

**The Intangible Impacts of Tourism:
The Battle Harbour National Historic District as a Tourism Anchor**

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Executive Summary

The moratorium on cod fishing in Newfoundland and Labrador in 1992 drastically altered the province's economy, with an increasing focus on tourism in communities most directly impacted by the shutdown of the fishery. Though tourism development has been ongoing for more than twenty years, residents' perceptions of the social and cultural impacts of tourism development on communities have not been widely examined in this province. This project focuses on the Battle Harbour National Historic District (BHHD), located in the Labrador Straits region, as a specific case study of the social and cultural impacts of the shift towards preserving regional history and culture, and promoting those traits to the rest of the world. In this report, we provide an analysis of telephone surveys with participants in Mary's Harbour, St. Lewis and Lodge Bay, which are the closest communities to the BHHD. We also report on field research at the BHHD. The results allow us to more clearly understand the social impacts of tourism on residents, tourists and the region as a whole.

Our main research findings include:

- Research participants in surrounding communities believe that Battle Harbour Historic District tells important stories about the history of the region, offers an accurate reflection of the culture of region, and allows visitors to appreciate the natural environment of the region.
- A large majority of participants agree or strongly agree that the Battle Harbour Historic District brings general economic benefits to the region.
- Community engagement with tourism appears to help work against the decline of the St. Lewis Inlet communities.
- The BHHD is valuable for preserving and sharing the history and natural environment of the region. It also serves as a forum to practice and preserve heritage.
- Residents' proximity to the BHHD is strongly linked to levels of interaction with tourists.
- Those who realized some benefit in interaction with tourists highlighted opportunities to share their culture, life, and knowledge with tourists, as well as fostering pride in their communities.
- Battle Harbour is frequently one of several experiences undertaken by tourists to Newfoundland and Labrador, but serves as a key anchor attraction for the Labrador Straits region.

We suggest several strategies to strengthen the social and cultural impacts of the Battle Harbour Historic District for surrounding communities and the region:

- Establish a greater degree of cross-promotion between Battle Harbour, the St. Lewis Inlet communities, and the broader Labrador Straits region.
- Separate the protection of historical buildings and artefacts at BHHD from the operation of tourist accommodation, ferry transportation, and food service.
- Encourage the continued employment of community members as tour guides, carpenters, and kitchen and support staff.
- Invest in road upgrades to encourage tourism flows and benefit communities in the region, thereby using infrastructure improvements to help maximize the social benefits of the BHHD.
- Establish thematic links between Battle Harbour and other key tourism anchors in the province as a way of increasing the visibility of the site for potential visitors.
- Work with the St. Lewis Inlet communities as well as with other tourism stakeholders in the Labrador Straits to develop regional tourism networks and a strong regional tourism destination image.

Introduction

The development of tourism centred on the cultural and natural heritage of Newfoundland and Labrador has been a key response to the economic and demographic challenges that have transformed coastal communities since the 1992 cod moratorium. In Newfoundland and Labrador, the tourism economy is expanding. Numbers of non-resident visitors have steadily increased from 264,000 in 1992 to 518,000 in 2010 (Government of Newfoundland and Labrador 2010). The tourism industry accounts for over 12,000 jobs and is worth over \$800 million in direct and spin-off economic benefits (Government of Newfoundland and Labrador 2009).

In addition to the economic impacts of tourism, there are also significant intangible social and cultural impacts on local communities. The cultural benefits of tourism may include an enriched sense of community identity, an enhanced sense of connection to local environments, and increased social capital from engaging with visitors and developing new skills. This project focuses on the Battle Harbour National Historic District (BHHD) as a case study to examine the cultural and social impacts of tourism for its surrounding communities, including the towns of Mary's Harbour, Lodge Bay, and St. Lewis. The BHHD builds on the past by commemorating the Newfoundland and Labrador fishery and allows tourists to experience the cultural and natural heritage of the region (Applin 2010). It is also an important tourism attractor for St. Lewis Inlet and the Labrador Coastal Drive, drawing approximately 2,500 visitors in 2010 (Fennelly 2011).

The objectives of this research include discovering how the BHHD shapes community members' understanding of their social and physical environments, how engagement with tourists to the BHHD shapes area residents' sense of their community and natural environment, and how engagement with the tourism industry through the BHHD affects social sustainability and resilience in the region.

These research objectives were addressed through a mixed-method approach that combined a telephone survey and field research. The telephone survey was conducted in May-June 2013 in the communities of Mary's Harbour, Lodge Bay and St. Lewis. In total 95 people participated in the telephone survey, with a 41% response rate. For the second phase of the project, six days of field research was carried out at the Battle Harbour National Historic District during August 2013. The field research involved observation at the site, as well as formal interviews and informal discussions with tourists and workers at the site.

Based on the telephone survey results, there is little variation in the opinions of participants in the survey over whether or not the BHHD offers intangible cultural and social benefits. Participants in the survey overwhelmingly agree that the BHHD is a source of community pride, that it is a "must-see" destination, that the site tells important stories about the

history of the region, that it is an accurate reflection of the region, and that it allows visitors to appreciate the natural environment of the region.

Almost all participants in the survey had visited the BHHD and over 70 percent do so regularly. Close to half of the participants in the survey frequently interact with tourists and less than a third had no interactions with them. Generally, participants living close to the BHHD have more interactions with tourists, as do women, younger people, those with college and non-university education, as well as those who work in sales and services and management-related occupations. All participants who interacted with tourists agree or strongly agree that talking with tourists makes them proud of their communities, that it increases their own appreciation of local culture and history, and that it increases their own appreciation of the environment. Similar but slightly lower proportions of agreement are seen when asking participants about their own interactions with the BHHD.

When participants were asked whether or not they felt that they benefited from the site, opinion was mixed. Although the majority of participants could identify benefits, a sizeable proportion did not. Of those that perceived a benefit most identified how the site and interactions with tourists affirmed their pride in their communities and made them feel good. When asked, most participants focused on opportunities to share knowledge, learn from one another, and showcase Newfoundland and Labrador culture. A majority of participants believe the site provides economic benefits to the region, allows people to stay in their communities, and offers useful skills and training. Unlike questions on the cultural impacts of BHHD, however, there was less of a consensus among participants on questions dealing with tangible economic impacts of the site.

The field research component of the project further adds to our understanding of the social impacts of tourism development. Based on the field research, the sense of history embodied by the BHHD is the main attraction for many visitors. This historical value is interpreted both in terms of the general sense of history associated with the type of rural, outpost community of which Battle Harbour is an example, and in terms of the specific history of the Labrador cod fishery that is displayed through the buildings and material artefacts preserved by the Historic District. Besides the historical value of Battle Harbour, the other main quality that attracts visitors is the opportunity to experience the natural environment of the region. Many visitors incorporate their time at Battle Harbour into a larger travel route as part of a process of seeking out and experiencing key historic sites and natural environments in western Newfoundland and the Labrador Straits.

Battle Harbour is valuable as a site for protecting the material history of the Labrador Straits. It also plays an important role in providing a space for the practice of intangible heritage, which involves training and skill development for those who work at the site. Heritage carpentry

has been practiced over the past twenty years through the initial project of building restoration, but also through ongoing site maintenance and the development of new projects. Tours of the site are guided by staff with long-term personal connections to Battle Harbour. Tour guides bring a storytelling dimension to the tours, which skillfully integrate personal stories with the material culture of the site. Cooking at Battle Harbour can also be considered a form of intangible heritage. Food service at the site is based on a traditional food and the skills of those who work at the site, but has also been developed through further training. This approach provides a model that other tourism operators and promoters in the province could learn from.

