intertwined in tourism's 'backstage'[29].

The research findings demonstrate that Lunenburg's tourism workers are also among the town's creative sector stakeholders, enacting their worldmaking agency through instances of disconnection from dominant cultural representation. Alternative versions and visions of culture in Lunenburg are subtly produced by questioning the value of appearances and, for example, recognizing that buildings are only freshly painted on the street-side façade: "it is mostly for people who come for short periods of time more than it is for people who live here". A second example of progressive detachment from dominant representations involves embracing slowness by consuming things more slowly, taking time to greet people on the street, and utilizing the quiet winter months to engage in creative practices. Thirdly, and quite importantly, alternative cultural production is enacted by framing the provision of tourism experiences as an empowering, curatorial process:

> I just want to help people have the best time while they're here. You kind of curate somebody's experience. You pick and choose experiences through your own networks and interests and recommendations, in a way that will be interesting and compelling, and supportive of businesses that I want to support. There's a lot of power in that position, to a certain extent.

Arguably, these tourism worker practices resemble creative place making – "arts-led socially engaged processes that encourage a deeper level of public participation and agency" (Courage & McKeown, 2019: 4). Indeed, the interconnected, regenerative and

[29] Following Goffman (1956), tourism's 'backstage' is an informal spatio-temporal location in which performative tourism stakeholders remove their metaphorical mask – preparing for, practicing, recovering from or escaping the tourism performance (Edensor, 2001: 60; Roelofsen, 2018: 28).

non-capitalist practices related, simultaneously, to the production of tourism experiences *and* creative place making merit further attention.

Nevertheless, alternative practices are continually shaped by the vulnerability of cultural tourism communities to dominant systems and structures. Indeed, "[y]oung artists are attracted to Lunenburg but struggle to find suitable housing and jobs […]" (Barlow, 2020: 34). Whereas culturally vibrant and tourism-based communities are particularly susceptible to the production of gentrification and of precarious employment, the ongoing global COVID-19 pandemic is exacerbating this vulnerability. Indeed, among the most prominent and immediate impacts of the ongoing COVID-19 pandemic is the fundamental transformation of work and workers of all types. Immediate workforce transformations include the widespread transition to remote, home-based working – including, but not limited to, white-collar sector workers –, and the increased precarization of services sector and 'frontline'[30] work and workers. Relating this phenomenon to Lunenburg's cultural sector workers, Barlow and Associates (2020) explain:

> The coronavirus pandemic has resulted in the cancellation of casual travel and large-scale gatherings such as festivals and concerts, emergency lockdowns have effectively left many cultural workers out of work, and overnight the online world became a primary resource for artists to generate creative programming and messages of hope and connectivity, often without pay. (Barlow et al., 2020: 10)

As a strategy for mitigating widespread and rapid economic decline, the Canadian government is implementing a series of financial assistance programmes for workers and small business operators directly affected by the pandemic. Importantly, the

[30] In the context of the pandemic, 'frontline' is a term commonly used to refer to workers providing high-contact essential services such as grocery, hardware and alcohol retail, healthcare and personal support services, and more. It is widely recognized that frontline workers are at risk for infection and psychological strain, including burnout.

development of a collection of emergency response benefits[31] has, inadvertently, highlighted the complexity and precarity of the contemporary labour market. While the provision of COVID-related benefits exhibits some resemblance to universal basic income (UBI)[32], emergency response benefits are, nevertheless, contingent upon eligibility criteria. As a result, the media has drawn attention to the exclusion of many worker types from emergency response benefit programs, such as self-employed, artists and musicians, temporary foreign workers, Inuit and First Nations, part-time and seasonal, students, etc. (see Department of Finance Canada, 2020). Nevertheless, as of October 4, 2020, 8.9 million Canadians have benefitted from the CERB program alone, collecting up to four monthly installments of $2000 CAD, equivalent to a full-time, minimum wage salary in Nova Scotia[33] (Government of Canada, 2020).

On a personal level, tourism work-related stress has been exacerbated by the pandemic due, in part, to generalized uncertainty. More acutely, anxiety has been fuelled by interactions with prospective travellers expressing elitist indifference and ignorance in regard to the vulnerability of less fortunate individuals and communities, especially during the pandemic. Despite the complicated and, for many, inadequate emergency response benefit programs, this financial system is, nevertheless, providing the material conditions to support my transition from tourism worker to tourism researcher, although the two roles remain deeply interconnected. Building upon this sub-section,

[31] Federally implemented programs include Canada Emergency Response Benefit (CERB), Canada Emergency Student Benefit (CESB), Canada Emergency Wage Subsidy (CEWS), Canada Emergency Rent Subsidy (CERS), Canada Recovery Benefit (CRB), Canada Recovery Sickness Benefit (CRSB), Canada Recovery Caregiving Benefit (CRCB), Employment Insurance (EI), short-term disability benefits and, perhaps, more.

[32] "Basic Income is based on a belief that everyone deserves access to the resources required to meet basic needs and is designed to establish a baseline below which income would not be allowed to fall" (Frayne, 2015: 225). Social justice advocates recognize the complexity and precarity of the contemporary labour market and, as a result, see the need to decouple work and income, and explore alternative wealth distribution systems including unconditional UBI.

[33] As of April 1, 2020, Nova Scotia's minimum wage increased from $11.55 to $12.55 per hour (CFIB, 2020).

the following one explores cultural evolution in the research context, proceeding in the relative absence of tourism. Indeed, restrictions to travel and social gathering due to the ongoing global COVID-19 pandemic are providing the conditions for reflecting upon the role of travel and tourism in our societies.

