

Small Towns in Transitions, an Exploratory Study in Collingwood, Ontario

by

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AUTHOR'S DECLARATION

I hereby declare that I am the sole author of this thesis. This is a true copy of the thesis, including any required final revisions, as accepted by my examiners.

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Abstract

Collingwood, Ontario is experiencing an economic and social transition away from resource-dependent orient toward place-based development trajectory, after its economic breakdown of the traditional industries (e.g., shipbuilding) in the 1980s. Boom and bust cycles in single industry towns have been common not only in Canada but throughout the world. The transition in Collingwood is an alternative development strategy that leverages the local economic, social and environmental capitals, while it brings some new development challenges. This thesis offers insights into the characteristics of the economic and social transitions, and their interlinkages by employing Collingwood as a case study. The data on which this thesis is based includes 30 semi-structured interviews with key informants representing in-migrants and residents, economic and political representatives, 43 survey questionnaires, field observations and secondary statistics.

Research findings indicate although economic and social transitions contain relative independence, multifaceted correlations exist between the two. Collingwood's economic base changes from shipbuilding toward the tertiary sector through a focus on natural, social and cultural amenities. The transition is a neo-endogenous approach driven by place-based municipal actions, implemented by entrepreneurs, and enabled by amenity-seeking in-migrants and the expansion of the mountain resort in the neighboring town. The place-based development draws counter-urbanites in, and their urban consumptive behaviours reinforce ongoing economic and social transitions. Gentrification, economic and social polarization emerge resulting in livelihood uneasiness for the local residents. The research concludes that to create a more restorative, liveable and equitable society through establishing a shared place-identity among the heterogeneous stakeholder groups in the ongoing process of place-making could lead to positive and sustainable integration between economic and social development.

Key words: economic transition, social transition, counter-urbanites, place-based assets, Collingwood, Ontario

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1.0 CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background

Associated with globalization (Stolarick et al, 2010), economic restructuring, and mobility, production and consumption patterns are changing at a fast pace (Williams & Lew, 2015). The global economic system has been restructuring from production-based to knowledge-intensive (Stolarick et al, 2010). In the face of the global restructuring, many of the total 236 small towns in Ontario (Statistics Canada, 2011) experienced significant decline in their traditional industries as a result of the intensified global trade competition (Jenkins et al, 1998) and decreased output of manufacturing and agricultural products to U.S. (Federal Economic Development Agency for Southern Ontario, Statistics Canada, 2010-2011). The traditional manufacturing sector in Southern Ontario has been experiencing a structural breakdown (Federal Economic Development Agency for Southern Ontario, Statistics Canada, 2010-2011). This has challenged the survival of many small towns formerly with a reliance on traditional extractive-based economies (Halseth et al, 2010), due to the loss of the traditional manufacturing industries, the reconstruction of agricultural production system, and population stagnation involving a significant lack of labour force (Knox & Mayer, 2013). In Canada, small towns refer to small population centres that are “with a population of between 1,000 and 29,999 inhabitants” (Census Canada, 2011, n. p). They are home to more than 3.84 million people, including both nucleated settlements and dispersed populations (Statistics Canada, 2006). This is equivalent to 12% of the total population (Statistics Canada, 2006). As such, the development challenge present in small towns in Ontario characterize broader challenges in other provinces of Canada and worldwide.

Some municipalities have recognized the need to orient toward place-based economic development (Markey et al, 2006). In particular, economic and social transitions in small

population centres can be referred to as a development stage that de-emphasizes the role of resource extraction and exporting staple products in the local economy (Howlett & Brownsey, 2005) and focuses on commodification of the lifestyle that natural, cultural and social characters of a place bring (Markey et al, 2006). Staple-based economy is supported by primary and manufacturing industries and driven by external demands for unprocessed or semi-processed materials (Howlett & Brownsey, 2005). It extracts natural resources and/or energies and overcomes costs of production and transportation to gain the greatest efficiency and profits (Gregory et al., 2009, as cited in Mitchell & O'Neill, 2016). By comparison, place-based development is an alternative and innovative strategy that capitalizes on the local inherent assets of a place, including both quantitative and qualitative territorial factors, to respond to an increasing consumptive demands for non-commodities (Markey et al, 2006). As a result, the small towns are evolving from traditional bases dependent on agriculture, fishing, forestry, mining or manufacturing to tertiary sector that characterizes as consumption-driven and knowledge-based (Nepal & Jamal, 2011; Woods, 2005). Thus, a multi-functional state that consists both productive and consumptive economies is constructed (Mitchell, 2013).

1.2 Rationale

In recent decades, globalization, urban economic restructuring, mobility, place-based development, amenity migration, counter-urbanization and second homes are becoming the basic economic factors of change in many small towns. Different elements come together to construct a complex mosaic in a particular place (Massey, 1984; Bryant & Mitchell, 2006). It is essential to integrate different themes in the literature for a more systematic and in-depth understanding of the economic and social transitions in small towns. With the exception of studies conducted in Canada's British

Columbia (Nepal & Jamal, 2011; Halseth, 2001), research employing integrated approach to provide broader perspectives on the above-mentioned themes are few. Moreover, the inter-linkages between economic and social transitions, though apparent, have not been fully explored. Research has indicated that a small town's economic and social transitions in the contemporary era are jointly affected by the dynamics and complexity of the interactions between exogenous forces and endogenous powers (Milne & Ateljevic, 2001).

In particular, economic and social transitions in small towns, such as Collingwood illustrate the influence of broader structural changes, including global shifts in production and consumption patterns resulting from globalization, and technological innovations in telecommunication, transportation and productivity (Milne & Ateljevic, 2001). The transitions also reflect negotiations between local endogenous and exogenous actors. The arrival of counter-urbanites, amenity migrants, and second home residents in Collingwood have given boost to a diverse range of economic drivers and agents of societal change. The increase in in-migrants are in part the result of the town's municipal place-based actions. However, the endogenous and exogenous driving forces do not act in isolation from the global context, but rather reinforce them and together result in local social and economic transitions.

Hiner's (2016) study in Calaveras County, California, where tensions have developed between urbanites and local rural residents encounter, looked into the impacts of the ideology and imaginary of ex-urbanites towards small town lifestyle on shaping the functionality of small communities. She emphasized that in order to forge effective and sustainable strategies toward community vitality, it is critical to incorporate economic influences into the understanding of social transition

(Hiner, 2016). Similarly, Müller (2004) in his study of second homes in Nordic countries, emphasized that it is critical to examine the interlinkages between economic and social transitional processes, as changes in physical landscape of small towns give way to changes in socio-cultural composition of the place.

The few studies cited above have convinced me that a comprehensive understanding of changes in rural and small towns can be gained only when both economic and social changes are examined and how each reinforce the other. This study aims to provide a strategic and holistic insight into the economic and social transition characteristics of a small town, and the interlinkages of the two, contributing to the studies of transition in small towns. Collingwood is a case of many small towns that are amenity-rich and approximate to metropolitan core. Therefore, there is a need to (re)conceptualize themes, toward an integration of the relevant sub-disciplines applicable to a locale to provide a fuller picture of the complexity of a small town in transition.

1.3 Research Objectives and Questions

Keeping in mind the growing literature on place-based economic development (Markey, et al, 2006; Halseth et al, 2010; Mitchell & O'Neill, 2016), the thesis aims to provide an in-depth exploration of the characteristics of economic and social transitions and the interlinkages in Collingwood that are oriented toward place-based development trajectory. Accordingly, this study has three main objectives: 1) to trace the economic trends through an examination of various sectors, growth patterns, entrepreneurial activities, and relationships between economy and the small town place 2) to investigate population, demographics, gender, housing, employment status,

in-migrants' place of origins, motives of in-migration, and residents' life experiences; and 3) to explore the interrelations between the economic transition and the social transition.

The research questions guiding this study are as follows:

- 1) What are the characteristics of economic transition?
 - 1.1. How did patterns of economic sectors, economic structure, and relationships between the local economy and the small town place change in the current years?
- 2) What are the characteristics of social transition?
 - 2.1. What are the factors driving migrants to settle in Collingwood temporarily or permanently?
 - 2.2. What are the changes in population, demographics, gender, housing, employment status, in-migrants' place of origins, motive of in-migration, residents' life experiences in the recent years?
- 3) Does economic transition lead to social transition and vice versa? If so, what are the interlinkages between economic transition and social transition?

1.4 Case Study

Located on Georgian Bay, Collingwood is an amenity-rich small town approximate to the Greater Toronto Area (GTA). The town has experienced economic breakdown due to the decline of its traditional industries, majorly the closure of the shipbuilding industry in the 1980s. To cope with the change, Collingwood has been transitioning from the resource-dependent trajectory to a place-based development path. Two factors, economic restructuring and lifestyle mobilities (Urry, 2000) give potential that place-based assets (e.g., natural amenities and cultural atmosphere) become increasingly important in attracting and holding external capitals (Nelson, 2006) in economic, social and cultural terms (Benson, 2013, as cited in Steel & Mitchell, 2017; Moyes et al, 2015).

Place attachment is a critical way to retain talented people (Florida, 2003). Place-based development that develops a distinct sense of place and makes it as a competitive location for investment (Aguilar et al, 2005), is recognized as a priority by the local municipality for the town's local economic, social and environmental well-being (Sustainable Community Plan for the Town of Collingwood, 2008).

High quality natural environment is considered a relatively scarce resource (Power, 1996). The high quality amenities become a principal motive for heterogenous urban amenity-seekers to migrate in town to be parts of the local population (Power, 1996; Moss, 2006). This transition is a neo-endogenous approach: the local municipality acts as a driver (Mitchell & O'Neill, 2016) in adapting to and influencing the changes by developing and sustaining their economic, social and environmental capacities (Steel & Mitchell, 2017). The urban amenity-seekers, categorized as anti-urbanites and ex-urbanites (Mitchell, 2004) or amenity-migrants (Moss, 2006), and second home residents (Hall & Müller, 2004), are local actors recognized as critical implementer and enabler of the economic transition since they carry out the transition and provide externally economic, social, and cultural capitals (Bourdieu, 1986, as cited in Mitchell & O'Neill, 2016). Their urban consumptive behaviours further contribute to the commodification of natural and cultural amenities (Nepal & Jamal, 2011), stimulate local entrepreneurial activities, and (re)create the place-identity (Mitchell, 2014). Social transition is primarily led by the injection of heterogenous in-migrants and an outflow of local residents, characterizing as changes in population, demographics, gender, housing, employment status and life's experiences (Halseth, 1998).

The transition in Collingwood characterizes a growth in tourism, real estate, creative industries and retirement living, coexisting with a decline in importance of production-based economies (e.g., manufacturing and agriculture). This transition embodies in a physically, economically, and socially hybrid place (Hiner, 2016). Positive implications of the transition include improved infrastructure and amenities, beautification of waterfront and downtown, significant economic growth, increased employment rate, and the construction of new place-identity. Whereas new development issues emerge and focus around pressure of gentrification, associated with gaps in the local economic structure, imbalanced demographic groups, real estate price escalation, and livelihood difficulties of the local residents.

1.5 Significance of the Study

This research contributes to the understanding of the characteristics of the economic and social transitions in small towns by employing perspectives from literature on globalization, urban economic restructuring, mobility, counter-urbanites, amenity migrants and second home residents. This broader approach looks into multiple and interrelated agents of the economic and social transitions and their successive impacts. The approach provides a clear case of a transition toward place-based development in a small town locale. Therefore, it can facilitate the municipalities to develop more supportive and feasible place-based policies and practices. These strategies can reduce the impacts of gentrification, economic and social polarization, and other associated issues on the host communities. This approach can hopefully improve the livelihood of all human inhabitants, help adapt to future changes and maintain a long-term sustainable development (Halseth, et al, 2010). Moreover, an examination of the economic and social characteristics and their interlinkages increase the ability for planners to achieve sustainable development in the place-

based trajectory through altering one or more of the local characteristics (Travis, 2007). An understanding of the interests of various local stakeholder groups in local development can mitigate conflicts and formulate collaborative visions for the sustainable future of small towns. In addition, the research findings may serve as information for future research in Collingwood and other small towns alike.

2.0 CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

To conceptually explore the characteristics of economic and social transitions and their interlinkages in a small town locale, this chapter reviews pertinent literature underpinned by a set of interrelated themes: the global context (i.e., globalization, economic restructuring, and mobility), economic transition (i.e., from staple extraction to place-based development), counterurbanites, amenity migrants, and second home residents. Specifically, according to the three overarching research questions, these conceptual topics are set to reveal: 1) relations between local amenities and economic and social changes 2) economic change from traditional to amenity-driven and multi-functional economies in a small town setting; and 3) impacts of amenity-seeking counterurbanites on the economic and social transitions.

2.2 Global Context

Small towns, as other places, are formed by social, economic, cultural interrelations from the local to the global levels (Massey, 1992). Economic and social characteristics of small towns are commonly and continually linked to macro-scale external factors (Lampic & Mrak, 2014) of globalization (Milne & Ateljevic, 2001), economic restructuring (Nelson, 2002) and mobility (Urry, 2000). Globalization and mobility, as both drivers and implications of economic restructuring from productivism to post-productivism economic state, have radically altered production and consumption patterns (Gosnell & Abrams, 2011). They provide a primary step that leads to form the current social and economic characteristics of small towns in transition (Gosnell & Abrams, 2011). Economic and social transitions in small towns are a development choice for economic, social and environmental well-being in response to the global change (Halseth et al,

2010). This global change is briefly described as transitioning from productivism orient toward post-productivism economic state (Wilson, 2001), and from industrial to post-industrial society (Coppock, 1988).

Global trade liberalization, economic restructuring and technological innovations (Nepal & Jamal, 2011) force staple-based economy in many small towns to wane. Globalization refers to a process of reorganization of interregional and transcontinental relations in physical, economic, social and cultural dimensions. Globalization, as we know it today, began in the early 1980s, through the opening up of international trade (Bunting & Rutherford, 2006). The opening up of global trade and the subsequent expansion of international investment led to a multifaceted process that relocated productions beyond national boundaries (Perlik, 2014). In other words, globalization has changed spatial and sectoral production patterns (Williams & Lew, 2015), spatial divisions of industrial labour force (Massey, 1988), and employment relations (Vinodrai, 2015) at the global scale (Perlik, 2014). The extractive and traditional manufacturing industries in Western Europe and North America faced intensified competition in the globalized marketplace (Woods, 2010). Regional trades in these countries were diminished and replaced with international trade (Argent et al, 2010). Small towns hence have experienced imbalance of output, trade and profit drawn from the extractive and traditional manufacturing industries, which resulted in sectoral unemployment (Massey, 1988). Likewise, employment opportunities in extractive and manufacturing industries decreased due to downsizing and mechanization (Power, 1996, as cited in Gosnell & Abrams, 2011). Thus, globalization has engendered economic breakdown of some small towns, whose economic backbone was the primary and/or secondary industries, resulting in local economic

collapse, demographic stagnation or decline, and the related development challenges (Halseth, et al, 2010).

Globalization has also led to a shift in consumerism, from the consumption of utility to amenity-related experiences, lifestyles and identities (Smith & Phillips 2001, as cited in Gosnell & Abrams, 2011). Perlik (2014) noted that globalization emerged as particular structural patterns at the local or regional levels in the city's peripheries, and highly diversified functions and patterns at the global level (Perlik, 2014). Perlik (2014) further explained that "new paradigm of life happiness" that seeks the best location for each part of life became everyday practice in the post-industrial paradigm when regional devolution and diversity are enhanced (p.101). This paradigm is based on a collective value system and social processes that drive an individual's preferences and behaviours. Therefore, amenity-seeking behaviours are led by a mainstream trend of economic functional specialization, social distinction and urban practices as a result of globalization (Perlik, 2014).