Based on this research, we suggest a number of strategies to help enhance Battle Harbour as a historical site and tourist destination that can contribute to the social-environmental viability of the St. Lewis Inlet, and the broader Labrador Straits region:

- A greater degree of cross-promotion is recommended for strengthening the connections between Battle Harbour, the St. Lewis Inlet communities, and the broader Labrador Straits region in order to help cultivate regional tourism networks, develop a stronger regional tourism image, maximize social benefits and strengthen the viability of tourism to the region.
- In order to address some infrastructure and other concerns, it would be worth considering separating the protection of historical buildings and artefacts from the operations of tourist accommodation, ferry transportation, and food service. Parks Canada, which runs the nearby Red Bay National Historic Site, could provide guidance to the project of history preservation at Battle Harbour, allowing the Battle Harbour Historic Trust to focus primarily on providing and maintaining the infrastructure for visitors to the site.
- Encourage the continued employment of community members as tour guides, carpenters, and kitchen and support staff in order to link the preservation of the elements which make Battle Harbour an engaged and effective community and historic site.
- Investing in road upgrades would benefit local communities in the region by improving infrastructure, and would also help maximize the social benefits of the BHHD by way of increased tourism flows.
- Establish thematic links to other tourism anchors in the province to help make Battle Harbour and other provincial tourist sites more visible. For example, there could be synergies between Battle Harbour and the Trinity historic district, the Ryan Premises site in Bonavista, and the Provincial Seaman's museum at Grand Bank.
- In order to maximize the social benefits of the BHHD, we believe it is important to balance economic viability and community accessibility. To help achieve this balance, the Battle

Harbour Historic Trust can engage with surrounding communities in the St. Lewis Inlet to develop regional tourism networks and a strong regional tourism destination image.

The telephone survey and field research results show that St. Lewis Inlet community members value the intangible impacts of tourism and the BHHD, as distinct from its economic impacts. People largely see the site as showcasing their communities to the outside world, offering a sense of pride, and an opportunity to share with the outside world what they love. Battle Harbour is a key tourism attractor within the Labrador Straits, which provides visitors the opportunity to experience the material history, intangible heritage and environment of the region.

Perceptions of the Battle Harbour National Historic District

Phone survey

The survey asked a series of questions about participants' general perceptions of the BHHD. Most participants in the survey agree and strongly agree that the BHHD is a source of community pride. Only 3 percent had no opinion or disagreed. The same high level of positive sentiment is seen in participants' belief that the BHHD is a "must-see" destination. In fact, not a single respondent disagreed with this statement.

Table 1: Perceptions of the Battle Harbour National Historic District

<i>Battle Harbour is...</i>	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	No Opinion	Agree	Strongly Agree
... is a source of community pride		1%	2%	53%	44%
... is a must-see destination for visitors to this region			4%	34%	62%
...tells important stories about the history of the region			1%	35%	64%
...provides an accurate reflection of the culture of this region		2%	2%	41%	55%
... helps give visitors an appreciation for the natural environment of this region			3%	39%	58%

n= 95

All participants but one agreed or strongly agreed that the BHHD tells important stories about the history of the region. Similarly, 96 percent of participants agreed or strongly agreed that the site offers an accurate reflection of the culture of the region. When asked whether the site gives visitors an appreciation for the natural environment of the region, 97 percent agreed or strongly agreed.

There is very little variation in the opinions of participants in the survey with respect to whether the BHHD offers intangible cultural and social benefits.

Field Research

The field notes and interviews conducted as part of the field research phase of the project also focused on the main aspects of the BHHD that draw visitors to the site. The sense of history embodied by the BHHD is the main attraction for many visitors. This historical value is interpreted both in terms of the general sense of history associated with the type of rural, outpost community of which Battle Harbour is an example, and in terms of the specific history of the Labrador cod fishery that is displayed through the buildings and material artefacts preserved by the Historic District. One of the main historical narratives experienced through the site is the idea

that Battle Harbour was the hub of the Labrador cod fishery and was at one time seen as the unofficial capital of Labrador. Another key part of the history of Battle Harbour is the resettlement of the community in the 1960s, its continuing role as a seasonal hub until the cod fishing moratorium in 1992, and its re-development as a historic site. Battle Harbour is a resettled community that has become partially re-inhabited as a summer community (primarily by families with long-term connections to the island) through the project of historical preservation. The ability to experience Battle Harbour as a resettled community that has been re-developed through tourism and historical preservation also makes it a unique experience. Like the phone survey data, the field research points to the importance of Battle Harbour as a venue for preserving and sharing the history and culture of the region.

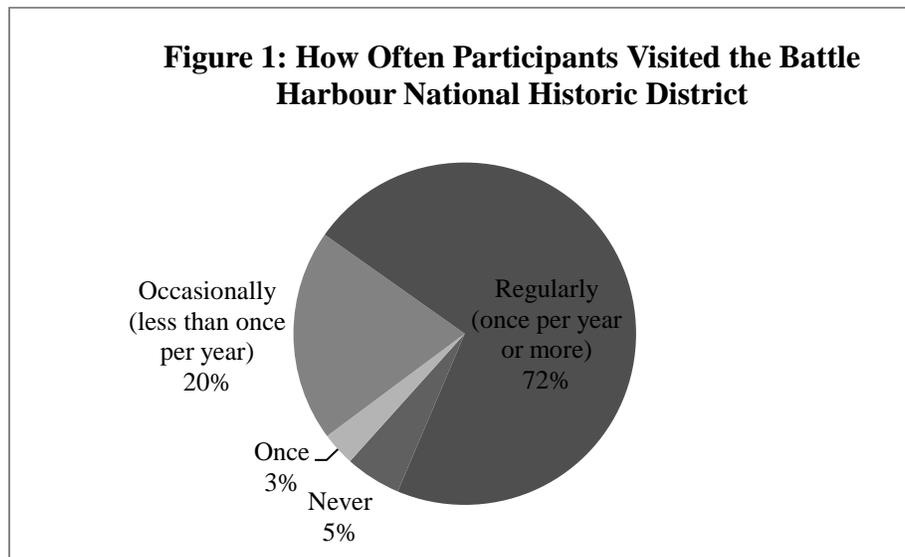
Besides the historical value of Battle Harbour, the other main quality that attracts visitors is the opportunity to experience the natural environment of the region, which is seen as appealing because it is remote and rugged, but also as peaceful and “magical.” The latter is a term that was used by several visitors during the field visit. At the same time, another key narrative that is communicated to visitors through the site is that traditional life in the community of Battle Harbour required a high degree of creativity and resilience in order to live within a challenging natural environment (for example, in terms of difficulties with firewood or freshwater access). Besides working to preserve cultural and historical values, the Battle Harbour site also provides a valued opportunity to experience the natural environment of the Labrador Straits.

Many visitors incorporated their time at Battle Harbour into a larger travel route that often included Red Bay and L’Anse aux Meadows as key historic sites in the region. Many visitors to Battle Harbour were also either en route to or from Gros Morne National Park. This illustrates that many tourists to Battle Harbour visit the site as part of a larger process of seeking out and experiencing key historic sites and natural environments in western Newfoundland and the Labrador Straits.

Community Connections to the Battle Harbour National Historic District

Phone survey

Almost all participants in the survey had visited the BHHD. Only 5 percent reported having never visited the site, and just 3 percent noted that they had gone only once. By contrast, about 72 percent of participants reported that they had visited the site regularly. In part, this could reflect the participants' close proximity to the BHHD and the small size of their communities.