5.1.2 COVID-19 pandemic: local and global impacts

Echoing the 'externally' induced Atlantic fisheries crisis that served as a catalyst for fundamental economic, socio-spatial and cultural transformation in Lunenburg in the 1990s, the global COVID-19 pandemic is disrupting the research context. Indeed, the current and ongoing public health and economic crisis is disrupting daily life – in various ways and to different degrees – worldwide. Among those who contract the disease and develop symptoms, "about fifteen percent become seriously ill and require oxygen and five percent become critically ill and need intensive care" (WHO, 2020). Emergency measures implemented to mitigate the ongoing threat of contracting and spreading the disease are leading to the destabilization of the global economy, the near cessation of local and global travel, and social isolation. Psychosocial consequences of these measures are manifold and complex, such as increased risk of violence against women, increased rates of mental health disorders in elderly, youth and frontline worker populations, and widespread unemployment. Nevertheless, as tourism and travel activities slow down, industry stakeholders, tourism-based communities, travelers, global citizens and tourism researchers are pausing and reflecting upon the role of travel and tourism in our societies ("Iso-CHATS", 2020; Lew et al., 2020; Marcotte et al., 2020; UNWTO, 2020b).

This pause arises at a timely and opportune moment when nearly continual international tourism industry growth, and increasing and increasingly diverse patterns of mobile, experiential consumerism, have been contributing to the production of environmental degradation, uneven mobilities, and countless forms of social and

spatial segregation. Indeed, this crisis represents an opportunity for taking time to breathe; for critically reflecting upon how tourism is affecting our local and global landscapes. Recalling a passage from Chapter 4:

> [I]t can be hard to be aware of how situations are affecting you while you are still in them. It's only afterwards, thinking back. When you're in the situation, you're just trying to deal with it and your coping mechanism is just to keep moving quickly. There's no time to think.

Pausing and breathing can enable self-preservation, critical reflection, hope, and creative expression, and may even lead to cultural vitality and tourism community sustainability (see section 4.1.5). Indeed, the vibrant activation by critical tourism researchers during this pandemic is demonstrated through such initiatives as the Special Issue of *Tourism Geographies*, Reset: Visions of Travel and Tourism after the Global COVID-19 Transformation of 2020; the Iso-CHATS private Facebook group and weekly tourism research presentations via Zoom; and the Special Edition of *Téoros*, Le tourisme avant et après la COVID-19, and is a testament to the opportunity for reimagining and rebuilding sustainable tourism worlds. Nevertheless, whereas the conditions for critical reflection and positive transformation may be created through the temporary absence of international tourism activity, the ongoing COVID-19 pandemic is causing widespread suffering and, for many, producing an urgent preoccupation with survival.

The spread of disease is highly correlated with privileged mobilities such as international tourism and business/higher education travel. As a result, societies worldwide have been in and out of various stages and degrees of lockdown throughout the year, jeopardizing global supply chains as well as the viability of localized tourism-dependent communities. Indeed, the victims of this pandemic are not primarily the mobile elite but, rather, are disproportionately elderly, women, racialized, low-income and other vulnerable populations. The impacts of this crisis to such vulnerable populations include illness, social isolation, homelessness, violence, discrimination

and more. Nevertheless, these effects are highly socially and spatially segregated, with impacts varying widely according to jurisdiction and social status.

In Nova Scotia and in the Atlantic Canadian region, more broadly, many of us are benefitting from the relative safety, security and 'normality' of living and travelling within the so-called 'Atlantic [travel] Bubble'[34]. As a strategy for protecting public health while supporting regional tourism and travel-related operations, the Atlantic Bubble has been effective in terms of both limiting COVID-19 infection rates and sustaining local provincial economies (English & Murphy, 2020). Indeed, in an opinion piece published by *The New York Times,* a Nova Scotia-based journalist expresses her great fortune as a resident of this region, sharing her experience with an international audience: "I am living in a Covid-free world just a few hundred miles from Manhattan" (Nolen, 2020: 1). Activities such as sending her kids to school, working out at the gym, hosting a dinner party and living without fear are amongst the indicators that life in "a parallel dimension called Nova Scotia" is "unfolding much as it did a year ago" (Nolen, 2020: 1).

While Nova Scotia is part of the "economically depressed", "have-not provinces", the province is faring well as compared with such regions as the United States and Montreal. For Nolen, "our small, pretty city [Halifax] has relatively affordable housing, beaches and wooded parks" (Nolen, 2020: 4). Whereas "a lack of jobs kept ambitious people away", such in-migrants as Torontonians are now able to flee the big city and settle on the coast, because "so many of us work from the kitchen table [and] the pokey economy matters much less" (Nolen, 2020: 4). Quoting Nova Scotia public health chief Dr. Strang, Nolen notes:

[34] Beginning July 3rd, 2020 the four Atlantic provinces agreed to unrestricted inter-provincial travel within the region, maintaining strict conditions for anyone (re)entering the region through mandatory 14-day self-isolation. In late November, as a second wave of COVID-19 infections spread throughout Canada, member-provinces of the Atlantic Bubble suspended participation, implementing stricter travel restrictions.

> Public health officials, not politicians, set the policy here about what opens. And people (mostly) follow the rules on closures and gatherings and masks. "The message has been that we need to do it to keep each other safe," he told me. "I think there's something about our culture, our collective ethic, if you will, that means people accept that." (Nolen, 2020: 5)

Nolen's 'freedom' is both 'precious and fragile'. As such, acknowledging her good fortune, she and her dinner party guests raise a glass to Dr. Strang (Nolen, 2020). However, this lived experience is reserved for the most fortunate in the region and, by contrast, extremely varied degrees of suffering and grief are experienced during this global pandemic. The following sub-section describes, on the one hand, a series of troubling events that are unfolding in the localized context during the pandemic. On the other, a progressive convergence between contemporary arts, recreation, tourism and hospitality and social activism is emerging in the research context.

5.1.3 Social injustices and hope

Pandemic-induced suffering, experienced in extremely varied ways and to different degrees by Nova Scotians, is compounded with the effects of a series of deeply troubling events that have taken place in 2020. Firstly, during this ongoing and dynamic state of uncertainty we attribute to the pandemic many are suffering from fear, anxiety and grief caused by a terrifying massacre to which the RCMP failed to respond appropriately on April 18th and 19th, 2020. Indeed, the preservation of the lives and wellbeing of residents in the town of Portapique, as well as several communities in the northern region of the province, was overcome by ineffective policing producing a destructive two-day rampage, many victims, and ongoing trauma. Amongst the failures of the RCMP is their uncoordinated response to the massacre, including the highly ineffective use of Twitter as a tool for alerting the public to the active shooter situation (Palango, 2020).