Mobility transforms boundedness in place into mobilized landscapes (Urry, 2000), as a central dynamic in diversifying societies and life ways (Quinn, 2004). It changes the sedentary norm of fixity in settlement, and allows people to have a more mobilized living status (Halfacree, 2012). As mobility practices, migration becomes a status that is mundane, less instrumental and purposeful yet inextricably entangled with broader experiences of life (Halfacree, 2012). Part-time and permanent migrations for lifestyle and/or amenities purpose have been significantly increased in the era of mobility (Perlik, 2014). More and more urbanites choose to separate their places of work from places to live and play (Segessemann & Crevoisiera, 2015). Tourism and the other

service-related industries in the tertiary sector in small towns emerge and grow mainly due to the consumptions of the amenity-seeking in-migrants. Amenity-rich small towns have been increasingly becoming host communities (Halfacree, 2012). Lifestyle mobility practices centred on amenity-seeking activities especially among urban residents have increased strikingly since 1980s (Moss, 2014). Lifestyle mobilities refer to an urban phenomenon where people with urban expectations commodify the small town places located in the urban peripheries with selective and perceived images, profiles and specific functions (Perlik, 2014).

Economic restructuring has been changing the production and consumption patterns of urban residents (Gosnell & Abrams, 2009). Enabled by advanced technologies in productivity, transportation and telecommunication systems (Bryant & Mitchell, 2006), the urban economic base has shifted from highly standardized, routinized mass manufacturing production toward knowledge intensive sectors (Harvey, 1988). More importantly, this restructuring brings in functional change to small towns that are amenity-rich and in proximity to metropolitan cores (Bryant & Mitchell, 2006). The restructuring results in flexible employment relations with lifestyle flexibility and early retirement (Vinodari, 2015), increased discretionary income and time, diffusions of private vehicles (Bryant & Mitchell, 2006), shrinking distance due to highway systems and the Internet (Koster et al, 2010). These factors encourage amenity-seeking counter-urbanites who relocate to diverse places to work, live and play (Perlik, 2014). The relationship between the metropolitan core and the peripheries is transitioned away from supplying raw materials and agricultural products (Halseth, et al, 2010) to receiving communities of ex-urbanites and anti-urbanites (Mitchell, 2004).

Globalization, mobility and economic restructuring have brought opportunities and challenges for the economic and social viability of small towns provincially, nationally and worldwide (Halseth et al, 2010). Post-productivism alters economic value attached to the environmental, social and cultural resources, changes relations between human and place (Sharpley & Telfer, 2015), and favors more diverse economic activities (Reed & Gill, 1997, as cited in Markey et al, 2008) that emphasize the production of distinctive and memorable experiences (Pine & Gilmore, 1999, as cited in Dissart, 2014). Transitioning toward a place-based development is a choice of small towns that experienced the serious decline in primary and manufacturing industries and the associated economic struggles in the advent of the global change. Small towns are experiencing economic and social transitions through a process of interplay and negotiation among actions of local government, and other internal and/or external actors that are again situated in the broader context (Bryant, 2010).

2.3 Economic Transition

2.3.1 Staple extraction

Staple extraction was central in Canadian economy during the 19th and 20th centuries (Howlett & Brownsey, 2007). Staple-based economy contributes to a specialization of product types in a location to gain competitive advantages (Howlett & Brownsey, 2005) on a broader geographical scope through regional and/or international trade (Snowdon, 2011). Staple-based economy centres on traditional economies and relies on extracting natural resources and/or energies to gain the greatest efficiency and overcome the costs of production and shipping (Gregory et al., 2009, as cited in Mitchell & O'Neill, 2016). As a result, small towns were led by local and regional governmental actions to become industrially specialized and functioned to supply agricultural and

manufacturing materials to the metropolitan core or other locations to respond to regional and/or global demands (Cloke, 2006). The economic engine of many small towns at that time was traditional extractive industries ranging from the primary sectors to the associated resource processing and manufacturing (Markey et al, 2008). However, resource endowment depletion, global market competition, labour substitution for reduction of cost that were the phenomena of globalization process led a decline in the primary and secondary sectors and a restructuring of the resource-based economies (Howlett & Brownsey, 2007). This was reflected in increased unemployment rate in small towns and out-migration for employment and education opportunities (Hall & Müller, 2004), depression of local housing market, diminished provision of community services and a decreased tax base (Bruce et al, 2005). Small towns are forced to transition from staple extraction and seek an alternative path for economic vitality (Hutton & Brownsey, 2005).

2.3.2 Transition to Place-based Economy

An important part of economic development of small towns is to attract and hold workers, firms and capitals, which have become mobile (Kitson et al, 2004). A high quality public amenities and infrastructure, a high degree of human, social, cultural, creative, and productive capitals, and a high level of social embeddedness are identified as local competitive advantages (Kitson et al, 2004). They draw various migrants and investments, and increase regional productivity and improve quality of life capabilities (Kitson et al, 2004). Different from staple extraction, place-based development is an alternative and innovative strategy that focuses on “the ascendancy of place” (Massey, 1984, as cited in Markey et al, 2008, p.410). Place-based development aims to be environmental friendly and achieve an equilibrium between socio-economic well-being and environmental conservation (Porter, 1990, as cited in Huggins & Izushi, 2011). This development

strategy gains local competitive advantages from a territorially unique package of natural, social and cultural characteristics and circumstances (Markey et al, 2008). This strategy capitalizes on quantitative and qualitative territorial factors (Markey et al, 2006), fueled by “infrastructure, natural and cultural amenities, location, economic structure, production” as well as “social capital, innovation, and institutions” (Markey et al., 2006, p.26). Qualitative factors play an important role in establishing an innovative and creative platform, where economic and social development takes place (Markey et al., 2006). Attractive natural amenities influence the distribution of economic activities (Power, 1996).

A geographic place is a point of presence existing in a geographical space that is intertwined with time and an ever-changing system (Massey, 2005). Although a place shares some common attributes with a space, a place emphasizes on the complexity of natural and cultural landscapes and the multi-dimensional human interactions within (Williams & Lew, 2015) that construct place-identity, meanings and sense of a place (Lew et al., 2008). Places are perceived as not only geographic locations or material forms, but also “an investment with meaning and value” by individuals and social groups (Gustafson, 2006, p.287). A place with high quality amenities is interpreted as “higher societal valuing” (2006, p.9), and the places can provide a sense of belonging or bonding (Gustafson, 2006). The place-based development identifies the territorial characteristics as a place’s distinctive competence (Porter, 1990, as cited in Huggins & Izushi, 2011), which can attract and retain people to live in (Markey et al., 2008). Place-based development rises the importance of the knowledge-based sectors in the local economy (Power, 1996) and responds to the altered consumption patterns in the post-productivism era (Gosnell & Abrams, 2011).

2.3.3 Economic Value of Amenities

Although place-based initiatives are territorially vary, small towns that are amenity-rich and close to the city often identify the high-quality natural environment as an important distinctive character (Nepal & Jamal, 2011; Moss & Glorioso, 2014). An amenity is generally to experience the higher level of psychological appreciation and inspiration for the intrinsic virtue that offers abstract values and appraisal for an experience (Coppack, 1988). Amenities refer to non-transportable and non-individually incrementable elements (Rudzitis et al, 2014) that possess either “natural physical attributes of a place” or tangible and intangible cultural manifestations (Moss, 2006, p.8), where quality of life can be improved. Consumptive demands of people not only focus on tangible products but also experiences and quality of life factors (Power, 1996). Amenities are the nature of natural or cultural environment that is “beyond life’s necessities” (Alexander, 1967, p. 23). Moreover, amenities are symbolic capitals or status goods, representing “a foreshortened paraphrase for objects of desire” (Perlik, 2014, p.102). They include distinct features in natural, cultural, institutional, commercial or economic dimension (Power, 1996). Perlik (2014) emphasized that the preference for amenities as a social construct is a combination of pursuing a healthier living condition and distinctive perception of high-quality lifestyle (Perlik, 2014).

Amenities play a principal role in contributing to growth of migration (Power, 1996). Amenity-seeking practices are a broader phenomenon, categorized into recreational commuting (a permanent separation of residence and workplace), second home ownership, and escape from the city core (live and work permanently in an amenity-rich and non-metropolitan region) (Perlik, 2014). The practices emphasize on the importance and pursuit of discretionary qualities and tangible characters of commodities that comprises of aesthetic, cultural or social concerns, rather

than subsistence economic activity (Rudzitis, 2014) or material inputs for utility (Power, 1996). Coppack (1988) argued that commodification of intangibles, amenity and the experience that amenity can bring, can be converted to economic commodities. Similarly, amenity landscapes are not only topographical-morphological characteristics, but are also recognized as valuable resources and a part of local production systems (Perlik, 2014).

Natural environment has qualitative meanings and consumptive value, which plays a crucial role in geographic (re)distribution and local economic and environmental well-being in the post-industrial society. The “environmental model of local economic development” (Power, 1996, p.4) depicted an integration of sustainable economic development and social and natural environment. Aesthetic natural environment, recreational opportunities, cultural richness, and social amenities (e.g., safe neighborhood and high-quality public services) attract a wide range of highly skilled migrants, retirees and tourists. These people bring in external capitals and may seek work opportunities on arrival, which expands local markets, increase/draw business activities, and contribute to job creation (Power, 1996). Amenities also attract firms to locate, since firms follow labours, markets and wage frontier (Power, 1996). Local financial, technological and organizational resources can be significantly increased by employing the in-migrants (Knox & Mayer, 2013) In addition, the auxiliary economic segments including the public sectors and construction increase to meet the demands of the heterogeneous resident groups (Shumway & Otterstrom, 2001). The circular flows construct a services-based and diversified economy, which expands economic options to the residents and sustain the local economic viability (Power, 1996). In this regards, a desirable natural and social environment is a pivotal determinant in the community’s economic prosperity (Power, 1996). In other words, the relationship between people

and economic growth has been altered. Jobs follow people, and “quality of life factors” influence the distribution of economic activities (Shumway & Otterstrom, 2001, p.493).

High quality amenities can contribute to the growth of residential economies, due to the perceived lifestyle from some urbanites (Rudzitis et al, 2014). As Dissart’s (2014) study of the economic contribution of amenity migrants in France indicated, mobility practices lead to disconnection between places of production and residency, and this disconnection results in disassociation of productive and consumptive territories (Dissart, 2014). Residential economy, which is a local economic source generated by externally-accumulated incomes, including retirees’ pensions, commuters’ wages and tourists’ expenditures (Steel & Mitchell, 2017) rather than productive activities (Segessemanna & Crevoisiera, 2015), plays an increasingly important role in building local economic capacity (Dissart, 2014). In other words, the economic contribution of counter-urbanites mirrors a shift in production and consumption patterns between the urban core and the chosen peripheral region in the contemporary era (Dissart, 2014).

2.3.4 Actors of Economic Transition

Population is a highly dependent economic factor that small towns prioritizes (Halseth et al, 2010). Economic and social transitions of small towns are an evolving phase of the place-based development trajectory that aims to draw educated and talented people in by responding to the demands of external human agencies (Markey et al., 2008). The external agents drive change in overall global economy and, at the same time are the outcomes of the global economic restructuring (Butler et al, 1998). The heterogeneous urban in-migrants and second home residents (Hall & Müller, 2004) have become significant actors of local economies in many small towns (Bryant & Mitchell, 2006). Bryant and Mitchell (2006)’s conceptual model of local dynamism in

relation to human agencies in the city's countryside indicated that the urban in-migrants in small towns are the significant actors of change that partially shape and characterize the local economic, social and physical transitions. In a similar vein, Hiner (2016)'s conceptualization of the impacts of urbanites on rural-urban interface based on her study of Calaveras County in California further stated that the imaginaries of amenity-rich small towns from urbanites can lead to the redistribution of economic activities. Community functionality of small towns has gradually changed, from supplying commodities in the past to receiving urbanites at present (Cloke, 2006).

2.3.5 Patterns of Transition

Small towns are in a continual flux and in near-constant change (Massey, 1988; Halfacree, 2012). The transition stage embodies a radical and progressive re-ordering in community functionality (Holmes, 2006). It indicates a shift away from previously dominated production function towards a more contested and complex multifunctional rural space encompassing production, consumption and preservation functions (Holmes, 2006) resulting from the increased market-driven amenity values and consumption-oriented mentality (Nelson, 2001). Capital accumulation is the primary basis in constructing the transitioning process of amenity-rich locales (Mitchell, 2013). According to the regulation approach, capitalism is an "unstable, contradictory system that must restructure itself in order to resolve, albeit temporarily, its periodic crises" (Kogler, 2016, p.2). Similarly, the principal idea of evolutionary economic geography theory is that the capitalist economy is continuously flux, evolving through "constant changes that transform the economic structure from within" (Schumpeter, 1942, p.82, as cited in Kogler, 2016). The primary principal of capitalist economies is production for profit or surplus value (Schumpeter, 1942, as cited in Mitchell, 2013) achieved through a cycle of production where investments are made for the production,

commodities are produced, sold and profits generated (Schumpeter, 1942, as cited in Mitchell, 2013). The surplus value is reinvested to purchase new inputs and adapt innovation to achieve more profits (Mitchell, 1998). Stam (2010) further explained that through creating new business opportunities, models or products in the local economy, the new firms compete with the incumbent firms, which displaces or forces the latter to change or improve their businesses. This creation of new variation of businesses is distributed unevenly over space, where the more innovated ventures tend to locate in the spatially proximate webs (Stam, 2010).

Mitchell (2013) applied the term creative enhancement to describe the way in which economic transition takes place in amenity-rich locales. A community that experiences a considerable amenity migration phenomenon is introduced a new form of capital accumulation with amenity-oriented economic functions and leisure-scape spatial representation (Mitchell, 2013), which co-exists with and possibly is going to displace traditional task-scape that contains a mix of production-based activities generated by extractive, secondary and service sectors for essential products (Mitchell, 2013). In other words, creation and destruction implicitly co-exist at the transition stage, vitally led by demand and supply, spatial replacement, and strongly influenced by stakeholder motives (Mitchell, 2013). As a result, the traditionally commodity-based resource industries are superseded by or co-exist with an emergence of the amenity-driven economy (Power, 1996) which appears to have greater levels of diversified economic activities (Wilson, 2001).

Nepal and Jamal (2011), in their study of transitions in amenity-rich small towns in British Columbia, described that the pattern of this economic transition is from traditional bases dependent on agriculture, fishing, forestry, mining or manufacturing sectors to service-oriented economic

activities that are centred on residential economies driven by a growing interest in location-varying household amenities (Rudzitis et al, 2014). Differentiated from the productivism economic state, the new economy represents specialized and deindustrialized economic activities associated with a growing importance of labour-intensive and knowledge-based sectors (Coffey & Searmur, 2006), and a striking increase of footloose capital and workforce (Holmes, 2006; Vinodari, 2015). In addition, Power (1996) noted that the growth of tourism industry alone is not a panacea for economic crisis, yet tourism development can be a vital strategy to diversify local economic structure and enable amenity-rich towns' economic base (Milne & Ateljevic, 2001).

2.3.6 Gentrification

A place is valued according to the level of quality of life it can provide (Hiner, 2016; Rudzitis et al, 2014). The local economy is driven toward commodification of lifestyles, culture and leisure by the ideologies of small towns from amenity migrants or the urban people (Gosnell & Abrams 2009). These phenomena generate gentrification through the process of commodification of amenities by counterurbanites (Smith & Phillips, 2001). In other words, issues of gentrification are often a result of accessing the local amenities, tourism and recreation facilities, and other services by amenity migrants (McIntyre, 2006). A place with a high quality of natural and/or cultural amenities and a distinctive place identity can result in an abundance of settlements and visitations in the place (Moss, 2006). The place will attract more affluent and/or skilled people, and at the same time, the costs of living will rise and lead to issues that are related to gentrification (Moss, 2006).