Field research

Of the staff at Battle Harbour, several are from communities in the immediate surrounding area, while others are from the broader Labrador Straits region. For several workers at the site, the connection between Battle Harbour and the surrounding communities is particularly important. For example, over the past twenty years, work at the Battle Harbour site has provided opportunities for skills training in heritage carpentry, which have been applied through restoration projects and ongoing maintenance. According to several staff members, work at Battle Harbour has allowed them to remain embedded in their communities, rather than to leave the region for work, thereby making some contribution to the viability of the St. Lewis Inlet communities. The guided tours are led by long-term members of the community who have family ties to Battle Harbour and who continue to live in the area. The guided tours include a strong storytelling dimension, informed by the personal experiences of the tour guides, as well as providing opportunities to move through historic buildings and view material artefacts. This is another unique dimension of the Battle Harbour experience. These intimate connections between the Battle Harbour site and the members of the local communities who actively participate in

working with tourists and making the site run are a particularly intensive and valuable form of interaction between Battle Harbour and its surrounding communities.

Largely as a result of the projects of historical preservation and tourism development, Battle Harbour provides maintenance and resources on the island that have allowed several members of the surrounding communities to retain or rebuild homes and re-inhabit Battle Harbour as a seasonal community. This has led to Battle Harbour's status as a partially re-settled resettled community, which is supported by the infrastructure of the historic site.

Battle Harbour currently has a "dual character" as a historic and tourist site, and also as a seasonal community, which can also create challenges. Summer residents do not currently contribute financially to the energy or water infrastructure provided by the Historic Trust. There also appears to be tension around recent increases to ferry costs and reductions to the ferry schedule. One of the key challenges currently facing Battle Harbour is to balance community accessibility with financial viability as a historical site and tourist destination. Balancing these different interests is important because maintaining community accessibility helps maximize the regional social benefits of Battle Harbour. In addition, having Battle Harbour work as both a tourist site and a seasonal community creates a unique and valuable experience for seasonal residents and visitors.

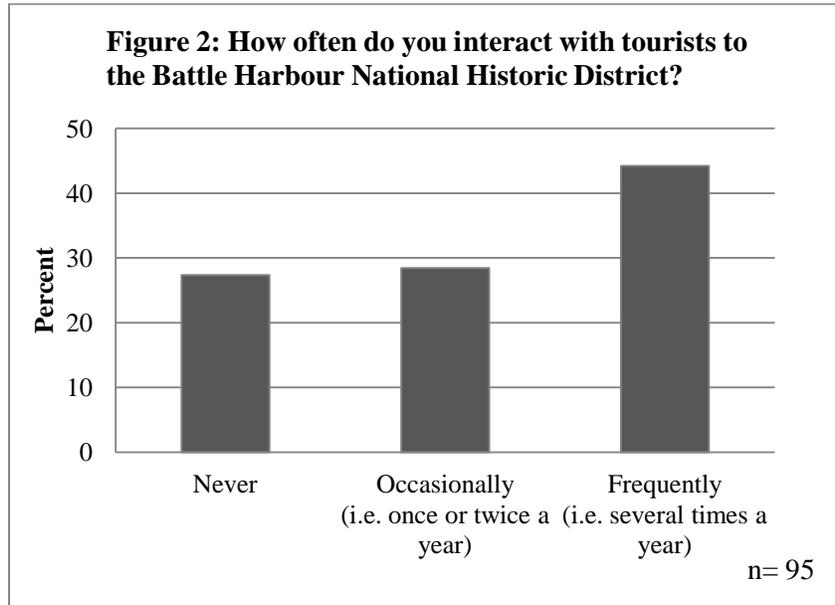
Connections between Battle Harbour and its surrounding communities can also be created through cross-promotion and making the region as a whole more visible to tourists. The Battle Harbour office at Mary's Harbour contains visual displays and promotional material focusing on the St. Lewis communities of Mary's Harbour, St. Lewis, and Lodge Bay. The posters are large and colourful, and provide information on activities to do and sites to see in each of the communities. However, these posters are among the few signs explicitly linking Battle Harbour to these communities. These connections are less visible on the island itself. Furthermore, there are few signs of cross-promotion between Battle Harbour and the broader Labrador Straits region beyond St. Lewis Inlet.

One key recommendation emerging from the field research would be to develop a greater degree of cross-promotion to strengthen the connections between Battle Harbour, the St. Lewis Inlet communities, and the broader Labrador Straits region. Other parts of the province (e.g. the Bonavista Peninsula) have been successful partly through developing a strong regional tourism destination image, which refers to how potential visitors view, or perceive a tourism destination (Tasci & Gartner, 2007; Tasci et al., 2007). By creating a regional tourism destination image that is coherent and memorable, the whole region – as opposed to single communities – becomes a tourism destination that can be promoted to visitors. This strategy would help maximize the social benefits of Battle Harbour for surrounding communities, as well as contribute to the viability of tourism in the surrounding region.

Community-Tourist Interactions through the Battle Harbour National Historic District

Phone survey

Almost half of the respondents reported that they frequently interacted with tourists at the BHHD and almost three-quarters of those did so occasionally or frequently.



Participants' interaction with tourists was explored further by first looking at which communities experienced the most interactions with tourists. As can be seen in Table 2, Lodge Bay, which is furthest from the BHHD, had the greatest proportion of participants (73 percent) who reported having never interacted with tourists. By contrast, about 36 percent of those from St. Lewis and 15 percent of those from Mary's Harbour reported no interactions with tourists. It is clear that participants living closest to the BHHD have more interactions with tourists.

Table 2: Interaction with Tourists

<i>Town*</i>	Never	Occasionally (i.e. once or twice a year)	Frequently (i.e. several times a year)	Total
Lodge Bay	73%	18%	9%	100%
Mary's Harbour	15%	25%	59%	100%
St. Lewis	36%	40%	24%	100%
<i>Gender*</i>				
Female	29%	21%	51%	100%
Male	25%	44%	31%	100%
<i>Age**</i>				
Under 40	21%	16%	63%	100%
41 to 60	24%	29%	47%	100%
61 to 80	30%	43%	26%	100%
Over 80	50%		50%	100%
<i>Education**</i>				
Without high school certificate	33%	31%	36%	100%
High school certificate only	25%	29%	46%	100%
College, CEGEP, non-university	18%	18%	64%	100%
University certificate, diploma or degree	18%	45%	36%	100%
<i>Occupation**</i>				
Construction and Related	25%	25%	50%	100%
Education	25%	50%	25%	100%
Health		50%	50%	100%
Management		33%	67%	100%
Office and Related	12%	18%	71%	100%
Primary Industries	50%	38%	13%	100%
Processing and Manufacturing	40%	20%	40%	100%
Retired	41%	41%	18%	100%
Sales and Service	7%	20%	73%	100%
University Student	100%			100%

*n= 95

** n= 93

With respect to gender, a greater proportion of women than men reported frequent interactions with tourists. About the same gender proportion reported no interaction with tourists. In terms of age, those over 80 years of age had the least interaction with tourists, though there were just two participants in that age category. By contrast, 21 percent of participants 40 years

of age and under reported no interactions with tourists, while about 63 percent of that age category reported frequent interactions with tourists.

With respect to education, participants with the lowest level of education represent the highest proportion reporting never having interacted with tourists. Of those with college and non-university degrees, 64 percent reported frequent interactions with tourists.

According to occupation, proportional responses are more difficult to interpret because of the small number of cases for each category. However, it is clear that participants who work in occupations related to sales and services and management interact with tourists more frequently than other occupations. Those in primary industries are least likely to interact with tourists. It is important to note that there was just one participant in the occupation category identified as “University Student.”

In summary, Table 2 shows that the highest levels of reported interactions with tourists are from participants living close to the BHHD, women, younger people, those with college and non-university education, as well as those who work in occupations related to sales and services and management.