Secondly, shortly thereafter, the Black Lives Matter (BLM) movement gained significant momentum, locally and globally, following publicized incidents of police brutality towards Black people including, most notably, the murder of George Floyd in Minneapolis on May 25th, 2020. Increased media coverage and public awareness of racism against Black, Indigenous and People of colour (BIPOC) is highlighting systemic violence against racialized and marginalized individuals and communities within many public institutions, including policing and public health. Locally, an anti-Black hate crime instigated at a South Shore beach, this summer, was met with ineffective policing, suggesting 'there's no real charge for being racist' (Lambie, 2020). Indeed, the racialized segregation of our outdoor recreational landscape is mediatized, recognizing "[a]ctivities like canoeing, kayaking and hiking are overwhelmingly white" (Walton, 2020a).

Thirdly, during the fall, 2020, violent protests against lobster fishers of the Sipekne'katik First Nation in south-western Nova Scotia, enacting their treaty right to gain a moderate livelihood, proceeded for several weeks following the launch of the Mi'kmaq moderate livelihood fishery on September 17th, 2020. The protests by non-indigenous commercial fishers, expressing concern about the sustainability of the Mi'kmaq fishery, include blockading Mi'kmaw boats, seizing and destroying lobster traps, mobbing Mi'kmaw fishers and stealing their catch, torching and damaging vehicles and buildings, and trashing frozen lobster stores (Forester, 2020a). These attacks to both people and property have been met with police inaction. Moreover, Minister of Fisheries, Oceans and the Canadian Coast Guard, Bernadette Jordan, based in Nova Scotia's South Shore, has failed to adequately intervene and manage the dispute (Forrester, 2020b).

Lastly, throughout the pandemic, arbitrary housing and apartment rental increases are accentuated by a frenzied real estate market across the region, exacerbating housing insecurity and homelessness in many areas. Indeed, the rental housing vacancy rate is

one percent, and the unhoused population, especially in Halifax, is increasing. Victims of the current housing crisis include low-income workers and non-workers, women, children, BIPOC, elderly and disabled Nova Scotians (Katz, 2020). This handful of events represent only a very small fraction of the social injustices highlighted throughout this pandemic. Nevertheless, of particular import, here, is the faltering of the public's trust in such institutions and systems as policing, public health, housing, mass media, government and the globalized 'free market'.

As a response to the COVID-19 pandemic and the aforementioned events, a hopeful and progressive convergence between contemporary arts, recreation, tourism and hospitality and social activism is emerging. In the absence of a strong tourism season, culture in Lunenburg and in Nova Scotia, more broadly, continues to be shaped by the peoples connected to – and extending beyond – the region. This cultural vibrancy is supported by the works and initiatives of citizens, local media outlets, Nova Scotia-based artists, small business owners, and business associations, most notably. For example, recognizing the increased risk of COVID-19 transmission through travel, Figure 5.1 is an image created by a local arts and crafts retailer, politely asking non-residents to refrain from visiting Lunenburg this spring. Utilizing social media to share the image, featured on the next page, the corresponding message proclaims:

> We love tourists, we love visitors to our town but not right now. Our town was full of people today […] we have a large older population here that is susceptible to this virus. We need to be at home right now, everyone. (Dots & Loops, 2020)

Figure 5.1: Please don't visit us
Source: Dots & Loops (March 2020)

Similarly, restaurant owners have voluntarily modified their operations, prompted by concern for the health and safety of both workers and patrons, as well as the viability of food and beverage establishments in the province. Indeed, as a strategy for limiting the spread of COVID-19 during the second wave of infection, the Restaurant Association of Nova Scotia (RANS) recommended to Nova Scotia Public Health the mandatory closure of dine-in operations during the fall, 2020. This strict measure is "really not about the economy now. It's really about the health and the long-term outlook of our communities". Nevertheless, this preventative measure is also *supportive* of small business owners, as "a government-mandated shut-down would help [restaurants] because it would allow them to access additional rent relief through federal programs" (Grant, 2020 emphasis added).

Addressing the racialized segregation of outdoor recreation spaces and activities, the Different Strokes Paddle Program, launched in June 2020, "[offers] free one-hour lessons to BIPOC folks who are interested in learning how to kayak or improving the skills they already have" (Walton, 2020a). Similarly, a BLM solidarity picnic was held at a Chester area beach later in the summer, in response to anti-Black racism as well as "[t]he RCMP's lack of action, refusal to press charges, or treat this behaviour as hate crimes […]" ("PSA: Black Lives Matter", 2020). Details of the event are described as follows:

> On August 30th we will make sure BIPOC families can swim, picnic, rest, and enjoy the summer Sunday together in safety and solidarity while sending a clear message to racists and white supremacists on the South Shore that Black lives matter to us. ("PSA: Black Lives Matter", 2020)

Figure 5.2: WHITE SILENCE = VIOLENCE
Source: J. Spinks, personal communication (June 5, 2020)

Figure 5.2, presented on page 147, is a hand-printed protest sign displayed during a BLM solidarity rally on the South Shore in June 2020. Moreover, in Lunenburg, the works of local artists are seen posted in public spaces within Old Town Lunenburg, including the print message “Art Cannot be Contained”, alluding to the pandemic-induced lockdown and, by contrast, the ongoing freedom for self-expression, critical reflection and creativity. Indeed, following the devastating events of 2020, posters stating “we’re gonna be ok” and “white silence = violence” are displayed in town, highlighting the interconnection between creative expression and social activism.

Figure 5.3: The Lunenburg seed saving project
Source: Author (November 2020)

Finally, in an effort to celebrate and support the natural beauty of local neighbourhoods, two Nova Scotia-based gardeners have created the Seed Saving Project, collecting and redistributing ‘a custom community seed mix’ of flower seeds and pods donated by

residents. “Some of the benefits of using saved seeds include, of course, saving money, but they’re also more adapted to the local climate and soil quality” (Walton, 2020b). Figure 5.3, presented on page 148, is a hand-drawn poster displayed in Old Town Lunenburg. In the background is one of the many ‘For Sale’ signs dotting the townscape in 2020.