2.4 Counterurbanites

Counter-urbanization as a form of contemporary mobility practices, is both a societal consequence of the external factors and a socio-economic force of change fundamentally transforming amenity-rich small towns (Gosnell & Abrams, 2011). Bosworth (2010) defined counter-urbanites, and in-migrants, as “adults who had moved at least 30 miles into the host community” (p. 972). Counterurbanization is acting as a force to drive population growth in less concentrated areas, as an integral part of population redistribution (Mitchell, 2004). It influences the development patterns of both the place of origin and the host community (Travis, 2007). Mitchell (2004) defined counter-urbanization as both “downward migration movement” (p.24), relocating people from large urban places to non-metropolitan places, and a process of change in settlement system. In addition, counter-urbanization together with lateral migration, which presents the movement taken between similar-sized communities (Mitchell, 2004), affects population, demographic and social change in small town communities. In addition, Bosworth (2010) defined commercial counterurbanization as “the growth of rural economies stimulated by inward migration” (p.970).

Mitchell (2004) categorized the heterogeneous counterurbanites into three sub-groups according to their migration motives: anti-urbanites, ex-urbanites and displaced-urbanites. The main motivation of displaced-urbanites, who are beyond the scope of this study, is financial needs (e.g., employment opportunities or affordable housing opportunities) (Mitchell, 2004). Ex-urbanites and anti-urbanites are amenity-migrants, who migrate based on the draw of landscape amenities in small town or rural places (Mitchell, 2004; Gosnell & Abrams, 2011). Ex-urbanites or at least one of their household members retain work and social ties to the city and they commute to the city frequently (Mitchell, 2004). Anti-urbanites, who include amenity-driven retirees (Stockdale et al.,

2000, as cited in Mitchell, 2004), have the desire to not only live but also work in a lesser population concentration (Mitchell, 2004). The common motives of ex-urbanites and anti-urbanites include high-quality environmental amenities and the preference of physically being and socially involving in smaller-area living (Mitchell, 2004). Push factors of the amenity-seeking counterurbanites are to escape the congestion, pollution, unsafeness and pressures in a city (Dahm & McComb, 1999). Concurring with Mitchell (2004) and Champion (1989), Halfacree (2012) inferred that the motives of both ex-urbanites and anti-urbanites are underpinned by a strong desire to live in the urban peripheral regions for its physical and social environment. In spite of geographical variations, Halfacree (2008) summarized that the amenity-seeking counterurbanites share very similar socio-economic characteristics. They are often middle-aged or retired, in middle or high social class with a higher level of education (Halfacree, 2008).

2.5 Amenity Migrants

Amenity migrants are a significant agent of change, contributing to the social and economic systems of the host community (Glorioso, 2006). Amenity migration as a contemporary societal movement process (Glorioso, 2000) drawn by in essence the presence of attractive characteristics of a place (Halseth, 2010). Moss (2008) underscored that “higher societal valuing of the natural environment and differentiated culture” are meta-motivators perceived by amenity migrants (p.1). Supporting Moss (2008)’s argument, Gosnell (2009) identified amenity migration with “the movement of people based on the draw of natural and/or cultural amenities” (p. 305) and for non-economic reasons (Chipeniuk, 2008). Halseth (2010) suggested that amenity migration partially connects to the second homes literature since part-time amenity migrants purchase second

residences in amenity-rich locales for their recreational, aesthetic, and other consumption-oriented use (McCarthy, 2005).

Specific imaginations and expectations towards experiencing rural environments play a critical role in driving the amenity migration phenomenon (Deller et al 2001; McGranahan 1999; Rudzitis 1993; Theobald et al. 1996). Noticeably, it is inferred that the most critical social dynamic of amenity migration is the social construction and importation of rural ideals by urban residents (Halfacree 1994; Cadieux 2010). Halfacree (1994) emphasized that from urban migrants' perspective, the social representation of the rural and small towns includes "peace and quiet, openness, attractive scenery, naturalness, communitarianism and relaxation" (p.184). Therefore, the constructions and representations of rural ideal (Gosnell, 2011) shape the perception of rurality, interpreting that small towns are pleasant, desirable, and naturally and culturally appreciated (Dahms & McCombs, 1999). Moss (2008) generally depicted the resultant coalescence of motivators and facilitators of amenity migration. The superior natural environment and locally differentiated culture are the most important pull factors. In addition, although economic decisions and employment considerations are less prioritized for amenity-migrants, opportunities of economic gain are still an unneglectable motivator to amenity migration (Moss, 2014).

2.5.1 Demographic Cohorts of Amenity Migrants

Life-course perspective highlights that migration decisions and demands of amenity-seeking counterurbanites differ with demographic cohorts (Paris, 2011). Demographic factors therefore are vital external forces contributing to the transition of amenity-rich small towns, driving change in the socioeconomic dynamics (Gosnell & Abrams, 2011). Gill (1998) categorized amenity migrants

into retirees, and working-age intermittent or permanent in-migrants. Each of them has different social and economic expectations and behaviours in the host community through distinct life ways (Moss, 2014). Younger in-migrants are sensitive to housing prices, costs of living, and employment opportunities, due to relatively less disposable incomes and time available (Moss, 2006). By comparison, retiree migrants tend to have more discretionary incomes and time, and they focus more on the environmental qualities, accessible health care, and safety factors (Nelson, 2006).

The managerial and professional backgrounds of both working-age and retiree migrants are social and cultural capitals, to inject knowledge and new ideas into the host communities (Milbourne, 2012). Retirees contribute to the community through volunteering or remaining employed in entrepreneurships in the host community (Moss, 2006). Likewise, their disposable and non-earning incomes, such as pensions, annuities or transfers, infuse local accumulation of capitals through multiplier effects (Segessemanna & Crevoisiera, 2015). At the same time, the externally-accumulated incomes accentuate economic inequalities in the host community (Milbourne, 2012). In the aspect of real estate, the homeownership of the amenity migrants may change over their life stages. Retirement planning may include second homes purchased in the working-age are converted into permanent residences (Halseth, 1998).

It is important to note that the propensity of living in city's peripheral destinations with higher quality of life factors increase with age (Travis, 2007). The baby boom generation that is born from the year of 1946 to 1964 is entering the retirement stage (Moss, 2006). The growth in retired population and their counterurban movements implies that retiree migrants constitute a prominent

proportion of the population in small towns (Milbourne, 2012). That is to say, the future of lifestyle communities depend heavily on the patterns of retiree migrants (Travis, 2007). Specifically, their consumption behaviours and strong demand for medical facilities and services can change the local economic structure, identity and physical landscapes (Frost, 2004).

2.5.2 Economic and Social Impacts of Amenity-migrants

Amenity migrants, including anti-urbanites and ex urbanites, can leverage the tourism-induced development in the host communities, and the effects of counterurbanites are similar to the effects of tourism (Nepal, 2007). Amenity migration contributes to residential economies (Perlik, 2014), but it could also pose a socio-cultural threat that challenges the sustainability of the symbiotic nature of human society (Moss, 2014). From an economic perspective, Moore et al (2006) stated that the amenity migrants generate local economic development and growth, through the considerable infusion of external non-labour economic capital (Moss, 2006), such as wealth, transfers and annuities (Segessemann & Crevoisier, 2015), and human capital that includes people with high education level, footloose individuals, skilled labours and entrepreneurs (Kruger et al, 2014). In addition, the visitation of relatives and friends also increases local expenditures, and encourages them to relocate in the region (Hall & Müller, 2004). Nevertheless, the quality of life standards of local residents can be increased since local municipalities and developers develop social, healthcare and education-related institutional facilities, and transportation, recreation and housing infrastructures (Moore et al, 2006) to meet the demands of amenity migrants and increase community capacity (Nelson, 2006).

Moss (2014) mentioned that the amenity-driven economy embodies a construction of a context of mainstream urban amenities, with a growth in service-related sectors (Rudzitis et al, 2014). Amenity migrants often have a recreation-related and urbane expenditure pattern different from the local residents', which can lead to inconvenience for the residents who look for more routine products and services (Travis, 2007). In addition, to support the amenity lifestyle, new types of service-related sectors emerge (Moore et al, 2006), including recreation, accommodation, hospitality and communications. These service-related sectors are characterized as low-paid and highly labour-intensive, with the same or more increment of workers required meeting every increased demand (Travis, 2007). This may cause a redistribution of income inequity, where the two major components of a local economy are the serving class and the wealthy migrants (Rudzitis, 2014), and worker housing issues especially as the local real estate market value increases (Travis, 2007). Furthermore, Moss (2014) questioned about the extent and circumstances that communities are able to gain economic profits from amenities, and he indicated that too heavy a reliance on amenity-driven economy can lead to real estate crash and crisis (Moss, 2014).

Economic and social patterns related to commodification, conspicuous and individualized consumption (Rudzitis, 2014) provide insights into gentrification, which is a major outcome of counterurbanization and amenity migration (Nepal & Jamal, 2011). The infusion of urbanites and their wealth into rural settlements (Paris, 2011) leads to rural gentrification and conversion of traditional rural landscapes into zones of recreation and urban living (Müller, 2004). The result may be a transformation of land use values from production-oriented low-value to consumption-oriented high-value lands and properties (Nepal & Jamal, 2011). The stronger purchasing power of the urbanites and their accommodation demands led by the individual desire to privately own a

real estate property and promoted by realtors and land developers (Rudzitis et al, 2014) give rise to land privatization and urbane segregation between the wealthier and the people who are either locals or migrants with low to modest incomes (Rudzitis et al, 2014).

From a community impact perspective, an eroded society can emerge in a locale (Moore et al, 2006) due to social tension ((Nepal & Jamal, 2011) and spatial, socio-economically, cultural and psychological marginalization of the lower-income groups (Gonzalez & Otero, 2014). On one hand, land privatization and increase in property prices and all costs of living reduce public access and use in local resources, and may displace local residents and the lower-income workers from essential or preferred locations to the town's periphery or further away, destroying their socio-economic relationships and creating long and arduous commutes to their workplace (Moss, 2006). On the other hand, the freedom of the decision-making and action of local municipalities and residents are weakened by the stronger purchasing power and social influence of the amenity migrants (Nepal & Jamal, 2011) and their lack of community support (Perlik, 2014). Moreover, Travis (2007) pointed out the ambivalence of a resort town's identity. As a town becomes a home of many amenity migrants, whether it should maintain its characters of a recreation and tourism venue or develop more of community-based facilities and infrastructure, such as schools, affordable housing and well-paying jobs is a concern that poses a planning challenge to municipal administrators and local planners (Travis, 2007).

2.6 Second Homes

2.6.1 Functions, Motives and Distributions of Second Homes

The study on second homes is at the intersection of leisure-oriented mobility (Müller & Hall, 2004) and housing (Paris, 2011), due to the alternate (Kaltenborn, 1998) and inessential (Wolfe, 1977) nature of these residences. Second home ownerships are a form of amenity-seeking practice, and this practice seeks the advantages of interrelating the urban life and the natural areas (Overvag & Skjeggedal, 2014). Moreover, as Coppack (1977) stated, the term ‘second home’ is not a discrete type of accommodation, but rather refers to the function of a dwelling. This argument takes into account a complex set of physical, social, symbolic forms of second homes among cultures and changing over time (Paris, 2011). In order to tie down the concept of second home, McIntyre (2006) employed indicators of “occupancy, ownership, function and the character of the dwelling” (p.9). These factors are exemplified by what Coppack (1977) defined the term of second homes as “a property owned or rented on a long lease as the occasional residence of a household that usually lives elsewhere” (p.3). Perlik (2014) added the functions of dwelling to its definition, identifying second homes as “a temporary or seasonal change of residence, and in addition to leisure purposes includes couples living apart together or the stay of children of divorced parents” (p.107).

Second homes can be a tourism phenomenon and an outcome of consumption-oriented behaviours (Nepal & Jamal, 2011). Research indicates that second homes, strikingly in regions featuring attractive recreational amenities, are of pluralised uses for recreational purposes. Paris (2011, p. 178) considered second homes as “distinctive investment items” and a longer-term strategic financial option, due to their potential of pleasurable leisure and family consumption. Wolfe (1977) described second homes as concrete emblem of an entire class of experiences that is “the

pleasurable and recreation in life” (p.23). In other words, second homes are perceived as “a landscape of leisure” (Halseth, 2004, p. 52). After all, the underlying common reason to acquire a second home in rural milieu is to escape from the pressures of urban life (Coppack, 1977). Equally important, Svenson (2004) stated that a second home is a staging point for a wide range of recreation-related activities, which reflects the tradition of situating second homes on bodies of water, in the mountains or forest over different countries (McIntyre, 2006). Wolfe (1977) illustrated that the presence of a lake is obligatory for summer cottaging in Ontario by virtue of the “Canadian folklore” (cited in Halseth, 2004, p.35).

Glorioso (2014) argued that the differences between second home residents and permanent residents are often blurred, as impacts of a permanent residence can also refer to a primary residence. A home creates a sense of connectedness and place affiliation incorporated experiences of the past into present day practices and meanings (Quinn, 2004), represent kinship interaction, home-based recreations and consumption preferences (Paris, 2011), and allow completely private choices for use (Gallent, 2007). (Second) homes are a spatial, physical, social and emotive entity (Easthope, 2004). Similar to permanent residences, second home ownership is closely linked to dimensions in personal identity and status symbol (Jaakson, 1986), physical or social place attachment, familial gathering, general relaxation, and sense of community involvement (Hall & Müller, 2004). In Quinn’s (2004) case study of second homes in southeastern Ireland, second homes were identified as an activity to return in, reconnect and rediscover with places to search for preferred lifestyle and particular familial and/or historical associations (Paris, 2011). Thus, the purchase of a second home can be a stepping-stone to permanent migration (Quinn, 2004).

Moreover, Hall and Müller (2004) explained that space-time accessibility, the scenic quality and real estate prices are critical economic determinants for the local second home demand. In other words, money and time act as an obstacle for the selection of second homes (Quinn, 2004). Halseth (2004) addressed that the socio-economic status of the second home (cottage) owners, particularly income and education levels, and employment types and sectors, are implicitly distinguishable from the small town residents through a comparative case study of Rideau Lakes and Cultus Lakes regions in Canada. His research showed that in Canada, cottage landscapes situated in scarce attractive amenity locations become “playgrounds of the elite” (Halseth, 2004, p.35). They establish as gated communities separated from rural landscapes and embodied in distinct physical layout reified in cultural imagination and folklore. Requiring an entry fee to cottages (Clout, 1977), cottagers therefore contest local resources and political power with the small town residents (Halseth, 2004). The ideal locations for second homes are distant from one’s principle home to feel detached, yet they should be accessible by car to allow frequent visits (Timothy, 2004). Thus, second homes are often located within the weekend zone of the primary residence (Halseth, 2004) or “the metropolitan areas’ leisure peripheries” (Quinn, 2004, p.118).

It is worth noting that the growing spatial and temporal mobility (Urry, 2000) is considered as a constitutive component of dwelling (Quinn, 2004) and socio-economic conditions that enable modern living (McIntyre et al, 2006). The sense of homecoming can be created in several locations (Tuulentie, 2006), and second home ownership is an adaptation to multiple place belongings (Quinn, 2004). Moreover, Clapham’s (2005) housing pathways perspective further explained that change of a person’s life stage can lead to a second home ownership or a second home conversion into a primary residence. Furthermore, being a permanent resident in the place of origin and a

second home resident in another place, in terms of social relations, are extensions of each other, coexist in a dialectical relationship, and together construct a continuum of individual life experience (Perkins & Thorns, 2006).

Derived from Kaltenborn's threefold category (1998) of a conceptualization of second-home motivations, Table 1 organizes a comprehensive consensus of possible factors inclining people to engage in second home ownership, combining multiple perspectives of second home.