Field research

The field research provides further insight into who engages with members of the local communities through the Battle Harbour site. In terms of demographics, a majority of visitors appear to be middle-aged or older couples without children, or groups. While families with children are sometimes present, Battle Harbour seems to appeal more to an adult-oriented market. Many visitors come because they have some personal connection to the area, while many others come because they’ve heard about it through word of mouth (rather than through media promotion).

Tourists to the site appear to be primarily from Canada outside Newfoundland and Labrador, or from the U.S. Tourists from outside North America appear to make up a smaller share of visitors. Tourists from within the province also appear to make up a smaller share of visitors, suggesting this is an under-developed market that could be cultivated through greater promotion of the BHHD within the province.

A typical pattern is for visitors to stay one to two nights at the site, and to use it as a key destination on a larger tour of Newfoundland and Labrador, which also typically includes time spent at Red Bay, L’Anse aux Meadows and Gros Morne. For many visitors, Battle Harbour is experienced as part of driving a large circle that connects Quebec and Labrador (via the Labrador Highway), Newfoundland and Nova Scotia. Focusing on where flows of tourists are arriving further illustrates the importance of developing a strong regional destination image and regional

tourism networks that incorporate and build upon existing key tourism anchors, which include Battle Harbour and Red Bay, to increase opportunities for engagement between tourists and local communities in the Labrador Straits region.

Benefits of Community-Tourist Interaction through the Battle Harbour National Historic District

Interactions with tourists are explored further, with results summarized in Table 3. All participants who reported interactions with tourists either agreed or strongly agreed that talking with tourists makes them proud of their communities, increases their own appreciation of local culture and history, and increases their own appreciation of the environment.

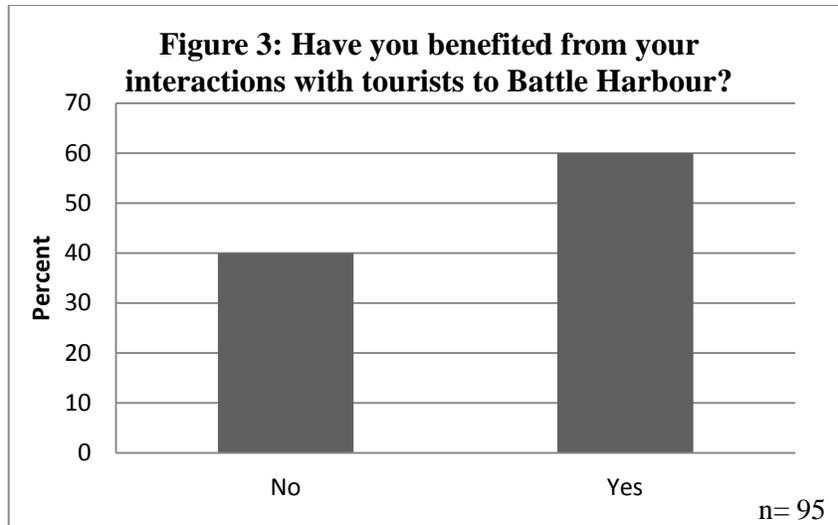
Table 3: Views on Talking with Tourists and Visiting the Battle Harbour Site

<i>Talking with tourist about Battle Harbour...</i>	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	No Opinion	Agree	Strongly Agree	Did not... visit/talk
...makes me proud of this community				22%	49%	28%
...increases my appreciation of local history and culture				19%	53%	28%
...increases my appreciation of our natural environment				23%	48%	28%
<i>Visiting the Battle Harbour site...</i>						
... increased my own appreciation of local history and culture		3%	1%	38%	53%	5%
... increased my own appreciation of the natural environment in this region		2%	4%	39%	49%	5%

n= 95

Similar agreement is realized when asked about their visits to the BHHD. Only 5 percent of participants had not visited the BHHD. Of the 95 percent that had, almost all either agreed or strongly agreed that visiting the site increased their local appreciation of culture and their own appreciation of the natural environment. Given these response results, these views are not explored further. It is clear that an intangible outcome of tourism and the BHHD is an increase in pride of self and community.

A majority of participants (60 percent) reported that they benefited from interactions with tourists to the BHHD. However, a sizeable proportion of participants, 40 percent, reported that they did not benefit from their interactions with tourists.



Those who did report having benefited from interactions with tourists saw opportunities to share knowledge, learn from one another, and showcase the culture of Newfoundland and Labrador. Participants also noted that tourists made them feel good about themselves and the place where they live, fostering pride in their communities. When benefits were explored further, cultural and social benefits of the BHHD site were seen to be among the top benefits. Economic benefits were also valued; however, the tangible outcomes of those benefits are more ambiguous.

Following the closed-ended questions about interactions between community members and tourists, we asked an open-ended question of those who had interacted with tourists, "What is the main benefit you've experienced"? The open-ended responses were analysed and several main themes were identified. A frequent theme is that participants appreciate being able to share their culture and history with visitors. Another prevalent theme is that interactions with tourists enhance participants' sense of pride in the community and place. Less prevalent themes include: gaining new perspectives on aspects of the local culture and landscape that could otherwise be taken for granted; learning about other places around the world through interacting with visitors; and making connections with new people. Responses to this question were generally positive and bear similarities to the open-ended question about the main impacts of the BHHD for surrounding communities, which also focused on the value of the site for preserving history and culture. For many community members, interactions with tourists produced a positive social impact, which is distinct from the economic value of tourism.

Fewer participants prioritized the economic benefits of interacting with tourists, but instead focused on opportunities to share knowledge, learn from one another, and showcase Newfoundland and Labrador culture. Many participants in the survey stated that a benefit of interacting with tourists was to share their culture, life, and knowledge. Participants also expressed appreciation for tourists who show gratitude to local residents and recognize their

friendliness and hospitality. Tourists also made participants feel good about themselves and the place where they live, fostering pride in their communities. It is important to recall, however, that 40 percent of participants did not feel that there were benefits to interacting with tourists.

Field research

The field research component of the project also provides insight into impacts of tourist interaction with community members. The opportunity to connect with new people came up repeatedly as one of the benefits of working at the site. The experience of interacting with tourists is often described as an exchange, with tourism workers and visitors learning from each other. Other benefits of tourist-community interaction identified were that tourists bring ideas to help improve business practices at the site, that interacting with tourists provides local community members the opportunity to learn about places that visitors come from, and that interaction with tourists provides a framework for sharing local culture and history.

From a tourist-oriented point of view, a key part of experiencing the BHHD is the opportunity to learn about the history and culture of Battle Harbour through social interaction with community members who not only work at the site, but have lived here and have family ties to this community. There is also a collective dimension to the Battle Harbour experience, where social interaction is encouraged through shared dining tables and dining times. This is complemented by opportunities for visitors to take workshops and learn about local food from cooking staff. This collective dimension is also cultivated through group tours of the buildings and artefacts preserved at the site, which are led by staff with personal experience of living on the island. The tours are often quite conversational, with visitors frequently asking questions of the guides, who draw on their personal experience to shape their narratives in response to the interests of particular tour groups. The Battle Harbour Historic District provides community members with the setting to share stories of growing up in the area and to embody their history in this place for visitors. While Battle Harbour plays an important role in preserving the material history of buildings and artefacts, intangible heritage, including storytelling and cooking, is also a key benefit of tourist-community interaction.