These varied examples of non-capitalist practices and relations, many of which are enacted by Lunenburg’s tourism community stakeholders, are indicative of cultural vitality evolving in the near absence of international tourism. Indeed, creative expression, social activism and solidarity amongst citizens, businesses and local media have the capacity to reshape peoples and places, leading to ethical and sustainable futures. Nevertheless, alongside the absence of international travel, there is a prominent migratory shift taking place in Nova Scotia during the pandemic. Indeed, Lunenburg is amongst the ruralities, towns and cities in Atlantic Canada experiencing a ‘frenzied’ real estate market in 2020.

To the most fortunate in society, Lunenburg appears to be a beautiful, friendly, safe haven, where both daily life and spatial mobility proceed in a fairly normalized fashion (see Nolen, 2020). As a result, anecdotal evidence suggests that buyers are engaging in bidding wars, sale prices are significantly higher than listed prices, houses are being sold sight unseen, and much of the real estate demand is originating from Ontario and the United States. Moreover, pandemic-motivated in-migration may prove to be comparable to a form of hyper-slow (post-)tourism, if/when ‘neo-rural’ in-migrants move elsewhere following the resolution of the current public health crisis. As such, this socio-demographic restructuring echoes Lapointe’s (2020) anticipation of reinforced class-based segregation and enclavization in tourism destinations, during and following the COVID-19 pandemic. However, the commodities currently being consumed through leisure mobility are not explicitly tourism-based but, rather, are primarily tourism community housing and homes.

The marketization of housing and homes in Lunenburg County, and in many deindustrializing towns and cities in the Atlantic region, is proceeding alongside, and despite, economic downturn and the relative absence of tourism. Largely attributed to counterurbanization and other types of privileged in-migration, potential solutions to manage this problem are being developed, in response. For example, it has been suggested by local affordable housing advocacy groups that some of the many defunct motels, B&Bs and inns on the South Shore, currently underutilized and listed for sale, be transformed into affordable housing developments. Figure 5.4, presented below, features a 7-unit, 19th century inn located in Lunenburg's New Town, which remains listed on the real estate market since summer, 2019.

Figure 5.4: 19th century inn in Lunenburg's New Town, listed for sale
Source: Author (November 2020)

In conjunction with the widespread conversion of the region's rental and housing stock into Airbnb-type short-term vacation rentals, the potential repurposing of traditional tourism accommodations for housing needs is painfully ironic, and points to the power of mobile, experiential consumerism to re-make the local landscape. Indeed, anecdotal evidence suggests that, prior to the 1990s-era tourism development, some of the heritage buildings currently housing defunct hospitality operations provided long-term rental housing. Arguably, examination and recalibration of this ongoing and dynamic process, a form of 21st century rural tourism gentrification, is amongst the pressing issues to be further addressed within the research context, and beyond. Indeed, the convergence between rural tourism, rural gentrification and rural housing insecurity and homelessness merits immediate attention, "because housing is the 'container' for almost every other social justice issue" (H. Lanthier, personal communication, December 31, 2020). Moreover, in the absence of a deliberate social policy framework, advocating for the needs of vulnerable populations and capable of harnessing progressive civic engagement by tourism community stakeholders, tourism community development will likely continue to proceed according to globalization, advanced neoliberal capitalism and the commodification of peoples, places, pasts and presents for and through tourism. In conclusion to this project, limitations to the research design are identified, a list of potential research agendas inspired by this thesis are presented, and a brief reflection upon the notion of sustainability is provided.

5.2 Conclusion: limitations, possibilities and sustainabilities

This research project has been guided by the following broad, open-ended query:

> How do regionally mobile women engaging in tourism employment in Lunenburg enact their worldmaking agency?

The combination of a worldmaking research agenda with an autoethnographic process and product has yielded highly generative results. Indeed, essentially everything/one/

where has been transformed into potentially fruitful primary data from which meaningful qualitative research could be produced. Consequently, it has been a somewhat daunting undertaking to deliberately and artfully sift through, analyze and articulate the plethora of evidence created and compiled throughout this research process (Ryan & Mooney, 2018). As a tourism researcher living in and never leaving the research field, I have been experiencing a blurring of boundaries between leisure, labour and citizenship similar to that experienced by the regionally mobile tourism worker(s) I both embody and have been engaging with (Chang, 2013; Rose et al., 2019; Saarinen, 2017; Valtonen & Haanpää, 2018). Thus, navigating and negotiating the spatial, temporal and psychological boundaries between tourism research and non-research activities and relations, this process has been messy, exhausting, enlightening and hopeful.

Contributing to the complexity of this research project, the unexpected outbreak of the novel coronavirus leading to the ongoing global COVID-19 pandemic has disrupted the research context, findings and product, to some extent. Echoing the 'externally' induced Atlantic fisheries crisis that served as a catalyst for fundamental economic, socio-spatial and cultural transformation in Lunenburg in the 1990s, this crisis does not represent a limitation to the research inasmuch as it simply adds to the ambiguity and ambivalence this project is attempting to work through. Indeed, this project heeds the calls put forth by Hollinshead (2004) and Lapointe and Coulter (2020) to ambitiously undertake complex research agendas in order to disentangle the dynamic, interconnecting, co-constitutive and multi-scalar processes conditioning the ongoing socio-spatial transformations of tourism worlds. More specifically, drawing worldmaking in the direction of embodiment (Swain, 2009), and validating the expertise and knowledge of women working in tourism (Veijola, 2009a) – including my own – this project has been carefully crafted in order to 1) produce gender-aware research by and for women in tourism, and to 2) provide a snapshot of tourism in Lunenburg in 2019-2020.