Categories of Motives	Reasons of Second Home Ownership
Identity management	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Seek connectedness and identity: Desire to retain links with a (rural) area that owners or relatives originated from (Gallent et al., 2007; Hall and Müller, 2004; Jaakson, 1986); renewing and harmonising familial and social networks (Aronsson, 1997). • Search for elitism or status symbol: buying into an area to demonstrate achieved status (Gallent et al., 2007; Halseth, 2004); expression of globalization or changing regional identities (Hall and Müller, 2004). • To achieve anonymity that is not possible in 'main' residential location or country (Paris, 2011).
Recreation and mental/psychological 'maintenance'	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Urban-rural differences: cheaper rural house prices, rising urban incomes and mobility (Paris, 2011) and "a cult of nostalgia" for the countryside attract second home owners to buy into the rural experience (Gallent et al., 2007); step back to nature (Hall and Müller, 2004; Quinn, 2004). • To escape from everyday pressures: escape the pressures of urban/modern living and crowds (Gallent et al., 2007; Quinn, 2004; Timothy, 2004); inversion of everyday life (Quinn, 2004); providing a balance in life (Hall and Müller, 2004). • Access to particular activities or resources: requiring access to rural resources (Gallent et al.); diverse other lifestyle or cultural activities for sense of novelty (Jaakson, 1986), e.g. skiing, sunbathing. • To associated with a cohesive community; being inspired by community spirit; meaningful work; where community feels present. (Coppack, 1977).
Pragmatic reasons	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Household and family investment strategy, including inheritance and possible future retirement and/or migration (Clout, 1977; Gallent et al.,

2007; Hall & Müller, 2004); also associated with opportunities to reduce, evade or avoid tax (Paris, 2011; Timothy, 2004).

- Other household and work-related factors: to use as a residential base during the working week; base for children living away from home during tertiary education (Paris, 2011)

Table 1. Categorization of reasons to acquire second homes. Synthesized from literature review by author.

2.6.2 Economic and Social Impacts of Second Homes

Second home ownerships as a consumption-oriented tourism practice (Perlik, 2014) drive economic and social transitions of amenity-rich small towns (Müller, 2004). The non-permanent feature of second homes (Paris, 2011) characterizes their impacts on the receiving communities (Hall & Müller, 2004). Hall and Müller (2004) pointed out that if second home ownerships take place in hitherto-unoccupied dwellings, second home development is an option and antidote for rural communities in economic decline and depopulation. In this context, second home residents can restore land values, fill property vacancies, and revitalize the resale real estate market and construction industry by their ongoing financial commitments (Hall & Müller, 2004). At the same time, second home residents contribute to local taxes (Timothy, 2004), expenditures on service-related sectors comprised of retail, tourism and hospitality services (Hall & Müller, 2004), and generally consume less municipal services than permanent residents (Paris, 2011), while they generate few new employment due to the non-permanent use of dwellings (Hall & Müller, 2004). Paris (2011) noted that the rise of second home ownerships often appears in combined new developments or expansions with hotels and/or leisure facilities. Similarly, Deller et al (1997) noted that as second home residents, especially those reaching the retirement stage, use their properties as primary residences, public spending in the creation of urbane infrastructure and

public facilities stimulate local economy (Hall & Müller, 2004). Expenditure patterns of second home owners are influenced by the travel distance between the principle residence and the second home (Müller, 2002), the longer the distance the greater amount of spending in the receiving community.

Similar to the community impacts of amenity migrants, social issues appear as the combined housing demands of local residents and second home residents exceed the supply of existing properties (Hall & Müller, 2004). As local permanent homes are converted into second homes, permanent population displacement and issue of insufficient housing (Gallent, 1997) occurs, which leads to a reduction in local economic gains and municipal taxes (Müller, 2004). On the contrary, the growth of purpose-built recreational home properties can result in social polarization, and issues of temporary overcapacity due to the recurrent growth in population (Müller, 2004). The inflation of property values and taxes can cause a relocation of the residents with a lower purchasing power in favour of the wealthier urbanites, while the escalated real property prices are considered as investment opportunities for the wealthier (Frost, 2004). Moreover, public grounds, such as lakeshore or mountainside, may be transformed into the enclave of the rich (Nepal & Jamal, 2011), which recreates the spatial layout and socio-cultural attitudes to regional land uses (Müller & Hall, 2004). Müller et al (2004) pointed out that second home residents should be seen as an integral part of the local community, and they need to be incorporated into local and regional planning processes to ensure sustainable future.

2.7 Conceptual Framework

Figure 1 is a proposed conceptual framework synthesized from the literature discussed in the subsections above, intending to describe the dynamics of amenity-rich small towns under the economic and social transitions and their associated economic and social characteristics. Created in the contextual background of globalization, economic restructuring and mobility, this conceptual framework is underpinned by the interrelated components of place-based development approach, amenity-driven economy, and amenity-seeking in-migrants (ex-urbanites, anti-urbanites, amenity migrants, and second home residents), as well as staple-based development, productive economy and local residents. The inclusion of these components aims to provide more in-depth and elaborated examination of the characteristics of the economic and the social transitions.

The conceptual framework describes that a small town in transition is in an economically and socially hybrid state. On one hand, the place-based development approach is being implemented by the local, regional government and/or community leaders (Markey et al., 2006); on the other hand, the staple-based development that focuses on production-based economies is being significantly weakened and/or displaced by innovative entrepreneurial activities (Mitchell, 2013). The place-based development has not completely displaced the local economy but could do so if appropriate actions are taken and/or after an enough amount of time. Amenity-driven economy that is derived from commercialization of amenities is driven by a place-based development initiative (Perlik, 2014) that focuses on building a locale's distinctive natural and cultural assets (Halseth, et al, 2010). The economic initiative draws amenity-seeking migrants in, which results in capital gains and an increase of local capacities in economic, social and cultural terms (Steel & Mitchell, 2017). A positive correlation between various demands of the amenity-seeking

demographics and amenity-driven economy is formed, as local innovative entrepreneurs and the in-migrants involve in the amenity-driven commercial activities (Mitchell, 2014). Local residents, whose livelihood has relied on the dwindled staple-based economy, are benefited from the improved infrastructure and amenities, and the increased employment opportunities (Moss, 2014). However, the increased market value of commodified amenity resources has in turn given rise to gentrification and caused some displacement of traditional resident population (Nepal & Jamal, 2011) and associated spaces of production (Rudzitis et al, 2014). These issues can result in the loss of local residents and population displacement by the increasing number of urban demographics, reinforcing ongoing economic and social transitions (Moore, et al., 2006).

An economically and socially networked and fluid place

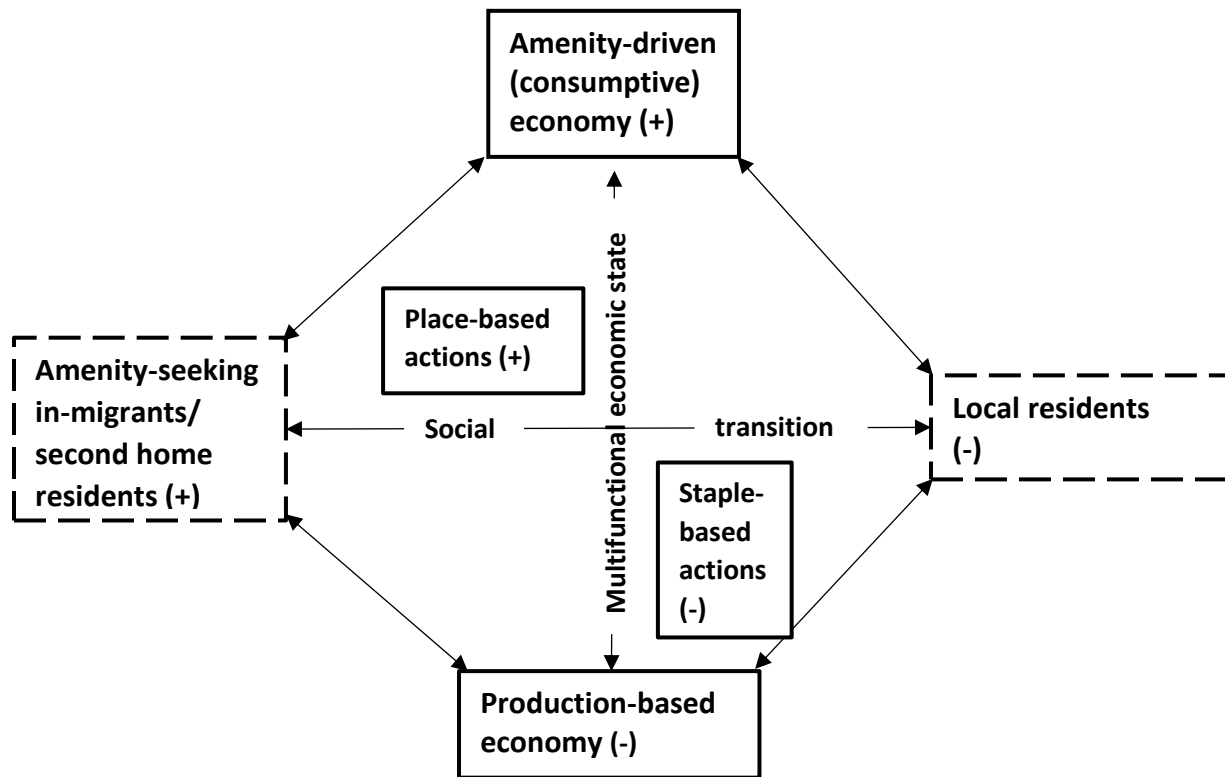


Figure 1. A conceptual framework of an amenity-rich small town in transition. Synthesized from the literature by author.

Note: (+) = increasing and strengthening, and (-) = decreasing and weakening.

3.0 CHAPTER 3: METHODOLOGY

This study explores interpretations of the transitioning characteristics from a variety of local stakeholder groups and the interlinkages within the transitioning process, through establishing an up-to-date and multi-faceted examination of Collingwood. This chapter firstly provides a detailed description of the research paradigm and data collection. After that, background information of the study area is introduced, focusing on the location, amenities, socioeconomic context and history of Collingwood.

3.1 Research Paradigm

This research is based on a constructivist view. It uses case study methodology, and employs mixed and multiple methods during the fieldwork. This section begins with a brief discussion of the implications of using constructivist epistemology as an approach, followed by an explanation of the need to use the qualitative design and case study methodology. Thirdly, it describes the importance of employing these research methods. At the end, the researcher's role and limitations of this research are explained. Data collection methods including participant and non-participant observations, semi-structured interviews, survey questionnaires, as well as secondary data collection are also discussed.

3.1.1 Exploratory Study

This study contains the features of an exploratory study. An exploratory study is defined as a pre-arranged, broad ranging, purposive and systematic study "to maximize the discovery of generalizations leading to description and understanding of an area of social life" (Vogt, 1999, as cited in Mason, et al, 2009, p.433). It aims to develop a new empirical understanding of a

previously under-examined issue (Mason et al, 2010). It is also helpful to specify indicators and attributes of complex constructs and concepts (Creswell, 2009). Moreover, an exploratory study helps to develop new ideas, pertinent conjectures or hypotheses for further investigation through familiarizing facts, setting and concerns according to a study topic (Neuman, 2006).

3.1.2 Constructivist Approach

An epistemological stance philosophically sets out a study (Crotty, 1998). This study rests on a constructivist view that is often considered as qualitative. A constructivist approach is applied to a research inquiry where a study aims to reveal the interrelated and inseparable relationship between the viewer and the reality (Mason, 2010, p.434). That is to say, this approach acknowledges that reality is a historical and social construction; hence, reality is not an objective truth and can be interpreted into multiple meanings from different perspectives (Creswell, 2014). Rather, a reality can exclusively be captured in a contingent, transferable and generally contextualized manner (Crotty, 1998). A constructivist approach to this study is imperative since the intent of the research is to explore local interpretations for the characteristics of its economic and social transitions, and this approach allows to interpret the comprehensive meanings of a particular social phenomenon through the views of different stakeholder groups. Meanwhile, the constructivist approach enables a new way of looking at the theoretical complexity in small town development: a way which integrates the different residents (i.e. counterurbanites, amenity migrants, second home residents, and local residents) in the context of globalization, economic restructuring, and mobility to reconstruct the characteristics of economic and social transitions of the small town that is situated in a real-world context (Yin, 2009).

Constructing representations from the different perspectives toward one particular phenomenon, this approach allows the researcher to investigate the phenomenon in a holistic and panoramic way within a context-specific setting (Creswell, 2003). Moreover, the constructivist approach encourages to explore richer details and complexity of the characteristics of transitions in a sense of openness (Crotty, 1998), since the approach focuses on the assumptions that the local stakeholders actively construct and develop meanings as they engage within an essentially situated social context (Levy, 2003).

From a small town development perspective, a stakeholder refers to anyone who can participate in shaping the development of a community and/or is impacted by the town's decision-making positively or negatively (Aas et al., 2005). Thus, stakeholders include various community-based players (Aas et al., 2005). In the case of Collingwood, the constructivist approach employed relies on the perspectives of the Collingwood's private sector, public sector, and civic groups. The local economic and political representatives, in-migrants and residents, and entrepreneurs and employees in the different sectors are the major stakeholder groups in Collingwood; therefore, they have been selected in this research.

3.2 Research Design

This study is an exploratory inquiry with a qualitative design (Malterud, 2001). A qualitative design is effectively used for an exploration of meanings, ideas and actions for social phenomena as experienced by individuals in a locale (Creswell, 2009). It involves a form of "systematic collection, organization and interpretation of textual materials" (Malterud, 2001, p. 483). It focuses on generating key features from the complexity and dynamics of social processes (Neuman, 2006),

and it is beneficial to be used for clarifying and deepening the understanding of the insights and comprehensive interpretations for a social phenomenon, an issue or an area of concern from participants (Dredge & Hales, 2012). A qualitative design enables interpretation of the participants' responses and views in an inductive, flexible and empirical way, and places these different responses back into the broader social context while they are being analyzed by the researcher (Neuman, 2006). A qualitative design fits in the constructivist approach because this research design facilitates the exploration of the local and economic characteristics comprehensively to generating multiple experiences, ideas and opinions for a specific issue in context (Creswell, 2003).

3.2.1 Case Study Methodology

This qualitative design employs a case study methodology. This study as a single case design chooses Collingwood in Ontario as a distinct case due to the following reasons. The single case of Collingwood is typical and representative with respect to the development base (i.e., staple extraction), the emerging global trend of small towns in transition to a place-based development (Mitchell & O'Neill, 2016), and the new development issues that face in the stage of the transition. The case is a cluster of current economic and social circumstances in small towns provincially and nationally, and can serve as a microcosm of ongoing community and economic viability related issues resulting from rapidly changing and reordering economic and social structures. The exploratory case study can provide further research avenues to analyze the interlinkages between economic and social transitions of small towns, and also the coherent applications of place-based economy, counter-urbanization, amenity-migration and second home perspectives. As such, this study contributes to theory building (Yin, 2009).

As briefly mentioned above, a case study methodology is used to illustrate a rich and in-depth understanding of contemporary social phenomena that are in a dynamic relation to a spatially and temporally bound case within its real world context (Thomas, 2011). The central tendency of a case study is to illuminate an analytical framework of an issue, a decision or a uniqueness (Yin, 2009). Case studies are generalizable for theoretical propositions, yet not to universes and populations (Yin, 2009). A case study aims to explicate a substantive proposition that is exemplified from the contemporary social phenomena in context; the analytic proposition that is the theoretical framework of the case, is malleable and developable (Thomas, 2011).

A case study methodology fits in the exploratory research that investigates the links of particular phenomena in real life conditions (Yin, 2009). This methodology is preferred when the researcher has little control over an ongoing behavioural event since this methodology allows to simply pick a starting point to study the issue within the bounded system – the case (Yin, 2009). Nevertheless, it is worth noting that the analytical frame derived from the template of a case study can well facilitate the analytic generalization of results and findings (Yin, 2009). Hence, an exploratory case study can illuminate a theoretical framework that is derived from the case to be applied in practice (Bruce et al, 2005).