In addition to providing a space for protecting the material culture and intangible heritage of Battle Harbour, another key dimension of the Battle Harbour experience is providing tourists an immersive and interactive experience of being in a resettled community. The resettlement of Battle Harbour during the 1960s is a key part of the storytelling of the tour and in the exhibition displays. The last year-round residents left in 1968, after the last teacher left and the school closed. Battle Harbour then served as a seasonal fishing village until the cod fishing moratorium in 1992. At that point, several buildings were donated to the Battle Harbour Historic Trust and restoration work began in 1993. Battle Harbour is a resettled community. However, through redevelopment as a historic site and tourist destination, it has been resettled as a seasonal community. Local community engagement with tourism has protected against the decline and

collapse typical of other resettled communities throughout Newfoundland and Labrador, while also promoting the protection and practice of the intangible heritage of the region.

The Social Benefits of the Battle Harbour National Historic District

Perceived benefits of the BHHD were further explored with a series of agreement scale questions. The survey asked if the BHHD contributes to quality of life, offers training and skill-development, allows people to stay in their communities, brings economic benefits and whether it offers cultural and social benefits. The results are summarized in Table 4.

Table 4: Benefits of the Battle Harbour National Historic District

<i>The Battle Harbour site...</i>	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	No Opinion	Agree	Strongly Agree
...contributes to the quality of life in this region		11%	2%	48%	39%
...provides useful training and skill-development for people in the community		12%	22%	39%	27%
...allows more people to stay in this community instead of going elsewhere to work and live	1%	17%	14%	48%	20%
...brings economic benefits to this region	1%	3%	4%	55%	37%
...brings cultural and social benefits to this region		4%	2%	53%	41%

n= 95

As reflected in the question asking people to identify perceived benefits, the scale questions show a very large proportion of participants agreeing or strongly agreeing with the statement that BHHD brings cultural and social benefits (92 percent of participants) as well as the statement that it contributes to quality of life (87 percent of participants). These were the first and third most agreed upon items in the series of scale questions on benefits.

Interestingly, 92 percent of participants agreed or strongly agreed that the BHHD brings economic benefits. This was the second-most agreed upon item in the series of scale questions on benefits. There was less agreement, however, on items that explored the tangible outcomes of economic benefits. About two-thirds (68 percent) of participants agreed or strongly agreed that the site allows people to stay in their communities. Similarly, 66 percent felt that it offers skills and training.

Overall, it appears that the participants see the BHHD as offering pride of community and they value the social and cultural aspects of the site. This is in line with the results shown in Table 1.

To further examine the differences in perception about the benefits of allowing people to stay in communities and training and skill development, we explored what might account for

these differences by looking at cross tabulations with demographic characteristics and interactions with tourists to the BHHD. We did not examine the other aspects of the survey further because of the strong consensus among participants and the lack of variation in their views on the other questions.

Table 5 summarizes the benefit of the BHHD allowing people to stay in their communities. It begins by looking at perceptions based on the communities of residence of the participants. Mary's Harbour, which is the community that hosts the ferry to the BHHD, had the greatest proportion of participants (81 percent) who agree or strongly agree that the BHHD allows people to remain in their communities, compared to 48 percent of respondents from St. Lewis and 45 percent from Lodge Bay. St. Lewis had the highest proportion of participants who either disagreed or strongly disagreed with the statement.

When gender is examined the differences appear to be marginal, with no more than 4 percentage points difference in levels of sentiment.

Younger participants showed a higher level of agreement with respect to the BHHD allowing people to stay in the community, with most of those 40 years of age and under agreeing or strongly agreeing with the statement (79 percent), compared to 56% of those between the ages of 61 and 80 years, and 50 percent of those over 80 years of age. It should be noted, however, that only two people are in the oldest category of participants.

Table 5: Benefit of The Battle Harbour National Historic District Allowing People to Stay in Community

<i>Town*</i>	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	No Opinion	Agree	Strongly Agree	Total
Lodge Bay		27%	27%	36%	9%	100%
Mary's Harbour		8%	10%	54%	27%	100%
St. Lewis	4%	32%	16%	40%	8%	100%
<i>Gender*</i>						
Female	2%	16%	13%	48%	22%	100%
Male		19%	16%	50%	16%	100%
<i>Age**</i>						
Under 40			21%	58%	21%	100%
41 to 60		18%	8%	51%	22%	100%
61 to 80	4%	26%	13%	43%	13%	100%
Over 80			50%		50%	100%
<i>Education**</i>						
Without high school certificate		22%	17%	47%	14%	100%
High school certificate only	4%	13%	4%	50%	29%	100%
College, CEGEP, non-university		9%	14%	50%	27%	100%
University certificate, diploma or degree		18%	18%	55%	9%	100%
<i>Occupation**</i>						
Construction and Related		25%		38%	38%	100%
Education			25%	75%		100%
Health		50%	0%	50%		100%
Management				100%		100%
Office and Related		18%	6%	41%	35%	100%
Primary Industries			25%	63%	13%	100%
Processing and Manufacturing		10%	10%	50%	30%	100%
Retired	5%	32%	23%	27%	14%	100%
Sales and Service		7%	13%	60%	20%	100%
University Student				100%		100%
<i>How often do you interact with tourists to the Battle Harbour National Historic District?*</i>						
Never	4%	31%	19%	31%	15%	100%
Occasionally (i.e. once or twice a year)		15%	15%	56%	15%	100%
Frequently (i.e. several times a year)		10%	10%	55%	26%	100%

*n= 95

** n= 93

In terms of levels of education, those with high school or college and non-university qualifications are most in agreement with the statement, with 79 and 77 percent respectively agreeing or strongly agreeing. By contrast, only 9 percent of those with the highest level of education and 14 percent of those with the lowest level of education strongly agreed with the statement.

All participants who worked in management occupations and the lone university student respondent agreed or strongly agreed with the statement. The lowest levels of agreement and

strong agreement came from those who were retired and those working in health-related occupations.

Table 5 also summarizes responses pertaining to interactions with tourists and shows a large degree of variance on that question. Those who most frequently interacted with tourists responded with the highest percentages of agreement or strong agreement with the statement that the BHHD allows people to stay in their communities. The highest level of disagreement with that statement was by those who do not interact with tourists.

Overall, Table 5 shows that people who live close to the BHHD, who are younger, who have a middle range of education, who work in management, and who frequently interact with tourists largely agree with the notion that the BHHD allows people to stay in their communities.

In the next table, the benefit of the BHHD in providing useful skills and training is examined in more detail. Table 6 examines this perception according to the communities in which the participants live. As with the findings of Table 5, more participants from the host community of Mary's Harbour than from the other communities were in agreement with the statement that the site offers useful skills and training, with 75 percent agreeing or strongly agreeing. Lodge Bay had the greatest proportion of participants who disagreed or had no opinion with the statement.

With respect to gender, there are only small differences in the levels of agreement between men and women, with 66 percent of women and 69 percent of men agreeing or strongly agreeing with the statement.

Middle-aged participants (41-60) and those over 80 were the most likely to agree or strongly agree with the statement that the BHHD provides useful skills and training. Those aged 61-80, as well as those under 40 years of age, were less likely to see this as one of the social benefits of the site. There is a difference of between 18 and 14 percentage point in the proportion of those between 41 to 60 years old and the other age categories with respect to agreeing/strongly agreeing with the statement.

Participants with only a high school certificate were most likely to agree or strongly agree with the statement, while those with a college or non-university degree were least likely to agree or strongly agree.

All participants working in processing and manufacturing agreed or strongly agreed with the notion that the BHHD offers useful training and skills. Those working in education, health, management, retirees, and the lone university student showed the lowest levels of agreement with the statement.