The unique design of this research project draws upon the research context, a living social and cultural 'laboratory' exhibiting many contemporary phenomena including deindustrialization, commodification of culture, rural tourism gentrification, precarization and feminization of labour, worldmaking for and through tourism, and creative place making. The interpretive framework highlights the interconnections and mutual constitution of these ongoing and dynamic processes, advocating for their examination through the embodied experiences of tourism community stakeholders. The autoethnographic approach draws upon the knowledge and expertise of regionally mobile women comprising Lunenburg's tourism workforce in order to understand the complexity of tourism worlds. The findings reveal uneven – both meaningful and abusive – interpersonal dynamics in tourism workscapes; cognitive and *social* dissonance produced according to the commercialization of peoples, place and past; and, coping strategies and practices implemented by research participants, grappling with ambiguity and contradiction. More specifically, pausing and breathing are demonstrated to provide the conditions for cultivating critical awareness of the uneven processes shaping tourism worlds. Finally, accounting for recent transformations within the research context – the mobilization of creative sector stakeholders as well as the concurrent and ongoing global COVID-19 pandemic – the discussion extends beyond the confines of global capitalism and international tourism, seeking social justice, ethical transformation and cultural sustainability through non-capitalist – and non-tourism – practices and relations.

Simply put, this project examines socio-spatial transformation in Lunenburg in 2019-2020. This has been achieved by providing opportunities for subordinate voices to be heard by actively engaging with alternative worldviews and, ultimately, by seeking instances of democratic social transformation. Nevertheless, there are some clear limitations to this research project which must be recognized, especially in relation to the autoethnographic research approach.

5.2.1 Limitations to the research

The sample size, recruitment strategy, nature of participation and validation of the researcher's situated knowledge are all consistent with the qualitative research approach adopted here. Indeed, collaborative autoethnography is both a highly personal and social process, falling somewhere along the continuum from artistic to analytic (Chang, 2013; Tullis, 2013). Nevertheless, the four limitations to this research project are methodological in nature, the majority of which have been briefly addressed in Chapter 3 (see section 3.3.4). These issues relate to sampling, recruitment, participation and my own subjectivity as researcher.

5.2.1.1 Sampling

The academic research pertaining to tourism work and to tourism entrepreneurship are fairly disparate with the former focusing on tourism work and workers, especially the precarious and performative nature of such work (see Binkley, 2000a; Ek et al., 2020; Giacomel, 2018; Gopi, 2017; Ladkin, 2011; Pagliarin, 2017; Roelofsen, 2018; Roelofsen & Minca, 2018; Veijola, 2009a; 2009b; Veijola & Jokinen, 2008; Zampoukos & Ioannides, 2011). The latter is somewhat discordant addressing either the qualities of entrepreneurs and their endeavours, or situating entrepreneurship within the particular context of tourism (see Ateljevic & Doorne, 2000; Solvoll et al., 2015). Through a process of purposeful sampling based upon a pre-established set of criteria, a small group of regionally mobile women working in tourism in Lunenburg has been assembled combining and conflating employee and entrepreneur worker types.

The combination of tourism employees and tourism entrepreneurs/the self-employed is justified due to the commonality in their experiences in relation to gender and spatial mobility (see Adler & Adler, 1999; Ateljevic & Doorne, 2000; UNWTO, 2020a). Whereas the aim of this project is not to systematically examine tourism work and

workers *per se* but, rather, to explore economic, social, cultural and spatial dynamics through the particular lens of regionally mobile women contributing to Lunenburg's tourism workforce, the conflation of worker types does not interfere with the objectives of this project. Nevertheless, it is surmised that the amalgamation of categories has contributed to the diversity of identities and experiences represented in the research, and grappling with this range of perspectives, priorities and aspirations has been somewhat challenging.

5.2.1.2 Recruitment

The research findings demonstrate that the manifestation of hierarchical power dynamics between employers and tourism workers is problematic. Some of the work conditions and attitudes affecting the quality of a particular job include rate of pay, opportunities for skills development, and serious or businesslike interpersonal dynamics. Moreover, in some instances verbal abuse and sexual harassment are extremely problematic assertions of power and control in the workplace. Nevertheless, research participants enact their autonomy and instrumentality by choosing to participate in this research project and to discuss these matters.

However, many potential research participants did not engage in the research process, including several women who sought approval to do so from their supervisors or employers. This is not to suggest that these workers are unduly oppressed by their superiors. Rather, this may reveal that power dynamics within the wide range of businesses and organizations comprising the tourism sector manifest differently according to such factors as organizational structure and size. Indeed, my observations suggest that research participants have been affiliated with micro- and small-businesses, whereas many of the non-participants have been employed in slightly larger organizations. Thus, the failure to engage with workers connected to more structured work environments, focusing here on mostly flexible and intimate workplaces,

provides a limited scope of the internal power dynamics within tourism businesses and organizational cultures.

5.2.1.3 Participation

Tourism work involves the provision of a wide range of performative, interactive service transactions producing experiences wherein both worker and consumer are present at the time of exchange. Such work is disproportionately undertaken by women and other subordinate groups, and work conditions tend to be precarious. However, within a heterogenous tourism destination what constitutes tourism work is subjective. Indeed, accounting for this ambiguity, research participants are those workers who *identify* as tourism workers. Unfortunately, this criterion has allowed for workers with implicit/explicit awareness of the nature and/or reputation of tourism work to deliberately de-identify with the industry. In one such instance, a regionally mobile woman whom I had approached during the recruitment process expressed their disqualification based on their non-tourism worker identity. Rather, they position themself as a community member thereby prioritising the needs of the local community as opposed to those of travellers.

This de-identification with tourism may be a key coping strategy for workers and other tourism community stakeholders grappling with the cognitive dissonance and stress that are demonstrated, here, to characterize tourism and tourism work. Indeed, this strategy may be an assertion of strict spatial, temporal and psychological boundaries, demonstrating the highly subjective nature of tourism work and workers. Although it would be methodologically challenging to engage with de-identifying tourism workers and other community stakeholders, it would be valuable to understand how this practice relates to self-preservation, critical reflection and even cultural sustainability within a community-based tourism destination.