3.3 Data Collection

The research evaluated both primary and secondary data, and incorporated both qualitative and quantitative methods for primary data collection, including field observation, semi-structured interview, questionnaire survey, documentations and archival records. However, the qualitative

data remains central to the entire study whereas quantitative or secondary data is complementary to ground the acceptance of the qualitative findings (Decrop, 1999).

The author's fieldwork took place from July to August in 2016 with a total of 60 field days spent in Collingwood, Ontario. A total number of 74 respondents representing different stakeholder perspectives participated in this study. Triangulation technique has been used when analyzing and presenting data collected from multiple methods. The triangulation technique allows to compare and check for inconsistencies of data collected (Patton, 2002) to reflect the realization and greater insights in Collingwood. In fact, each finding was measured and corroborated by a convergence of three sources of evidence by the research. In this way, it helped to limit personal biases, increase validity and reliability of the findings (Decrop, 1999).

3.3.1 Semi-structured Interview

Semi-structured interviews are an essential method for data collection in case study methodology. Semi-structured interview data is considered the empirical backbone of this study (Yin, 2009). Semi-structured interviews guided the researcher to ask certain questions capturing insights and historical information, and at the same time allowed an in-depth exploration of the economic and social characteristics by probing questions. They also allowed previously under-investigated issues or unanticipated findings to emerge. The interview participants were selected based on the purposive sampling in combination with snowball sampling strategies (Neuman, 2006). Purposive sampling facilitated the researcher to identify all possible key participants for the research objective, while snowball sampling was a way that helped the researcher to reach out other potential key participants within the web of social interconnections in town (Neuman, 2006).

During the fieldwork, Invitation letters were given to the selected candidates who were willing to participate in the research (Appendix C). I conducted 30 semi-structured interviews with 31 key informants representing different stakeholder groups in Collingwood (see Table 2 in Chapter Four). The semi-structured interviews ranged from 40 minutes to 90 minutes. All interviews were face-to-face and recorded electronically and later transcribed by the author in Collingwood and Waterloo.

The semi-structured interview questions were open-ended and heuristic. They were designed for the research purpose hence they focus on exploring: 1) the factors and motives attracting migrants temporarily or permanently to settle in Collingwood; 2) the local knowledge on how each stakeholder group responds to the economic and social changes; 3) the impacts of the new economic structure on the migrants and local residents; and, 4) the implications of the behaviours of migrants and local residents on the economic functions in town. Six sets of questions were partially developed before the field research. The researcher's supervisor and friends commented on the interview probing questions about the wording of statements, its clarity, and overall length. Minor changes were made by the author after initial round of interviews.

Prior to the interview, I introduced to each interviewee about myself, research objective and process (whether the interviewee agreed to use recorder during the interview) in person, by phone or email, and set up location and time in advance. During the interview, I firstly had casual conversation with the interviewee, restated the research topic, listened to and answered the interviewee's questions in detail if they had any. Each stakeholder was guided by a different set of questions according to the research objectives (Appendix A). To minimize personal bias or

inaccurate articulation, I used extensive probes to clarify the interviewee's description on a particular fact or opinion. Each semi-structured interview was conducted in a comfortable, quiet and private location of the participants' workplace or the Collingwood Library, ensuring that there was no person other than the sampled participant present during the interview process (Neuman, 2006).

3.3.2 Questionnaire Survey

A face to face questionnaire survey was conducted as a complementary component of the overall case study (Yin, 2009). A researcher with face to face surveys can visually observe the respondents' physical characteristics, reduce the amount of incomplete answers, collect answers of open-ended questions, and answer the respondents' questions and concerns (Neuman, 2006). Aiming to access the characteristics of social transition from residents' perspectives and the interlinkages between the social and economic transitions in town, the survey investigated both the residents at the high-end commercial residences and residents at the traditional residences, and their economic profile, attitude toward quality of life, and economic and social situations in town. The indicators of socio-economic profile contains demographic information, employment status and sectors, education levels, second homes ownership, social ties and community involvement.

The questionnaire (Appendix B) was developed based on the existing literature (Halseth, 1998; Mitchell, 2014; Nepal & Jamal, 2011; Hall & Müller, 2004) and the North America Industrial Classification System. The final version of the questionnaire contained 24 open-ended and closed-ended questions, which allowed to collect a mix of comparable and unanticipated answers (Neuman, 2006). The questionnaire was well developed before the author's field research, with

modifications made on the wordings, order and structure of the questions, and adding and eliminating a few questions based on the comments from the researcher's supervisor and the results of a pre-test conducted with friends.

The researcher chose a random sample of 100 households throughout Collingwood, which include 50 households in the cottage residential areas and 50 households in the traditional residential district. During August 2016, 100 invitation letters (Appendix D) were distributed into the household mail boxes. One week later, the author knocked on doors of the targeted households, with the questionnaire and the cover letter (Appendix E) on hand. The researcher waited until the respondents completed the questionnaire. If respondents were aged and had trouble in reading the questionnaire and writing answers, and/or respondents simply requested the researcher to write down their answer to each question, the researcher read the survey questions to the respondents and wrote down their answers verbatim. In total, 43 door to door survey questionnaires were collected (18 upscale residential units, 25 traditional residential units).

3.3.3 Field Observation

Observational evidences are considered as an additional data source in this study. During the two-month field study, I observed the physical layout of the residential settlements, the people and their behaviours in Collingwood at that time, and had encounters and casual conversations with various people in town. Photographs were taken at the site aimed to describe the typical phenomenon I have observed. Both participant and non-participant observations were made throughout the fieldwork. The author participated in social events including Canada Day, Sidelaunch Days and Elvis Festival, and volunteered locally for the Blue Mountain Foundation of Arts and Free Spirit

Tours as a way to gain more insights on the characteristics of economic and social transitions from events and activities.

3.4 Limitations of the Study

This case study has several limitations. First, the data collected through interview participants and survey respondents do not represent all the population in Collingwood. Due to the nature of the case study, the findings cannot be used for statistical generalization (Yin, 2009). Second, although I recruited respondents from different stakeholder groups and conducted as many interviews as possible, respondents representing the tertiary sector were the most forthcoming. Informants representing the local primary and manufacturing industries were few. Third, since a high portion of planners who have participated in the major renovations of Collingwood located outside of the town, and often in the GTA, I could not reach any planners during my fieldwork. However, the local municipality has established strong partnerships with planning groups, and monitored all of the major projects. The semi-structured interview transcripts of the local political and economic representatives (subsection 4.5.1) can provide some critical understandings of the local planning vision, concepts and actions. Fourth, since this research was conducted in summer of 2016, the data collected is affected by the seasonal constraints. The findings can only represent the local characteristics at that period of time (Yin, 2009). Last but not least, my personal background, position and identities as an urbanite, an international student and a researcher in Canada may have influenced fieldwork and data analysis (Malterud, 2001). However, throughout the research process I was aware of personal subjectivity and bias, and minimized their influences through the data triangulation technique.

3.5 Data analysis

I started organizing and transcribing the interview data during and after returning from my fieldwork in Collingwood. I categorized interview transcripts with different stakeholder groups into different electronic files. The interview transcripts were analyzed through line by line coding and focused coding (Creswell, 2009). First, I read each interview transcripts in full to gain a clear understanding of the information, personal experiences and stories shared during the interview, the informant's opinions and individual perspective, and his/her identity in the community. After I finished reading the entire interview transcripts from a stakeholder group and gained an overall picture of the content of the stakeholder group, I then went back to each transcript to re-read, identify themes and sub-themes according to the research questions, and then colored and coded those themes (Corbin & Strauss, 2015). The interview transcripts were 362 pages long, with one code for at least every two lines. After all themes and patterns were identified, I compared the content of each theme for inconsistencies. I summarized each theme after I revisited some transcripts and returned to the literature to gain a better understanding of the interview contents.

3.6 Study Area: Collingwood, Ontario

3.6.1 Collingwood - Location and Amenities

Collingwood in Ontario, is a town of 33.5 square kilometres (Town of Collingwood Community Profile, 2015) with a population of 9,241 inhabitants (Statistics Canada, 2011). It is located in Simcoe County, approximately 150 km north of Toronto (Figure 2). Collingwood is conveniently accessible from Toronto via Highway 400, from Grey and Bruce Counties in the West by Provincial Highway 26, and from the Golden Triangle in the south through County Road 124.

Within a 250 km radius of the town, there is also a large population of more than five million people who are economically prosperous (Wilkinson & Murray, 1991).

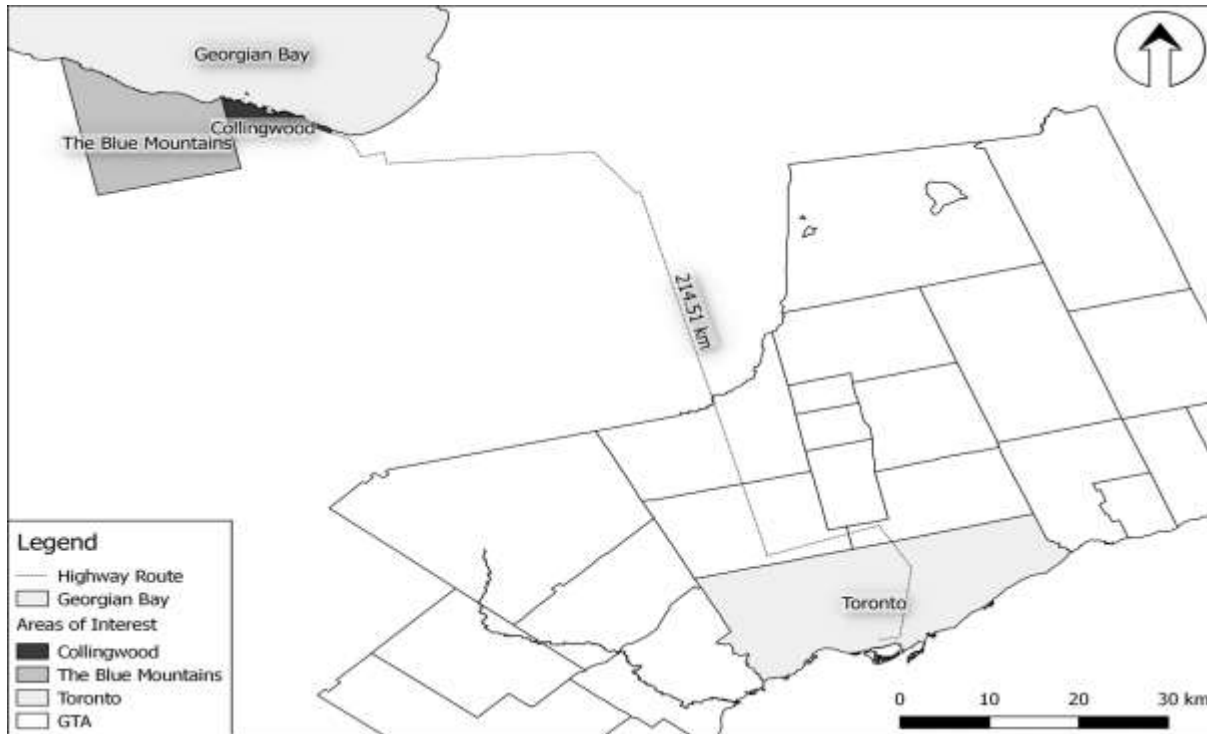


Figure 2. Map of the location and driving distance in the Collingwood area and the GTA, created by McVittie, 2017. (Statistics Canada Census Boundaries, 2011)

Situated on Nottawasaga Bay, the southwestern tip of Georgian Bay in central portion of Southern Ontario, Collingwood is a region of three topographical types. It is on the edge of the upper Niagara Escarpment region and is a part of the Simcoe Lowlands region which ends at the Nottawasaga Bay shoreline, with a roughly 360m difference in elevation from the highest point to the lake (Chapman & Putnam, 1973). The significant progression of landscapes, including flat uplands, “the greatest vertical drops in southern Ontario” (Wilkinson & Murray, 1991, p.101), flat lowlands and a sand plain of lake shore beaches present a wide range of recreational resources in this locale.

In cultural terms, Collingwood as a bustling small town hosts a variety of local fairs and festivals including the Collingwood Elvis festival and the Collingwood Sidelaunch Days, which attract significant numbers of tourists annually. Additionally, it is in close proximity to “the largest concentration of alpine skiing facilities in Ontario”, several Provincial Parks, and water-oriented beach destinations (Wilkinson & Murray, 1991, p. 87). Wilkinson and Murray (1991) summarize that the Collingwood region has “the greatest concentration of the natural resources in all of Ontario, in terms of quality, quantity, variety, and proximity to major markets” (cited in Law, 2001). As a result, Collingwood is acknowledged as an ideal locale for various mountain and water based out-door activities (Wilkinson & Murray, 1991), and it has been a receiving community for amenity migrants and second home owners who appreciate the value of amenities in the Southern Georgian Bay region. The region has also experienced rapid residential growth as retirees, second home owners, home office workers, and occasional commuters have migrated to the area because of its amenity-rich environment and close proximity to major population centres (Dahms & McComb, 1999; Town of Collingwood, 2010). The Collingwood region is located in the outer edge of the GTA’s urban field, is easily accessible by car, and now provides a wider range of employment opportunities including financial and personal services, construction, manufacturing and wholesaling (Dahms & McComb, 1999). The town now serves as a commercial and recreational hub of the entire region. (Town of Collingwood, 2015). Collingwood appeals to an increasing amount of tourism entrepreneurs, domestic and international real estate corporations. Along with Wasaga Beach, Clearview Township, and The Blue Mountains, Collingwood is a part of the regional economic and tourism development board (Matthew Fischer & Associates Inc. et.al. 2011).

3.6.2 Collingwood - History

This brief history of Collingwood demonstrates the local economic and social transitions, which has been in progress, shifting away from a manufacturing town to a lifestyle community (Law, 2001). Collingwood was initially a small town with a strong industrial root (Law, 2001). Since Collingwood is located at the geographical link between the terminus of the Ontario, Simcoe & Huron (The Northern) Railway and the shoreline of Georgian Bay on Lake Huron, one of the five Laurentian Great Lakes, the town, incorporated in 1858, was a trans-shipment point and a trading base of extractive products (Law, 2001). Collingwood's shipyard played a necessary role in transporting the forest products, fruits and grains that were produced locally and regionally, to the northern Great Lakes communities, destinations in the West, and the industrial cities of Montreal and Chicago (Law, 2001). Agricultural productions, timber and lumber, fishing, and shipbuilding grew in Collingwood (Law, 2001).

In particular, the steel shipbuilding was developed rapidly in town to serve the growing regional and cross-border trades and passenger traffic (Law, 2001). Moreover, the Collingwood Shipyard was established and the Queen's Dry Dock was completed in 1883 (Collingwood Museum, 2017), which signified shipbuilding as Collingwood's primary employer (Law, 2001). The Collingwood Shipyards had employed more than one fifth of the local population, and the company had sustained the livelihood of approximately one third of the local residents since 1910 (Collingwood Museum, 2017). More specifically, the employment in the shipyard reached its peak (about 2,000) in the two-war period (Wilkinson & Murray, 1991). Collingwood was once dubbed "Chicago of the North" (Wilkinson & Murray, 1991, p.246). Shipbuilding was marked as Collingwood's primary identity in 1883 and maintained its prosperity until 1986. For about a century,

Collingwood had been an industrial centre in the Georgian Bay region, separated from its surrounding communities, such as The Blue Mountain and Wasaga beach, both of which were majorly dependent on tourism and agriculture. That is to say, Collingwood's primary identity of shipbuilding represented not only the economic independence of the town but also the community's ingenuity and collective sense of identity (Law, 2001). Law (2001) stated that the primary reasons of the shipyard's closure were due to high labour costs and harbour limitations which restricted the ability of local shipbuilding businesses to compete with Asian countries in the globalized market. Secondly, the rise of road transport in the Great Lake region from the 1970's to 1980's decreased the regional demand for water transportation (Law, 2001). In particular, no extension of grant, subsidy assistance or shipbuilding contracts were contained in the 1986 Federal budget to maintain the Collingwood shipyard, which exemplified that Canada was realigning its industrial development strategy to reduce the shipbuilding industry (Law, 2001).