Table 6: Benefit of The Battle Harbour National Historic District Provides Skills and Training

<i>Town*</i>	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	No Opinion	Agree	Strongly Agree	Total
Lodge Bay		18%	27%	55%		100%
Mary's Harbour		10%	15%	39%	36%	100%
St. Lewis		12%	36%	32%	20%	100%
<i>Gender*</i>						
Female		13%	22%	37%	29%	100%
Male		9%	22%	44%	25%	100%
<i>Age**</i>						
Under 40		11%	32%	26%	32%	100%
41 to 60		8%	16%	51%	24%	100%
61 to 80		17%	30%	26%	26%	100%
Over 80					100%	100%
<i>Education**</i>						
Without high school certificate		11%	19%	33%	36%	100%
High school certificate only		17%	13%	46%	25%	100%
College, CEGEP, non-university		5%	36%	36%	23%	100%
University certificate, diploma or degree		9%	27%	45%	18%	100%
<i>Occupation**</i>						
Construction and Related			25%	38%	38%	100%
Education			50%	50%		100%
Health		50%		50%		100%
Management		33%	17%	33%	17%	100%
Office and Related		6%	18%	47%	29%	100%
Primary Industries			38%	38%	25%	100%
Processing and Manufacturing				60%	40%	100%
Retired		14%	36%	32%	18%	100%
Sales and Service		13%	13%	27%	47%	100%
University Student		100%				100%
<i>How often do you interact with tourists to the Battle Harbour National Historic District?*</i>						
Never		19%	35%	35%	12%	100%
Occasionally (i.e. once or twice a year)		11%	22%	52%	15%	100%
Frequently (i.e. several times a year)		7%	14%	33%	45%	100%

*n= 95

** n= 93

The final factor examined in Table 6 is level of interaction with tourists and views on whether the site provides useful training and skills. Those with the highest levels of interactions with tourists were most likely to perceive this benefit. About 78 percent of those who frequently interacted with tourists to the BHHD agree or strongly agreed with the statement compared to 47 percent of those who never interacted with tourists.

Table 6 shows that highest levels of agreement with the statement that the BHHD provides useful skills and training were reported by participants in the following categories:

residents of Mary's Harbour; middle-aged; with a high school education; working in processing and manufacturing; and frequently interacting with tourists.

There appears to be a strong consensus that the site provides intangible benefits of cultural pride, sense of self, and promotes knowledge of the environment. Differences in perceived benefits seem to be centred on the tangible economic impacts of the site, which include allowing people to stay in their communities and promoting the gain of useful skills and training. When those differences are explored we find a greater proportion of those in Mary's Harbour than any other community perceive these benefits as well as those who interact with tourists more frequently. Younger people who have a middle range of education and who work in management agree most with the notion that the site allows people to stay in their communities. By contrast, middle-aged people who have a high school education and who work in processing and manufacturing agreed or strongly agreed most that the BHHD provides useful skills and training.

In addition to asking closed-ended questions about the value of Battle Harbour site for surrounding communities, we asked the open-ended question, "What are the most important cultural or social impacts of the Battle Harbour National Historic District for the surrounding communities?" This allowed participants more flexibility and freedom to identify the most significant features of the site. The open-ended responses were analysed in order to identify main themes. Two themes dominated the responses to this question. First, the most common theme is that the BHHD is valuable because it preserves the history and culture of the region. Second, the next most prevalent theme is that the BHHD provides positive economic impacts. Though less prevalent, other recurrent themes about the importance of the BHHD included making local communities visible to the rest of the world, providing a sense of pride in the region, and providing amenities and events for community members, as well as serving tourists.

A minority of participants (7) also responded to this open-ended question with critical comments about the BHHD. For example, a recurring theme is that the financial resources going to Battle Harbour benefit a small number of people and fail to reach surrounding communities. Another recurring theme is that recent price increases at Battle Harbour have made it less accessible to members of local communities. A few respondents also noted that the cost and travel infrastructure, including the ferry, as well as the poor condition of the road from Red Bay to Mary's Harbour, make the BHHD challenging to access, which in turn makes it difficult to attract tourists to the site. While these critical comments deserve consideration, the overall tone of the open-ended responses to this question emphasize that the BHHD provides social and cultural value to surrounding communities, as well as economic value.

Field research

The social and cultural benefits of Battle Harbour were also examined through the field research phase of this project. The role of Battle Harbour in preserving the history of the region and the Labrador fishery is the dominant theme related to the benefits of the site. Battle Harbour works to protect the material history of the area by preserving historic buildings, the wharf, and the artefacts of the Labrador fishery. As such, Battle Harbour fulfills a valuable role in displaying the material heritage associated with a way of life that was transformed by the resettlement program and by the cod fishing moratorium. The restoration of the historic site was a major undertaking, involving a great deal of time, labour and resources. During the field research, concerns were repeatedly expressed that if Battle Harbour were ever to fail, it would be difficult to envision the restoration process being repeated. This would represent a significant loss to the historical memory of the Labrador Straits region.

While Battle Harbour is valuable as a site for protecting the material history of the Labrador Straits, it also plays an important role in providing a space for the practice of intangible heritage, which also involves training and skill development for those who work at the site. This takes three distinct forms. First, many of the staff at Battle Harbour were trained in heritage carpentry. Heritage carpentry has been practiced over the past twenty years through the initial project of building restoration, but also through ongoing site maintenance and the development of new projects. Those who have been trained in heritage carpentry have also passed on their training and skills to new employees over the years. Some of the workers trained in heritage carpentry at Battle Harbour have also been able to apply their expertise at other sites.

Second, the tours of the site are guided by staff with long-term personal connections and family histories at Battle Harbour. Rather than performing from script, as is often the case at tourist sites, tour guides bring a storytelling dimension to the tours, which skillfully integrate personal stories with the material culture of the site. This is a unique dimension of the Battle Harbour experience both for tourists and for those who work with tourists at the site.

Third, cooking at Battle Harbour can also be considered a form of intangible heritage, which has also been developed through further training. The menu is based on traditional Newfoundland and Labrador food. It has been further developed through recent additional training with a visiting chef. Furthermore, there are often opportunities for visitors to join kitchen staff for short cooking workshops. This approach to local cuisine appears to be paying off, as many visitors comment that the food at Battle Harbour is among the best they have experienced throughout rural Newfoundland and Labrador. In related research on Newfoundland and Labrador tourism carried out by Dr. Stoddart, food quality, consistency and service are repeatedly identified as barriers to tourism development. The Battle Harbour model, which is built on a foundation of traditional food and the skills of community members who work at the site, would be a useful template for other tourism stakeholders to learn from.

While the preservation of history and culture, including material and intangible heritage, is the main social benefit of Battle Harbour, the site also has other social benefits. Battle Harbour contributes to community embeddedness. Most people who work at the site are from the area (either the communities of the St. Lewis Inlet, or within the Labrador Straits region more broadly), and their work at Battle harbour allows them to remain in the region. Furthermore, while the community of Battle Harbour was resettled in 1968, the project of tourism development and historical preservation has reinvigorated Battle Harbour, as many former inhabitants and their families have returned to Battle Harbour as a seasonal village.

Several other social and cultural benefits of Battle Harbour came up during the field research at the site. Battle Harbour is also viewed as having positive economic impacts by providing local employment opportunities. Related to this, the site also serves as a key anchor attraction (along with Red Bay) that draws tourists to the broader Labrador Straits region. Other themes related to the social benefits of the site include: Battle Harbour provides amenities that contribute to the general quality of life in the region; the site serves as a source of community pride; and the site helps provide visibility for the region.

Maximizing the Social Benefits of the Battle Harbour National Historic District

The data from the telephone survey and the field research highlight the positive impacts of the Battle Harbour National Historic District for the St. Lewis Inlet region. Battle Harbour is a source of community pride that works to preserve the material and intangible heritage of the area. It has also provided employment, training and skill development for many people in the region. Based primarily on the field research phase of the project, this section offers several observations and recommendations that may help maximize the social benefits of the Battle Harbour site for the communities of the St. Lewis Inlet, as well as for the broader Labrador Straits region.