5.2.1.4 Subjectivity

The figuration of the regionally mobile woman contributing to Lunenburg's tourism workforce is based upon my subjective lived experience and observations in the research field. Perhaps the most glaring of limitations to this project are the assumptions that 1) this is indeed a prominent positionality within the research context, and 2) this is a relevant perspective through which power and subjectivity, dynamic and ongoing transformation, can be mapped. Indeed, this figure is neither theoretically pre-conceptualized nor quantitatively demonstrated to represent an important tourism community stakeholder in Lunenburg. Rather, the justification for engaging with individuals embodying this particular subject position is both epistemic and political in nature (see Braidotti, 2011; Humberstone, 2004; Veijola & Jokinen, 2008). Thus, as a strategy for enhancing the sophistication of this research project it may have been appropriate to evaluate the prevalence of this subject position in the research field through the preliminary implementation of a questionnaire targeting tourism workers, more broadly. The failure to have done so is attributed to logistical constraints.

Barring these minor methodological limitations to the research process and product, the unique design of this project has yielded highly generative findings pointing to numerous directions for future research. Indeed, whereas this story begins by highlighting the creativity, resilience and adaptability of the Town of Lunenburg following the 1990s Atlantic fisheries crisis, it culminates in the midst of a very new and different public health and economic crisis threatening the international tourism industry upon which Luneburg has come to rely. Nevertheless, inspired by women in Lunenburg County, as well as members of the CTS movement, unwavering optimism and hope persist despite the uneven worldmaking power of global capitalism and international tourism. Thus, the terrain is ripe for ongoing community-based tourism research and, arguably, the active role of critical tourism researcher is as important, now, as it ever has been.

5.2.2 Future research agendas

As researcher, storyteller, tourism community stakeholder, woman, entrepreneur, social activist, etc., I have been asserting my own tourism worldmaking agency, firmly rooted in social justice, ethics and sustainability. Within this paradigm, the following list presents several future research agendas, highlighting areas of research as well as potential frameworks for meaningfully addressing them:

- **Deindustrialization in tourism-based communities on the Atlantic coast:**
  - Theorizing tourism as an extractive industry, recognizing both the similarities and the differences between primary resources extraction and cultural resources extraction employing, for example, staples theory (see Cheer, 2020; Schmallegger & Carson, 2010).
  - Theorizing the process of museumification as a threat to social and cultural sustainability propelling the arrested development of attractive communities.

- **Precarization of services-sector work and workers, including tourism, arts and culture, and recreation sectors:**
  - Exploring how UBI may be supportive for industry stakeholders, applying the case of CERB as a model for understanding the dynamics of precarious working conditions in the tourism sectors related to both financial and psychological stresses.
  - Following Roelofsen (2018) and Roelofsen & Minca (2018), examining the interconnections between the embodied performances of tourism work and emotional labour wherein cognitive, behavioural and affective management is self-regulated according to Foucauldian biopolitics (see also Lapointe & Coulter, 2020; Minca, 2009; Pagliarin, 2017; Veijola, 2009a).

- **Rural tourism gentrification:**
  - Following Cocola-Gant (2018), examining the interconnections between tourism, gentrification and place-based displacement (see also Gotham 2018), and the interconnection of these processes with rural housing insecurity and homelessness.
  - Drawing Rose's (1984) notion of marginal gentrifier into the 21st century, examining complex subjectivities and contexts including, for example, Airbnb 'hostesses' in Lunenburg (see Estevens et al., 2020; Roelofsen, 2018).
  - Following Lapointe (2020), theorizing COVID-era counterurbanization as a post-tourism process, utilizing a Deleuzian framework (see Hollinshead et al. 2019).

- **Non-capitalist worldmaking for and through tourism:**
  - Following Swain (2009), Hollinshead et al. (2009), Mosedale (2012) and Brouder (2018), focussing on creative, ethical and sustainable worldmaking practices and relations through the feminist political economy of Gibson-Graham (1996; 2006).
  - Drawing upon enclavization theory and this project to examine the highly subjective spatial, temporal and psychological boundaries of tourism and tourism work in heterogenous, community-based tourism destinations (see Saarinen, 2017).

- **Creative place making in tourism-based communities:**
  - Designing community-based or research-creation methodologies to examine cultural evolution and creative expression according to the (dis)connections between arts, culture and tourism (see Courage & McKeown, 2019).

All of these ongoing and dynamic processes, exhibited in Lunenburg and permeating tourism worlds in various locations, merit further attention through the creation of, and engagement in, context-specific research frameworks and methodologies. Indeed,

underlying every one of these potential research agendas is a preoccupation with social justice, ethics and tourism community sustainability. However, ongoing research and reflection are bringing me awareness that the notion of sustainability – much like culture, tourism, work, woman, place, past, etc. – is itself dynamic, context-specific and relational; a slippery concept to theorize. Whereas the imagination and creation of one or more sustainable alternative(s) has been an aspiration guiding this project, I am aware that the meaning of this notion has not been well expressed.

5.2.3 Tourism and sustainability

The ubiquity of the term *sustainability* is, arguably, producing 'the entropy of [its] meaning': "It is almost as if the more you repeat something the less power, explanatory or otherwise, it has" (Brouder et al., 2020: 744). Similarly, Romagnoli (2020) notes, this notion has been widely used since the 1990s and has not provided a useful framework for guiding humanity towards positive change. For Lapointe, Sarrasin and Benjamin (2018), the 'fuzziness' of the concept constitutes its apparent strength and endurance through time, simultaneously incorporating critical discourses and debates while subtly reinforcing the apolitical nature of tourism stakeholder subjectivities (see also Sharpley, 2000). Indeed, sustainable development discourse combines 'conservation of growth and nature', disregarding what and whose needs are met by such growth and, effectively, integrating normative development ideals including productivity, innovation and competitiveness (Lapointe et al., 2018: 25).