Collingwood historically was identified as a ski capital of Ontario by tourists, due to the close distance to the Blue Mountain Resort and the natural landscape amenities (Law, 2009). Early ski enthusiasts in the 1980s shaped the recreational tradition in the Collingwood region. The transition of Collingwood toward capitalizing on amenity assets is a path-emergent trajectory independent from the reliance of shipbuilding yet related to the tourism industry (Mitchell & O'Neill, 2016). It incorporated the recreational amenities that was not the economic base before the closure of the shipbuilding industry. Collingwood now has been increasingly recognized as a retail, recreation, and employment hub of the south Georgian Bay region, and a lifestyle destination for tourists and migrants (Town of Collingwood, 2015).

4.0 CHAPTER 4: RESEARCH FINDINGS

4.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the findings based on qualitative data, quantitative data and secondary data to answer the research questions. This chapter consists of four main subsections. The first two subsections describe the general patterns of social and economic transitions provided by secondary data. The second subsection describes the socio-economic profile of the key informants and survey respondents. The third and fourth subsections focus on the general agents of the social and economic transitions that run through the entire chapter, provide a detailed exploration of the characteristics of the social and economic transitions, and their economically or socially iterative interlinkages.

4.2 Patterns of Economic Transition

The economic base of Collingwood is experiencing a straight transition from the shipbuilding to the tourism-related industries. The consumption-driven economies (e.g., real estate, tourism, and some retail trade) coexist with the production-based economies (i.e. some primary and manufacturing industries). This is evident in a general decline in the manufacturing industries and a sustained rise in the tertiary sector presented in labour force by industry from 1981 to 2011 (figure 3), and business establishments during the period of 1998– 2013 (figure 4).

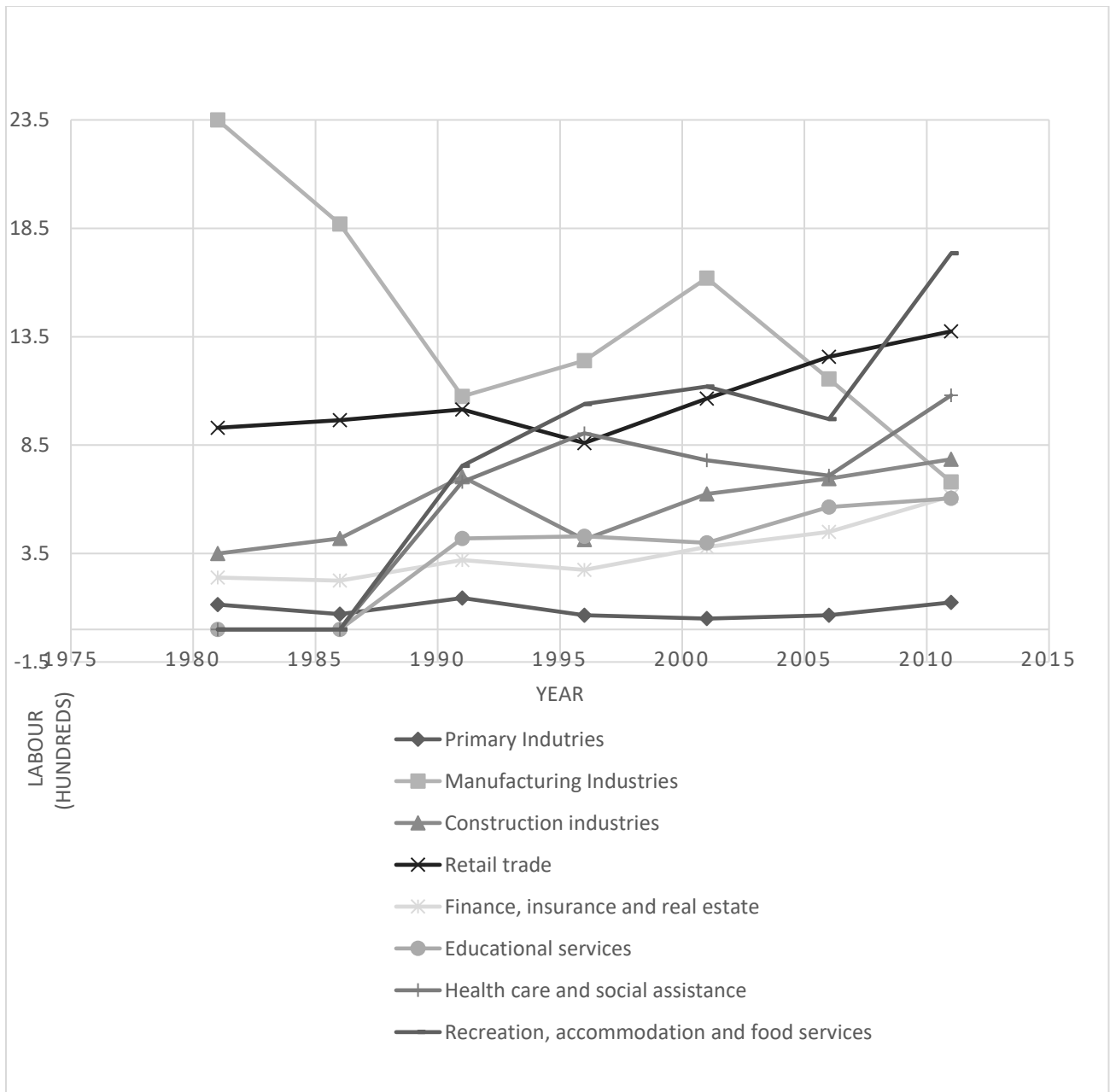


Figure 3. Labour force trends by industry in Collingwood

(National Household Survey (NHS) Profiles Files / Profile of Census Subdivisions, Census Canada, 1981-2011)

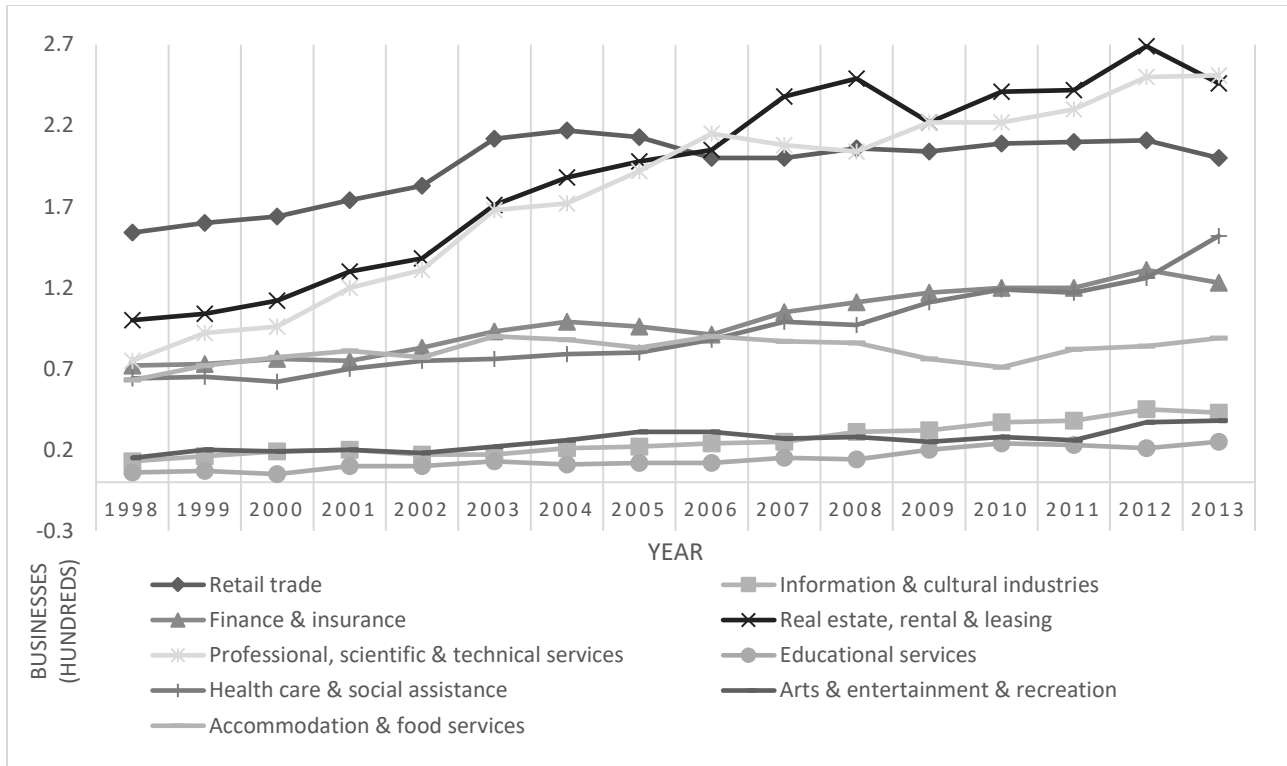


Figure 4. Patterns of business establishments in the tertiary sector in Collingwood

(National Household Survey (NHS) Profiles Files / Profile of Census Subdivisions, Census of Canada, 1998-2013)

Figure 3 depicts the labour force by industry from 1981 to 2011 (Census Canada, 1981-2011). To ensure the accuracy of the data collection, the industrial lists are coded according to Standard Industrial Classification (SIC). The numbers in different categories and same year in The North American Industry Classification System (NAICS) are combined if the categories in NAICS belong to one category in SIC. No data on health care and social assistance, and recreation, accommodation and food services was available between the period 1981 and 1986. Employments in the primary and manufacturing industries generally shows negative trends. The overall proportion of the labour force in the primary and manufacturing industries was 61.9% in 1981 (five years prior to the shipyard closure), which decreased to 54.6% in 1986 (the year of the

shipyard closure), and declined to 11.5% in 2011 (Census Canada, 1981-2011). Employment in the traditional sectors became much less than the ones in the tertiary sector (Census Canada, 1981-2011). In contrast, the tertiary industries have been rising since 1981 (Census Canada, 1981-2011). The finance, insurance and real estate, educational services, and recreational, accommodation and food services increased dramatically between 1986 and 1991 (Census Canada, 1981-2011). Healthcare and social assistance grew from 1991 to 1996, and from 2006 to 2011 (Census Canada, 1981-2011). Retail trade experienced rapid growth since 1996 (Census Canada, 1981-2011). These industries in the tertiary sector became the local economic engine that together comprised 68.6% of the total labour force in 2011. By comparison, these industries in the tertiary sector represented only about 28.2% in 1981. In addition, there is an emerging growth in light-manufacturing industries (Census Canada, 1981-2011). Likewise, in the tertiary sector, businesses of real estate, rental & leasing, professional, scientific & technical services were the three sectors that had a significant growth in number of establishments from 1998 to 2013 (Figure 4) (Census Canada, 1998-2013).

The local business targets shifted away from local residents and plant investments to tourists and migrants. This is indicated in the number and proportion of business establishments in each sector. Dun and Bradstreet Reference, a source that listed all firms and categorized them into Standard Industrial Classification (Mitchell, 2013), indicated that prior to the shipyard closure, such as in 1977, 58 out of 170 (34%) firms were in the construction and manufacturing sectors, including the Collingwood Shipbuilding that was the major employer, and carpet, windshield or tire iron productions (Dun and Bradstreet Reference, 1977). Most of the 89 retail stores were targeted to local residents, providing services such as automotive dealers and gasoline services and

miscellaneous retails (Dun and Bradstreet Reference, 1977). Only one business related to recreation services, three real estate agencies, nine hotels or motels existed prior to 1977; there were no any arts and culture, or tourism-related businesses (Dun and Bradstreet Reference, 1977). In contrast, the local businesses have become amenity-driven and lifestyle-focused in the recent years (Business Directory Collingwood, 2017). Information gathered from the Town of Collingwood (2014) showed that the five top sectors were health care, housing construction, advanced manufacturing and arts, entertainment & recreation, with 37% employment provided by tourism related sectors (Town of Collingwood, 2014). As of 2017, 45 real estate agencies, nine bed and breakfast venues, 100 restaurants, nine art galleries, seven health food stores and 12 tourist-related services agencies were established in town (Business Directory Collingwood, 2017). Employment opportunities in the tertiary sector grew as in-migrants (both seasonal and permanent migrants) to the town increased. Employment in recreation, accommodation, food services, health care and social assistance and construction grew significantly during the 1981-2011 period (Census Canada, 1981-2011). Recent Census data (2001, 2006 & 2011) indicated that 22% of Collingwood's residential dwelling units were estimated as being for use by recreational or seasonal users (The Town of Collingwood Official Plan, 2015).

4.3 Patterns of Social Transition

Continual arrivals of incomers are changing the characteristics of local population, from a demographic and gender balanced society to a significant increase in age 45 and plus cohorts and female population. Census statistics demonstrates the increase of in-migrants in Collingwood. Figure 5 depicts the total number of in-migrants from 1981 to 2011 in five-year intervals. A sharp increase in in-migrants took place in the 1980s, due to the early tourism-oriented municipal

policies and the development of the mountain ski resort in the neighbouring town (Law, 2001). The increase was followed by a relatively slow growth from 1991 to 2006 and a considerable rise between 2006 and 2011 (Census Canada, 1981-2011).

It is worth mentioning that the infusion of migrants was at least partially for non-economic reasons. For instance, the unemployment rate of Collingwood in 1991 (13.7%) and 1996 (10.3%) were both higher than the provincial unemployment rate of 9% in 1991 and 9.1% in 1996 (Census Canada, 1991 & 1996). Figure 5 also illustrates that the number of intra-provincial migrants were a major contributor of the population growth, from 1,515 in 1981 to 3,820 in 2011, yet inter-provincial and perhaps international in-migrants also slightly increased (Census Canada, 1981-2011).