Concerns regarding the preservation of history and culture

One of the dominant themes regarding the social importance of Battle Harbour is that it plays a vital role in preserving the history and culture of the region. The restoration and protection of the site which began in 1993 required significant inputs of labour and resources. During the field research, concerns were repeatedly expressed about the ability to adequately maintain the restoration work within existing resources. The wharf, in particular, is in need of repair. Similarly, while the tourist operation component of Battle Harbour is generally viewed positively, there are concerns about the conditions under which historical artefacts are being stored. Many are kept without controls for temperature or humidity. Furthermore, there appears to be a tension between preserving the history and sense of authenticity of the site, on one hand, and the desire of many visitors for modern amenities, on the other hand. For example, while the accommodations on the site offer a sense of history, there is feeling that most tourists would prefer to have modernized, private washrooms instead of the rustic, shared facilities that are currently in place.

In order to address some of these concerns and mitigate tensions, one possibility for the future of Battle Harbour might be to separate the protection of the historic site from the operation of tourist accommodation, ferry transportation, and food service. Parks Canada, which runs the nearby Red Bay National Historic Site, has significant expertise in protecting and displaying historical buildings and artefacts and could provide guidance to the project of history preservation at Battle Harbour. This could allow the Battle Harbour Historic Trust to focus primarily on providing the infrastructure for visitors to the site.

At the same time, the presence of community members as tour guides, carpenters, and kitchen and support staff is an integral part of the Battle Harbour experience. They help to link the preservation of material culture to the practice of intangible heritage and make Battle Harbour a community as well as a historic site. For these reasons, and also to maximize the social benefits of Battle Harbour for the surrounding communities, their ongoing presence and

involvement in the site should be central throughout any significant changes to the operation of the site.

Concerns regarding tourist access

Battle Harbour is a remote tourist destination. Getting there requires a significant amount of travel time by highway and then by two ferries (the Labrador Straits ferry and the boat from Mary's Harbour to Battle Harbour). Currently, tourists to Battle Harbour need to be highly motivated and committed to visiting the site otherwise it will be missed. Anything that can be done to ease the challenges of travelling to this remote destination would be helpful. Many participants interviewed for this report noted the poor state of the gravel road from Red Bay to Mary's Harbour. This repeatedly came up as a major deterrent to tourist travel to Battle Harbour. It is also a major challenge of living in the St. Lewis Inlet area in general.

It is outside the authority of the Battle Harbour Historic Trust to improve the road from Red Bay to Mary's Harbour. However, infrastructure investment in upgrading the road would improve tourist flows into the area. Beyond the tourism benefits, improvements to the road would also provide general benefits to the communities of the St. Lewis Inlet. Upgrading the road would help maximize the social benefits of Battle Harbour, as it would both increase tourist flows and improve community infrastructure. Similarly, if there were a fixed link between the Northern Peninsula and the Labrador Straits, this would also help facilitate tourists' travel throughout the region. This could extend the social benefits of tourism while also making the communities of the Labrador Straits more accessible.

Concerns regarding promotion and communication

The road between Red Bay and Mary's Harbour is cited as the main challenge to tourism travel by many of the people who work at Battle Harbour and live in the surrounding region. While visitors also talk about the challenges of the road, another key theme that came up is the general lack of media visibility and online information about Battle Harbour as a tourism destination. Many residents of the province don't even know about it, not to mention those from away. Visitors to the site appear to learn about Battle Harbour through word of mouth or through online information. Several visitors, however, commented on the lack of promotion for Battle Harbour. The lack of adequate online information appears to be a barrier to tourist travel. Addressing this should be a priority, as the internet is now the first avenue for information and travel planning for many people (the new Battle Harbour website launched in December 2013, after the field research was carried out, will hopefully address this issue).

Tourists were also concerned about difficulties getting reliable information about the site, as well as difficulties making travel and accommodation arrangements by telephone or e-mail. It is important to develop a system whereby potential visitors' e-mails and telephone calls are responded to consistently and promptly, including in the off-season when many people make their travel arrangements. Many potential visitors are unlikely to persist in repeatedly calling and e-mailing for information or making bookings, investing resources in developing a reliable system for communicating with potential visitors throughout the year would also help mitigate the challenges of travelling to the Battle Harbour site and could increase tourism flows to the area.

Building regional tourism networks

Battle Harbour is a key tourism attractor for the Labrador Straits region. The other key attractor in the region is the Red Bay National Historic Site, which is operated by Parks Canada and was recently listed as a UNESCO World Heritage site. Many visitors to the Labrador Straits visit both sites. At the same time, as illustrated by Table 5 and 6, participants from Mary's Harbour see greater benefits from the BHHD than participants from St. Lewis or Lodge Bay. One strategy to maximize the social benefits of tourism for the communities of the St. Lewis Inlet and for the broader Labrador Straits region is to focus on developing regional tourism networks. This can be done through increased communication and resource sharing across these two key tourism hubs, and also by increased collaboration with other tourism operators in the region. Other areas have been successful partly through developing a strong regional "tourism destination image" (Tasci & Gartner, 2007; Tasci et al., 2007). A tourism destination image refers to how potential visitors view or perceive a destination. By creating a regional tourism destination image that is coherent and memorable, the whole region – as opposed to single communities – becomes a tourism destination that can be promoted to visitors, thereby gaining greater access to the social benefits of tourism development. A strong tourism destination image for the Labrador Straits could build upon Battle Harbour and Red Bay as existing strengths, while also incorporating other attractions in the region. Regional tourism networks can be used to more strategically promote tourism in the Labrador Straits region by pooling resources and making creative use of the tools offered by websites and social media like Facebook, Twitter, or YouTube.

Going beyond regional tourism networks, another strategy to increase the visibility and tourism flows to Battle Harbour and the Labrador Straits region is to make thematic links to other tourism anchors in the province. This would help connect Battle Harbour, as a local tourism site, to provincial promotional efforts. As a site that represents the history of the Labrador fishery, as well as traditional outpost society and culture, Battle Harbour could be thematically linked to the Trinity historic district, the Ryan Premises site in Bonavista, and the Provincial Seaman's museum at Grand Bank. This strategy involves going beyond building

regional tourism networks. It would mean greater collaboration between Battle Harbour and tourism interests elsewhere in the province (including the provincial government) to develop suitable thematic promotion and advertising.

Finally, one of the challenges currently facing Battle Harbour is the tension between achieving financial viability as a tourism site and retaining a sense of community accessibility. It is not economically feasible to treat Battle Harbour as a “free” amenity for community use. At the same time, our research demonstrates that Battle Harbour is a source of community pride and collective identity, and that the site is viewed positively because of its role in protecting community history and culture. Participants in the survey and field research, however, raised concerns that Battle Harbour is becoming less accessible to the community. Similarly, our data show that participants in Mary’s Harbour perceive greater social benefits from the BHHD than participants in St. Lewis and Lodge Bay. We recommend that the Battle Harbour Historic Trust face this challenge head-on and find a way to address this tension in dialogue with the surrounding communities. A healthy connection between Battle Harbour and the communities of the St. Lewis Inlet will help develop regional tourism networks and a strong regional tourism destination image, which is likely to increase the positive social and cultural impacts of tourism development for the region.

Conclusion

This report has provided an analysis of the social and cultural impacts of the Battle Harbour National Historic District for the surrounding communities of the St. Lewis Inlet, in the Labrador Straits region. The telephone survey phase of the research, conducted with the communities of Mary's Harbour, Lodge Bay and St. Lewis, was followed by field research at the Battle Harbour site. This allowed for observation, formal interviews and informal conversations with visitors and workers at the site. Combining the two methods produces a more complex account of the social and cultural impacts of the Battle Harbour National Historic District and the role it may play in promoting social-ecological resilience in the Labrador Straits.