Highlighting the futility of this concept, a recent collaborative text published by Tourism Geographies as an opportunity for hopeful and transformational tourism researchers to engage in critical reflection and discussion of post-covid possibilities is both supported by – and questions – a variety of terms rooted in the word 'sustain' (see Brouder et al., 2020). Nevertheless, the ongoing COVID-19 pandemic is highlighting widespread ethical shortcomings related to globalization, consumerism, economic

growth, environmental exploitation, and innumerable social and spatial inequalities and, therefore, the need for both critical research and the creation of sustainable alternatives is urgent. However, it is evident that the notion of sustainability, itself, is built upon a precarious or immoral foundation and, therefore, is not an entirely helpful tool in its normative, apolitical form (Brouder et al., 2020; Lapointe et al., 2018; Romagnoli, 2020). Recalling passages from the Ivany report (2014) referred to throughout this project, it becomes clear that productivist worldmaking discourse resonates poorly within the research context.

The 2014 report 'Now or Never: an urgent call to action for Nova Scotians', produced by the Nova Scotia Commission on Building Our New Economy and chaired by Ray Ivany, provides an in-depth and action-oriented planning strategy to overcome 'major socioeconomic changes making the provincial economy weak and dependent' (paraphrasing Ivany et al., 2014: vi). One of the three principal messages shaping the report states: "Yes, there is a crisis, and it does threaten the basic economic and demographic viability of our province, most dramatically in our rural regions" (Ivany et al., 2014: vii). Therefore, intending to balance growth and environmental objectives (i.e. sustainability), strategies for effecting positive transformation include stronger leadership from the private sector, building a new culture of entrepreneurship, prioritizing growth-oriented enterprises, embracing freer trade, expanding exports, communicating economic growth imperatives to the public more effectively, and having the Premier adopt a role akin to that of Minister of Business (paraphrasing Ivany et al., 2014: ix).

According to this report, overcoming economic and demographic challenges can be achieved through long-term and sustainable growth, and requires change in Nova Scotia on the *cultural* level (Ivany et al., 2014: vii, emphasis in original). As such, Nova Scotians, including in-migrants, are effectively mandated to recreate the cultural character of the province according to such neoliberal capitalist ideals as productivity,

efficiency and competition. However, ideologically and practically, the so-called Ivany report seems as though it was produced at another time and in a different place. Indeed, we are experiencing a profound paradigm shift, "from what was, to a more hopeful, regenerative, and sustainable future", accelerated by the sudden and devastating onset of the global COVID-19 pandemic (Lew et al., 2020: 461). Ongoing discrimination, suffering and disconnection exacerbated by this crisis is activating a critical awareness – and potential recalibration – of our most fundamental, embedded and hegemonic economic, social and cultural systems and structures.

This thesis project demonstrates that neither local – nor global – tourism stakeholders are motivated, solely, by productivist worldmaking discourse such as that expressed by Ivany and Commissioners (2014) only six years ago. Indeed, "[t]he old social-economic system will not be upended entirely, but its silencing during the pandemic has been an opportunity for alternative voices to be heard" (Lew et al., 2020: 459). Therefore, relying upon active engagement in the imagination of ethical and sustainable alternatives, and the development of awareness of the ways that each and every one of us we make the world, this opportunity for positive transformation must be embraced (Ateljevic, 2020; Braidotti, 2011; Caton, 2013; Massey, 2005). In closing, by contrast to a maladroit statement offered by Ivany and Commissioners (2014) and presented in Chapter 1[35], may I suggest:

> It is time – perhaps well past time – for tourism stakeholders at all levels to set aside our reliance upon social and spatial segregation, and environmental exploitation, and instead collaboratively and empathetically address ourselves to the task of redefining the form(s) of sustainability – where, when, why, how and for whom – even if it leads us to the end of capitalism, or of tourism, as we knew them (Brouder, 2018; Brouder et al., 2020; Gibson-Graham, 1996).

[35] It is time – perhaps well past time – for Nova Scotians in all regions of the province to set aside parochial attitudes and to address themselves to the task of building a stronger, more productive and competitive economy to lift the whole province. (Ivany et al., 2014: 28)

APPENDIX A CONSENT FORM

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CONSENT FORM

**Sociospatial transformations in Lunenburg:
Understanding change through the experiences of mobile, female tourism workers**

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Preamble

You are invited to participate in a research project that involves taking part in two interviews conducted individually with the student-researcher, to discuss your experience of working in tourism in Lunenburg, Nova Scotia. Before accepting to participate in this project, please take the time to understand and carefully consider the information that follows.

This consent form explains the purpose of the study, the procedures, the benefits, the risks and disadvantages as well as the people to contact if necessary.

The present form might include words that you may not understand. Please do not hesitate to ask the researcher any questions you may have.

Description of project and its objectives

The study aims to gain understanding of the lived experiences of women working in tourism in Lunenburg. As one of Nova Scotia's most prominent tourism destinations, the Town of Lunenburg has undergone economic, social and cultural change during the past few decades, and continues to evolve. Insight into the experiences of women working and living temporarily, establishing residence or returning to live in Lunenburg County will help to gain understanding of the changes occurring in the area.

Nature and duration of your participation

Participation involves taking part in two interviews conducted individually with the student-researcher, Myra Coulter, to discuss your experience of working in tourism in Lunenburg, Nova Scotia. The duration of each interview will be approximately 30-60 minutes. The first interview will be held at the beginning of this tourism season (May or June), and the follow-up interview will be held at the end of the tourism season (August or September). The time and place of each interview will be chosen according to your preference, be it during the day, the evening or the weekend. Each interview will be recorded using an audio recording device.

Benefits associated with participating in the present study

You may not personally benefit from participating in this study. However, your participation in this study will contribute to the advancement of knowledge in the field of tourism studies.

Risks associated with participating in the present study

In principle, there are no anticipated risks to you by participating in this research. You are at liberty to decline responding to any question that makes you feel uncomfortable.

Confidentiality

Your personal information will only be known to researchers and will not be revealed when the results are disseminated. The transcribed interviews will be numbered, and only the researchers will have the list of participants and the number assigned to them. The taped recordings will be destroyed as soon as they are transcribed, and all documents relating to your interview will be kept under lock and key for duration of the study. All documents will be destroyed 2 years after the last scientific communication.