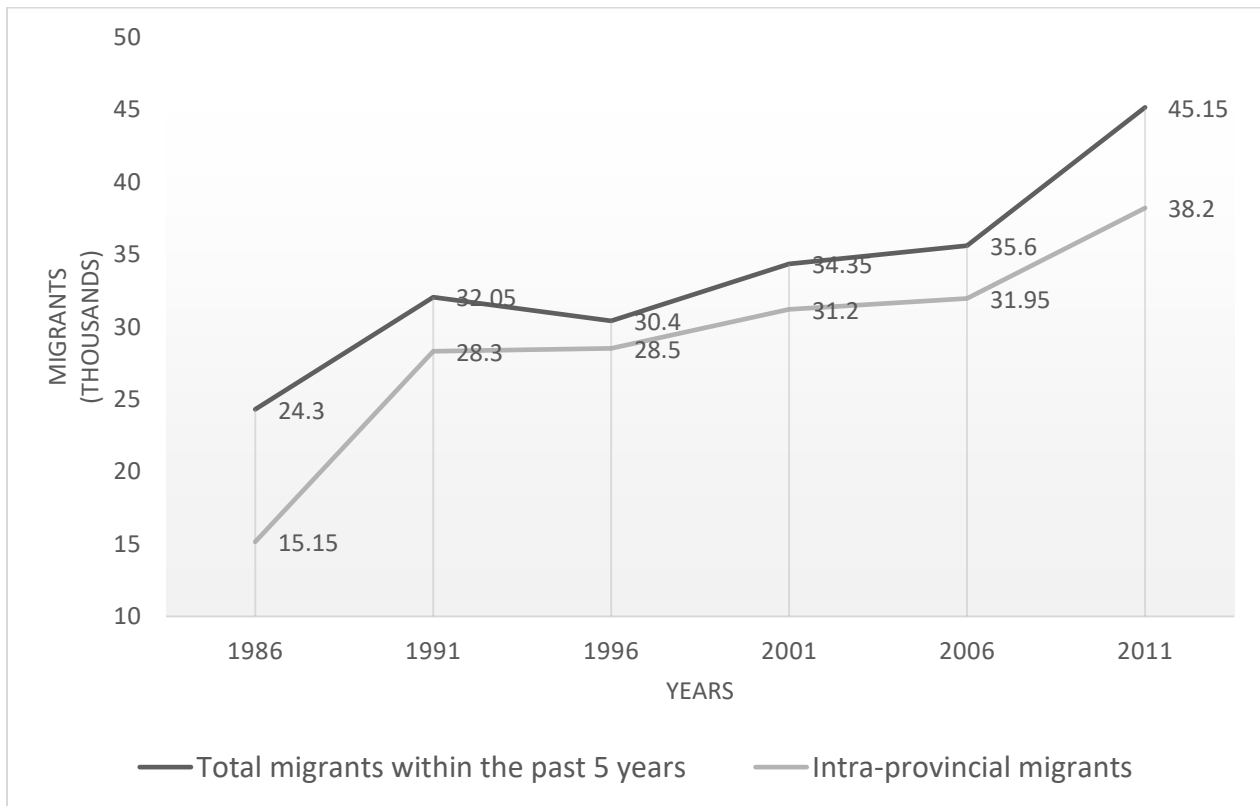


Figure 5. The increase of migrants in Collingwood (Census Canada, 1981-2011)

The influx of urban in-migrants led to shifts in the local demographic composition (Census Canada, 1981-2016). Figure 6 represents the changing pattern of demographic cohorts, which demonstrates a steady growth in the cohorts of age 45 - 54, 55 - 64 and 65 or over. The population in these age groups in 2011 more than doubled than that in 1986. Meanwhile, there was a fluctuated increase in age cohort of 35-44 and a fluctuated loss in the age cohort of 20-24 between 1986 and 2011 (Census Profile, 1986 - 2011).

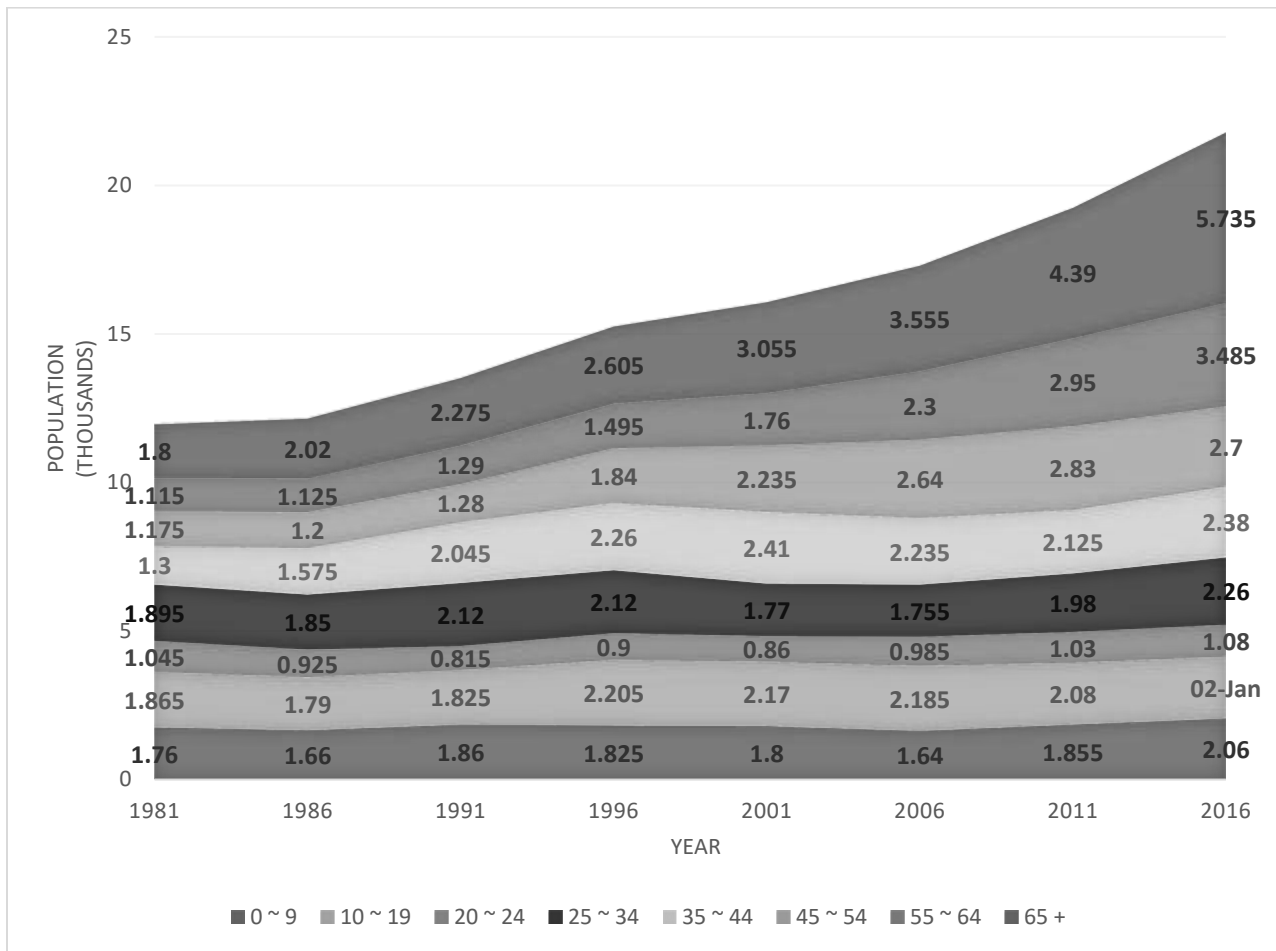


Figure 6. Demographic trend of Collingwood (Census Canada, 1981 -2011)

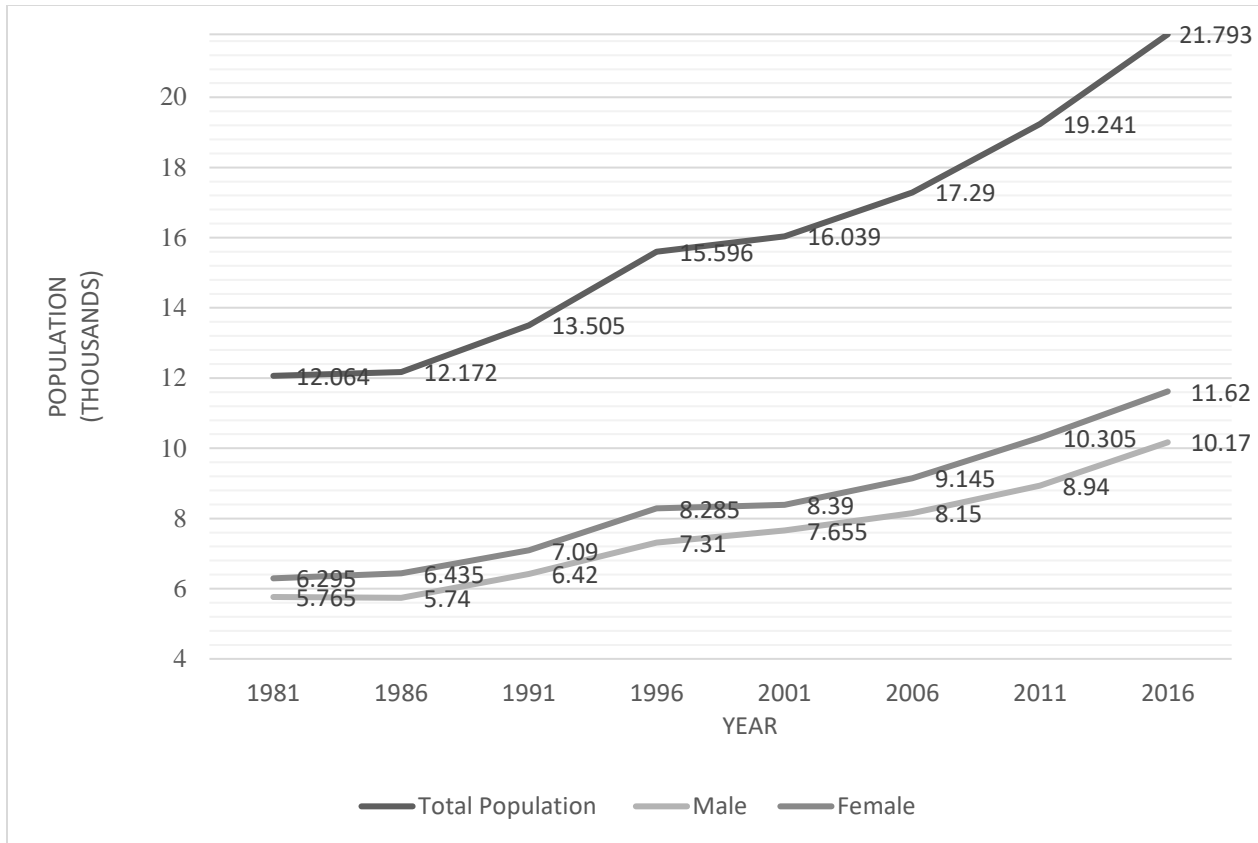


Figure 7. Population growth and gender disparity in Collingwood (Census Canada, 1981-2016)

Figure 7 shows the trend in population change between 1986 and 2016. The line chart shows that the total population has steadily risen since 1986, the year of the shipyard closure, to 2016. Total population increased by 9,621 inhabitants within that period, which is equivalent to 79% of the total population in 1986. This is significantly due to the increased number of in-migrants (Census Canada, 1986-2016). Meanwhile, the disparity between male and female population has nearly tripled, from 440 additional female population in 1986 to 1,450 in 2016, with a continuous increase from 2001 to 2016 (Census Canada, 1986-2016). The growth of female population is likely in part due to increased employment opportunities in the tertiary sector. The semi-structured interviews, survey responses and the author’s field observations offer interesting insights to the local social

and economic trends in population demographics, labour force by industry and business establishments. These findings are summarized in the following sections.

4.4 Respondents' Profile

4.4.1 Profile of Key Informants

The semi-structured interviews conducted include 31 local key informants: 12 (38.7%) were male and 19 (61.3%) were female. Table 2 provides a summary profile of the key informants. 12 of the key informants have multiple stakeholder identities; for instance, a local real estate broker discussed his experiences as a part-time amenity migrant in town during the semi-structured interview. Each informant may belong to multiple stakeholder groups. The interview transcript results are categorized not according to each informant, but by key characteristics of the various stakeholder groups. To protect the informants' confidentiality, any identifiable information, comment, or quotation has been withheld from the description below. Each key informant is given an identifier and is referred to with a K and an assigned number from 1 to 31 (Table 2).

Key Informants	Stakeholder Groups*	Industrial Classification**	Length of Residence (year(s) ***	Gender
K1	Private tourism owner	Arts& entertainment & recreation	n/a	M
K2	Private tourism owner	Arts& entertainment & recreation	n/a	M
K3	Public organization in arts	Arts& entertainment & recreation	n/a	F
K4	Public organization in arts	Arts& entertainment & recreation	n/a	F
K5	Public organization in culture	Arts& entertainment & recreation	n/a	F
K6	Public organization in culture	Arts& entertainment & recreation	n/a	F

K7	Hotel front office manager	Accommodation & food services	n/a	F
K8	Hotel employee / local resident	Accommodation & food services	n/a	F
K9	Hotel front office manager	Accommodation & food services	n/a	F
K10	Real estate broker / part-time amenity migrant	Real estate & rental & leasing	n/a	M
K11	Manager - real estate agency/ urbanite	Real estate & rental & leasing	2	M
K12	Real estate agent / urbanite	Real estate & rental & leasing	n/a	F
K13	Property developer & sales	Real estate & rental & leasing	n/a	M
K14	Private gift store owner / urbanite/ retiree	Retail trade	3	F
K15	Private art work owner	Retail trade	n/a	M
K16	Private foods store owner / urbanite	Retail trade	2	F
K17	Private fashion store owner / retiree/ amenity migrant	Retail trade	4	F
K18	Private interior design store owner	Retail trade	n/a	M
K19	Private financial services business owner	Finance & insurance	n/a	M
K20	Hospital	Health care & social assistance	n/a	F
K21	Public organization in health and wellness	Health care & social assistance	n/a	F
K22	Private healthcare business owner/ urbanite	Health care & social assistance	7	F
K23	Private health care business owner /amenity migrant	Health care & social assistance	2	F
K24	Amenity migrant/ retiree	n/a	3	F
K25	Amenity migrant/ retiree	n/a	3	F
K26	Amenity migrant	n/a	1	M
K27	Local resident	n/a	all his life	M
K28	Local resident	n/a	40 +	M

K29	Georgian Triangle Housing Resource Centre	Public administration	n/a	F
K30	Collingwood Chamber of Commerce / local resident	Public administration	all her life	F
K31	Collingwood Downtown BIA	Public administration	n/a	M

Table 2. Profile of the key informants

*More than one personal identity (e.g., stakeholder group) may apply depending on the comments of the informant.

** North America Industrial Classification System (Mitchell, 2014)

***Length of residence is shown if it is relevant to the comments from the informant.

4.4.2 Profile of Survey Questionnaire Respondents

Table 3 presents the profile of the survey respondents to give insights into the characteristics of local population. The survey responses indicate that 19 or 44.1% are local residents who were born and/or raised in town; whereas slightly more than half (24 or 55.9%) are permanent or part-time in-migrants. All of them reside locally within last nine years. Seven or 29.2% are part-time settlers from cities, including Toronto, Brampton, Clarksburg and Richmond Hill. Within the 17 permanent in-migrants, 11 or 64.7% respondents are counterurbanites from Toronto, Mississauga, Brampton, Richmond Hill, Guelph, Kitchener, London or Barrie. The other six or 25% respondents are lateral migrants from similar-sized population centres in Ontario, including King Township, Clarksburg, River Valley, Thornbury or Wasaga Beach.

Some socio-economic data of the survey respondents are in comparison with the 2016 Census statistics of Collingwood for consistencies and disparities, and to highlight key characteristics of the local population by age, gender, education background, labour force by industry, employment status and family structure. Three age cohorts, 35-44, 45-54, and 55+ (near or in retirement stage), emerge from the survey data. The demographic characteristics are partially in line with the population in Collingwood as stated by 2016 Census of Collingwood, and also include the population of second home residents that may not be covered by the 2016 Census surveys. In total, 28 or 65.1% of all of the respondents are in the 55+ year age group; 16 of them are retired. Five out of the 11 urban migrants are retired, which generates a higher retirement rate than the rest of the group. This is slightly different from the 2016 Census data, since the field research provides more specific data of second home residents.

Female respondents (19 or 44.2%) are slightly higher than male (24 or 55.8%), which aligns with 2016 Census data of Collingwood (Census Profile, 2016). All of the respondents' occupations are in the tertiary sector, with seven respondents in tourism-related industries and four respondents in the knowledge category. Similarly, 11% of the respondents work in the tertiary sector, and only 7.47 % and 23.42 % are in the primary and secondary sector, respectively. Roughly, 8% of the work-age local population is unemployed (Census Profile, 2011). The majority of the respondents are married. The counterurbanites tend to have a higher education background than others including local residents and in-migrants from nearby towns. Eight out of the 18 urbanites (44%) and seven out of the other 25 respondents (27%) have a university or post-graduate degree.