It is clear that the BHHD has generated positive perceptions across all communities surveyed. Between ninety-six and ninety-nine percent of participants either agreed or strongly agreed that the BHHD is a source of community pride, a must-see destination for visitors, tells important stories about the history of the region, accurately reflects the region's culture, and gives visitors an appreciation for the region's natural environment. These findings are reinforced by the field research, which indicates that Battle Harbour is appreciated by visitors because it provides an opportunity to experience the history and natural environment of the region, as well as opportunities to learn about this history from community members who work at the site.

Community interaction with tourists is a key element of hospitality and might be considered a significant factor in the BHHD's resonance with visitors. Levels of interaction with tourists to Battle Harbour depend at least in part in which community our research participants reside. Overall, considerably more interaction between residents and tourists takes place in the host community of Mary's Harbour, with 84 percent reporting either occasional or frequent interaction with tourists. The least amount of interaction with tourists is by residents of Lodge Bay, reporting an interaction rate of only 27 percent. Interaction appears to be less dependent on age or education level. Residents' occupations appear to be a key factor in determining the rates of interaction with tourists, with occasional or frequent interaction reported most highly among those in health, management, office and sales/service occupations, and lowest among those in primary industries, processing jobs and retirees.

In spite of variations across gender and community of residence in terms of interactions with tourists, all respondents who interacted with tourists report that they agree or agree strongly that talking with tourists makes them proud of their community and more appreciative of their local history, culture and natural environment. A vast majority of participants in the survey likewise agreed or strongly agreed that their own visits to the BHHD increased residents' appreciation of the local history, culture and natural environment. Furthermore, those who report benefits of interacting with tourists seem to enjoy and appreciate the mutual exchange of cultures as many residents expressed their pleasure at informing visitors of the BHHD as well as learning from tourists of their own culture and traditions. These survey findings are also supported by the

field research, where the opportunity to connect with new people is repeatedly described as a benefit of working at BHHD. Interactions with tourists are often described as social exchanges, with tourism workers and visitors learning from each other, including communicating ideas about how to improve business operations at the site.

The perceived social and cultural benefits of the BHHD vary depending on the specific benefit being discussed. While fairly high levels of agreement or strong agreement were reported across all of the benefits examined, approximately one-third either disagree or have no opinion with respect to whether the BHHD provides useful training or allows people to remain in the community rather than move elsewhere to work and live. As with interactions with tourists, these results varied across communities with the host community of Mary's Harbour far exceeding St. Lewis and Lodge Bay in terms of agreement or strong agreement with these benefits. Participants older than 60 years of age tended to disagree or had no opinion, while the highest rates of agreement or strong agreement were reported by those 60 years of age and younger, suggesting generational differences in perceptions of the benefits of tourism for the region. While there is variance in the perception of these benefits across levels of education, an overall agree or strongly agree with the notion of benefits from the BHHD. However, a large minority between 21 and 41 percent either disagreed with or had no opinion on the benefits of the site. In terms of occupation, those working in all occupations with the exception of retired participants and health workers reported fairly high levels of agreement or strong agreement.

The findings both from the telephone surveys and field research indicate that the Battle Harbour Historic District provides a range of social, cultural and economic impacts for the communities of the St. Lewis Inlet. It is evident that the site is a source of personal, professional and community pride as a venue for sharing of history and culture. As a key tourism attractor for the Labrador Straits, which visitors typically use as a key stop on a larger tour of the area, it provides intangible and material benefits for the broader region as well. However, several matters arose with respect to its long-term viability. We make the following recommendations that may help maximize the social benefits of tourism development and history preservation at the Battle Harbour Historic District.

Preservation of history and culture can be achieved with sensitivity to maintaining the historical authenticity of the region, while also meeting the expectations of tourists. A partnership with Parks Canada could allow the Battle Harbour Historic Trust to focus on essential infrastructure and tourism services, while Parks Canada expertise could help ensure the protection and proper display of buildings and artefacts. Besides infrastructure development and maintenance at Battle Harbour, road upgrades for the region would benefit both tourism development and local communities. This kind of investment is beyond the capacity of the Battle Harbour Historic Trust but is important in order to encourage tourism flows to the region, thereby enhancing the social benefits already being realized.

Labrador contains several sites of historical, cultural and scenic interest to tourists. Visits to Battle Harbour are often part of a longer journey linking visits to other destinations in Newfoundland, Labrador and the Atlantic Provinces. The BHHD would be well-served by working to help develop regional tourism networks and a stronger regional destination image. This would enhance the profile of Battle Harbour and would also benefit other communities and tourism operators and promoters in the Labrador Straits.

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Appendix: Methodology

This research adopted a sequential mixed-method design, combining a telephone survey of area residents with field work at the Battle Harbour National Historic District. This mixed-method approach used different types of data to provide a more complex understanding of the cultural and social impacts of tourism for the region.

Telephone survey

The first wave of data collection was by way of a telephone survey of residents of the St. Lewis Inlet communities surrounding Battle Harbour: Mary's Harbour (population 385), St. Lewis (population 205), and Lodge Bay (population unavailable via Community Accounts). Data collection was carried out during May through June 2013. A sampling frame of 237 phone numbers for these communities was purchased from ASDE survey sampler. Due to the size of the sampling frame, a comprehensive approach to sampling was taken. Every household was contacted, with up to three attempts made to contact each household. If a "no" response was received during any point of contact, no additional attempts were made to contact that household. Survey questions focused on three areas: 1) residents' perceptions of the Battle Harbour National Historic District, including its importance for community identity and culture; 2) the importance of residents' interactions with tourists to Battle Harbour; and 3) residents' views about the role Battle Harbour plays in developing social sustainability and community resilience. In addition, basic demographic information was collected (age, gender, education, occupation, household income). Each telephone survey consisted of closed and open-ended questions and lasted approximately 15 minutes. The final response rate was 40% (95 participants).

The majority of participants (62%) in the survey were residents of Mary's Harbour. It is the closest location to Battle Harbour and hosts the ferry to the site. According to census figures, it also has the largest population of towns enumerated in the study. Residents of St. Lewis accounted for just over one-quarter of respondents. St. Lewis is located about 71 kilometers from the BHHD. Participants from Lodge Bay made up about 12 percent of those responding. It is the smallest community in the study and is located approximately 10 kilometers from the BHHD.

Field research

The second wave of data collection consisted of six days of field work at the Battle Harbour National Historic District, which was carried out in August 2013. This provided an opportunity to conduct in-depth qualitative interviews with key informants involved with Battle Harbour. The interview questions focused on: participants' history of engagement with Battle Harbour; the messages the site conveys to visitors about local history, culture and the environment; and the cultural and social benefits of the Battle Harbour site for the surrounding communities.

Field notes were also written during each day at the site. Notes focused on how exhibitions and tours at the site define local culture, history, and the environment, as well on the ways in which visitors interact with the site. Field notes were also informed by informal

conversations with visitors and Battle Harbour employees about the ways in which Battle Harbour presents regional history, culture, and the environment. These conversations were not recorded, and identifying information was not collected from site visitors.

Internet ethnography

Internet ethnography refers to treating the internet as a field research site and carrying out observation and analysis of web content. The telephone survey and field research were supplemented by an internet ethnography of publicly accessible content related to the Battle Harbour Historic District from Facebook, Twitter and YouTube. The internet ethnography was carried out by a graduate student research assistant during September 2013. A detailed analysis of this data is not presented in this report. Instead, the internet ethnography helped inform the analysis and interpretation of the results from the other phases of the research project.