Secondary use of data

Data collected as part of this research may be used for other research projects in the same area of study. Do you accept that research data be used to carry out other research projects in the same area of study? These research projects will be evaluated and approved by a Research Ethics Board at UQAM before they are completed. Research data will be stored in a secure place. In order to preserve your identity and the confidentiality of the research data, you will be identified by a code number;
Do you accept that research data will be used in the future by other researchers under these conditions?

□ Yes □ No

Voluntary participation and right to withdraw

Your participation in this project is entirely voluntary. You may refuse to participate, or you may withdraw from the study at any time without the need to justify your decision. If you decide to withdraw from the study, you only need to verbally inform Myra Coulter; in this case, all data concerning you will be destroyed.

Compensation

No compensatory allowance is provided.

Questions concerning the research project?

If you have any further questions concerning your participation or the study itself, you may contact the people responsible for the project. Myra Coulter, the student-researcher conducting this project can be contacted by email at myrajanec@gmail.com. Research supervisor Dominic Lapointe can be contacted by email at lapointe.dominic@uqam.ca or by telephone at 514-987-3000 ext. 5031. Research co-supervisor Hélène Bélanger can be contacted my email at belanger.helene@uqam.ca or by telephone at 514-987-3000 ext. 5080.

Any questions concerning your rights? The research ethics review committee involving human subjects (CERPE) has approved this research project in which you are involved. If you have any ethical concerns or complaints about your participation in this study, and want to speak to someone who is not on the research team, please contact the coordinator of CERPE (plurifacultaire) : vrignaud.caroline@uqam.ca or 514-987-3000, ext. 6188.

Acknowledgements

Your collaboration is essential to the realization of our project and the research team wishes to thank you.

Consent

I acknowledge having read about and understood the present research project, including the nature and extent of my participation as well as the potential risks and disadvantages to which I will be exposed, as indicated in this consent form. I have had the opportunity to ask questions concerning the various aspects of the study and to receive answers to my satisfaction.

I, the undersigned, voluntarily consent to participate in this study. I understand that I can withdraw at any time without prejudice of any kind. I certify that I have been given the time needed to make my decision.

A signed copy of this consent form will be given to me.

_____
First Name, Surname

_____
Signature

_____
Date

Declaration by the researcher

I, the undersigned, hereby declare that:
(a) I have explained the terms of this form to the signatory;
(b) I have answered the questions they have asked me in this regard;
(c) I have clearly indicated to them that they are free to terminate their participation in the research project at any time, as described above;
(d) I will give them a copy of this form, signed and dated.

_____
First Name, Surname

_____
Signature

_____
Date

APPENDIX B INTERVIEW GUIDELINE

Interview guideline – female tourism workers

Primary researcher : Myra Jane Coulter
Research supervisor : Dominic Lapointe
Research co-supervisor : Hélène Bélanger
Département d'études urbaines et touristiques

Lunenburg, Nova Scotia, 2019

INTERVIEW I

1. **Current employment**

- I would like to hear about the job(s) that you have or will have in Lunenburg this summer.
    - What kind of work is it?
    - Who else is working there?
    - How did you come to have this job?
    - How do you feel about this job?
    - What are the responsibilities of this job?
    - How old are you?

2. **Motivation for working in Lunenburg**

- I would like to hear about how it feels to be working in Lunenburg this summer.
    - Where are you from?
    - What does Lunenburg mean to you?
    - What are your expectations for the summer?
    - What are you looking forward to doing this summer?
    - How does this experience fit into your career?

3. **Education and employment history**

- I would like to hear about your experience with school and with work.
    - How does your education and employment experience relate to your work here in Lunenburg?
    - Are you currently enrolled in an educational program?
    - What is/was school like for you?
    - What have other jobs been like for you?
    - What do the people in your life think about your job?

Invite participant to provide any further comments or clarifications that they wish to add.

Thank the participant and terminate the audio recording.

INTERVIEW II

4. **Tourism work as a woman**

- I would like to know what it's like for you, as a woman, to work in tourism.
    - Can you describe (gender, age, background) the other people you work with (co-workers, manager, owner)?
    - Can you describe the tasks you are responsible for?
    - How do you feel about the work you are engaged in?
    - What are the dynamics like with the various people you interact with at work (including co-workers and customers)?
    - What does it mean to be a woman doing this work?
    - What is your approximate annual revenue for this year?

5. **Social dynamics in Lunenburg**

- I would like to know what it's like for you living and working in Lunenburg.
    - Can you tell me about where you are living?
    - Can you tell me about the places you enjoy spending your time?
    - Can you tell me about the people you see and meet here?
    - Can you describe the feelings you have towards this town and the people here?
    - Which areas of the town do you avoid or simply not spent time in?

6. **Professional ambitions and aspirations**

- I would like to know about your ideas and dreams for the future.
    - Where do you want to live?
    - What goals do you have, in terms of career, education, travelling and settling down?
    - How does this experience fit into your goals for the future?
    - How do you feel about the experience you are gaining this summer?

Invite participant to provide any further comments or clarifications that they wish to add.

Thank the participant and terminate the audio recording.

APPENDIX C RECRUITMENT POSTER

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RESEARCH PARTICIPANTS NEEDED

Tourism work in Lunenburg

Do you identify as:

- ☐ a woman;
- ☐ aged 18 years or older;
- ☐ working in tourism (hospitality, food & beverage, events, festivals and cultural activities, transportation) in Lunenburg's Heritage district;
- ☐ living temporarily, establishing residence or returning to live in Lunenburg County?

If you answered yes to the above noted questions you may volunteer in this study. The study aims to gain understanding of the lived experiences of women working in tourism in Lunenburg. As one of Nova Scotia's most prominent tourism destinations, the Town of Lunenburg has undergone economic, social and cultural change during the past few decades, and continues to evolve. Insight into the experiences of women working and living temporarily, establishing residence or returning to live in Lunenburg County will help to gain understanding of the changes occurring in the area.

You will be asked to participate individually in two interviews conducted by student-researcher, Myra Coulter.

Your participation will involve two interview sessions of approximately 60 minutes each, held at the beginning and towards the end of the tourism season.

If you are interested in participating in this study, or would like more information, please contact:

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This research study has been approved by the research ethics review committee involving human subjects (CERPE).

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