N=43		Number of Respondents	Survey Data (%)	2011 Census Data (%)*
(Gender)	Male	19	44.2	46.6
	Female	24	55.8	53.4
(Age)	35-44	7	16.3	11
	45-54	8	18.6	14.7
	55-64	13	30.2	15.3
	65+	15	34.9	22.8
(Education)	Less than high school	3	7	13.2
	High school	6	14	27.2
	College	19	44.2	59.6
	Bachelor	11	25.6	23.5
	Post-graduate	4	9	7.3
(Labour force by industry) Health care & social assistance		2	5	11.4
Professional, scientific & technical service		4	9	5.5
Real estate & rental & leasing		6	14	3
Retail trade		5	11.6	14.5
Tourism, accommodation & food services		7	16.3	18.3
Other service (except public administration)		1	2	4
Wholesale trade		1	2	2
(Employment status) Retired		16	37	n/a
Unemployment		1	2	8
(Year(s) of Employment) 0-3		10	23.3	n/a
4-6		7	16.3	n/a
7-9		7	16.3	n/a
10-12		2	5	n/a
13-15		5	11.6	n/a
15+		12	28	n/a

Table 3. Profile of the survey respondents

*(Census Profiles Files / Profile of Census Subdivisions, Census of Canada, 2011)

4.5 Characteristics of Economic Transition

This section begins with an investigation of the actions and changes of major drivers of the economic transition in Collingwood, which includes an internal driver - the town's municipality and an external enabler - the Blue Mountain Resort. After that, a sector-wise examination of various parts of the local economy in Collingwood is provided to explore the characteristics of the economic transition. The patterns of economic transition in the earlier subsection stated that amenity-driven economy, fueled by tourism-related industries, real estate, retail trade, educational services (knowledge sectors), and healthcare, has been becoming the local economic engine (Census Canada, 1981-2011; Business Directory Collingwood, 2017). This section gives territorially-specific qualitative insights on the various economic sectors.

4.5.1 Municipal Actions

The town's municipality identified that the counterurbanites, especially who are amenity-migrants are significant local actors to the local economic development. To attract in-migrants, the town has recognized the importance in developing unique meanings of the place to provide place attachment. The Collingwood Downtown Business Improvement Area (BIA) identifies natural, cultural and recreational amenities as a local competitive advantage. The town's municipal actions focused on redeveloping public places through renovating the local infrastructure, cultural, natural and recreational amenities. Various projects, including waterfront renovation, and natural resources and heritage conservations projects have been implemented to build a lifestyle place-identity (The Town of Collingwood Official Plan, 2015). The key informant at the Collingwood Downtown BIA briefly explained about the town's competitiveness and introduced some associated municipal actions:

“The location is more important to the people’s ability to thrive than their ability to work. That is where Collingwood comes in, that is where we have been attracting new industries (...) so we continue to define Collingwood as a lifestyle community. The community needs to embrace the natural environment. We maintain buildings that have perspective onto the mountains and the green ring that is around us, protect the waterfront, and have constructions that doesn’t block the visible in the waterfront but rather allow to shine through” (K31).

The waterfront renovation is a long-term development initiative that aims to improve public access to the recreational amenities, and preserve natural habitats and heritage buildings along the 50 kilometres shoreline (Collingwood Waterfront Master Plan, 2016). According to comments from an amenity migrant, there was a consensus among the town’s municipal council, the majority of the local stakeholders and civic groups on building new infrastructures at the Collingwood waterfront. This plan aims to draw more and more migrants who look for active lifestyle in town through increasing public access to water-based sports and recreational activities (Collingwood Waterfront Master Plan Final Report, 2016). In addition, the council has transformed a part of the Canadian National Railway into recreational trails as a part of the regional interconnected trail system. In addition to that, the existing 60 kilometres of recreational trails are a part of the local tourist routes and sites (The Town of Collingwood Official Plan, 2015), as shown in Figure 8. Additionally, informants remarked that the town holds a variety of tourism festivals and events throughout the year to draw visitors from different regions and even foreign countries (Figure 9).



Figure 8. Landscape amenities - the Georgian Trail in Collingwood. All of the photos in the chapter were taken by the author, 2016.



Figure 9. Local residents and visitors enjoying the Collingwood Elvis Festival

The Collingwood Downtown BIA mentioned that efforts have been made to create cultural amenities, particularly, in the downtown core, by tying together the ownership of properties and local development priorities. For instance, the council identifies the downtown core as a “The Downtown Heritage Conservation District” to enhance its aesthetic and historic features, as shown in Figure 10 (Collingwood Waterfront Master Plan, 2016, p. 8). Specialized businesses, including gift stores, wine stores, clothing and boutique stores, specialty food stores and sporting equipment sales are part of the downtown layout (The Town of Collingwood Official Plan, 2005). The key informant at the BIA also stated that the renovations of the downtown have been implemented by the council through partnerships with private planning corporations. As he stated:

“We have a strong planning group that put together an official plan, that sets [priorities] for different sections of the town (...) [we are making sure] that the developer understands what are the parameters (...). This is critical” (K31).

This practice helps to rejuvenate the downtown in its physical layout, where it provides a diverse range of recreational and service-related facilities, and represents the community’s cultural identity.



Figure 10. The Heritage & Downtown Business District in Collingwood

An informant at the BMFA stated that the municipal council recognized the importance of the public arts organizations in the community, and constantly supported them through grants.

According to the comments from the key informant at the Collingwood Downtown (BIA), the town's municipal council identified that the arts and the culture identity differentiated the town from other areas, and contributed to the growth of the local tourism-related sectors (Community Based Strategic Plan, 2015). One of the development goals promoted by the council was to develop the local artistic identity through consistent promotion of arts and cultural facilities and events (Town of Collingwood Official Plan, 2015). Two key informants at the BMFA stated that the large senior population and the amenity migrants appreciated arts and expected the growth of the arts and culture industry in the community. As such, there were new demands for arts and culture facilities. One of the informants at the Collingwood Museum commented on the cultural assets of the community:

“There is an interest in public art and people are looking for a very active arts and culture scene. A lot of our public facilities have public art pieces. The banners in the downtown out on the street are all submissions by local artists. There are Muskoka chairs painted by local artists (...). The murals printed in downtown were made by Gaslight Theater Productions. They also did a theme in 2013 on the shipyards, where the four plays were performed over the course of five nights, and they attracted 650 people mostly from the area (...) an art and music festival that happens at the museum (...) Jazz At The Station happens every Wednesday night in the summer” (K6).



Figure 11. Murals in downtown Collingwood showcasing its attractions

Moreover, the local municipality promotes Collingwood as a four-season tourist town place (Collingwood Economic Development Action Plan Final Report, 2015) as figure 11 demonstrates, due to the aging population of the local part-time and full time amenity migrants, a considerable demographic shift in demand from ski to non-ski activities appears to be occurring in town. In addition, seasonal effects of being a ski community would have destabilised the local economy in the event of lack of snow, if the ski industry were a major revenue source in town after the shipbuilding industry closure. Therefore, Collingwood has been undergoing a process of renovating and expanding a range of year-round recreational facilities and infrastructures. As a result, 65% informants clearly stated that the town is becoming a four-season tourist destination, and 94% consider the town to be growing at a fast pace. A recent migrant noticed the considerable amount of tourism development invested by the local municipality and private corporations.

Likewise, a part-time resident who has a principle residence in Toronto is inspired by the change of Collingwood. He mentioned:

“Collingwood has really changed from being a manufacturing town and known as a skiing area to be a truly resort community. One thing that is unique about the area is the fact that we do have four season activities here” (K10).

4.5.2 Intrawest Effects

The economic transition in Collingwood is partially enabled by the tourism-induced effects of the ski resort of The Blue Mountains. The informant at the Collingwood Downtown BIA acknowledged that the Intrawest has been a major catalyst that transformed the Collingwood region from a winter ski resort to a four-season tourist area, and was successful in leveraging the tourism potential of the region. Intrawest is a developer and operator of North American village-centered resorts with its headquarters in Denver, Colorado (Intrawest, 2017). Intrawest started to turn the Blue Mountain Resort into a “four-season mountain village resort” soon after it purchased 50% of the resort ownership in 1999, and later had 100% ownership in 2014 (The Barrie Examiner, 2014, p. 12). Intrawest expanded the resort and turned the ski lift into a downhill mountain venue with a mix of recreational activities, upscale hotels and restaurants, which attracted more and more people to the region for leisure and recreational purposes (Blue Mountain, 2017). Roughly 83% of the key informants believed that the development of the Blue Mountain Resort was critical to the success of tourism development in Collingwood. Similarly, 77% stated that the development of the Blue Mountain Resort drew more people to Collingwood, which in turn encouraged a steady growth in local real estate, and a series of expansions in tourism and hospitality industries.

4.5.3 Eroding Shipbuilding Place-identity

Before the local economy started to shift toward an amenity-driven economy, it was dominated by the shipbuilding industry; the local community had a work-oriented identity. In particular, the shipbuilding constructed local pride and a peer-relation work culture. As one of the key informants at the Collingwood Museum described:

“The shipbuilding jobs produced something on such a magnificent scale. The town could see the progress of the ships being built because the ship was at the end of the main street. On the day of the launch, the town basically shut down, everybody went to the waterfront to watch the ship’s launch. People felt very connected to that progress if they had somebody in their family or a friend working at the yard. It [ship launch event] was recognized as connecting to the family, and that became a community celebration” (K5).

Local residents had regular work routines, and the routine had been the way of life of the residents.

As another key informant at the Collingwood Museum provided a historical narrative.

“The whistle dictated time in Collingwood. With its quite large radius, it regulated and standardized the routine of the people (...) a routine established by the shipyard. The workers would go to work [at specific times], lunch and dinner times [were predetermined] (...) those were routines that everyone in the community practiced” (K6).

The popularity of healthy and active lifestyle culture emerged in more recent years. That was a topic several key informants representing the Collingwood YMCA, the Collingwood General and

Marine Hospital and the amenity migrant group discussed. The evolution of active lifestyle community culture present in Collingwood was at least in part due to the consumption-oriented urbane demand created by the counterurbanites and second home residents.

4.5.4 Tourism Development

The tourism sector in Collingwood has been developing steadily since the 1980s, after the breakdown of the local economic base in shipbuilding (Census Canada, 1981-2011; Business Directory Collingwood, 2017). There are two peak tourism seasons – one in summer and the other in winter. This is largely the result of the ski venue at The Blue Mountains and the increase in non-ski recreational facilities built by the local municipality. The growth in the number and diversity of tourism-related business establishments (Census Canada, 1999-2013; Business Directory Collingwood, 2017) has been very steady, and several existing businesses have expanded their services and facilities. For instance, the front desk manager at the Holiday Inn Express remarked that the hotel property has been recently renovated and upgraded from a highway inn to the international hotel chain.

The Cranberry Golf Resort, the largest resort in Collingwood established in 1994 (The Cranberry resort, 2017), has undergone major expansions, adding hotel rooms, family suites, condominiums, and improvements in its recreational facilities which include a golf course, a marina and a spa. According to the guest services manager at Cranberry Golf Resort, the resort has added 200 hotel rooms since the spring of 2016. In 2013, the Living Water Resort & Residences managed by Cranberry Golf Resort located on the waterfront in Collingwood was opened. It had 100 hotel rooms and a new restaurant and a spa in 2015 (the cranberry resort, 2017). The key informant

stated that these expansions were made to respond to the growing demand for weekend stays, holiday and seasonal rentals. The guests are mostly from the GTA, and the rest are from other cities in Ontario, British Columbia, Florida, Jamaica, Australia, India, Mexico, Italy, Spain and England. While the average stay has been short, the informant added that both Cranberry Golf Resort and the Living Water Resort & Spa operate timeshare programs that cater to the demands of second home ownerships. The recreational home ownerships had become popular in recent years at the resort.

With the increase in tourism and other commercial interests, tensions between development and protection of local natural and cultural landscapes are bound to occur in future. At present, however, the developments are seen positively. Interviews with three amenity-migrants indicated that they held a very positive view of Collingwood as a place for leisure and recreation. Similar to other amenity-rich small towns, it offers out-door activities, pleasant and healthy lifestyle, and experiences of exclusivity. One of the amenity migrants who moved from Toronto three years ago expected to see a renovated waterfront. He commented:

“We need to redo [redesign] all this and make it into a beautiful waterfront. We need to have a usable waterfront. That is going to take Collingwood to the next level” (K26).

The two other informants were a bit cautious when asked if they had any issues with potential negative impact on the environment as a result of tourism development. They expressed some concern that expansion of hotels and other tourism related amenities could have adverse impacts

on the surrounding natural amenities and ecological conditions. Public access to forest and natural habitats have been a bit limited due to ongoing building construction activities. The two informants also stated that tourism development in town has limited accessibility to the marina. Likewise, the growth in in-migrants led to the openings of big box retail stores in town, such as Walmart, Canadian Tire and Home Depot in close proximity to downtown. One local resident and two amenity migrants are concerned that rapid tourism-induced development is slowly eroding the small-town character of Collingwood, which is the primary reason why they moved to Collingwood. These informants are even considering to move out of Collingwood to seek more peaceful, rustic and tranquil environment. About 38% of the informants, including both local residents and amenity residents, are not willing to see more tourism development in town. They expect that the town would continue to have its small town character and remain economically sustainable and socially symbiotic. This concern reflects a sense of uncertainty over community identity and development proposition of the community. As one of them stated,

“There is a fine line to how and what you do to an area to make it appealing. The tourism development here is right on the edge right now for me (...) it's to the point of being on the verge of being overdeveloped” (K28).

4.5.5 Real Estate

The characteristics of the real estate industry in Collingwood are embodied in market values, investment scope, and a growing number of properties in some particular housing types and locations. An inflation in existing and new-built property values appear in the real estate industry.

All four real estate key informants indicated that the dollar value revenue, the number of the real estate agents, and the frequency of sales have been soaring. As one of them stated:

“Generally speaking, this office has grown year after year in terms of the dollar volume and the number of agents that we have” (K12).

According to Census Canada, the average value of dwelling in Collingwood has increased from 1981 to 2011, in spite of an exception from 1996 to 2001. The average value of dwelling in 2011 was about 5.4 times more than the average price in 1981 (Census Canada, 1981 and 2011). In addition, another informant referenced the average days to sell a property in his agency as an example. He indicated that it was 9.41 days during summer 2016, whereas it was 28 days during summer 2015; summer was the high season for real estate market in Collingwood. A real estate agency manager mentioned that in 2016, the agency started to have multiple offers for one housing property due to the shortage of properties for sale. As she pointed out:

“The market price keeps going up every year (...). This year [2016] because we have such a shortage of inventory we are starting to see multiple offers, and this market condition is driving prices up and the price is going over list, simply because there are more buyers than there are properties for sale” (K11).

New real estate constructions are required to meet the demands of these migrants. According two real estate informants, the developers of the major residential divisions are all from Collingwood

or the surrounding areas. Yet, the characters of the upscale residential communities are in response to the taste of amenity-seeking urbanites. The interlinkage between the consumptive demands of the in-migrants and real estate development is specifically described in the subsection 4.7.

4.5.6 Creative Industries

A considerable number of anti-urbanites or ex-urbanites retain employment by either involving in the local knowledge sectors or working remotely. While some commute to work for the corporate groups in the city, the other footloose professionals operate small, medium and large knowledge-based businesses locally or on the Internet. 58% of the key informants representing different stakeholder groups shared a common perspective that advanced communication technologies shifted the way people work, enabling some people in Collingwood to work remotely. This is more common among the younger demographic cohort of 30 to 45 years of age, whose occupations depended on “wired, wireless and broadband” communications (North American Industry Classification System Canada, 2017. p. 11).

According to one retirees and one anti-urban resident in the younger demographic cohort, most of the anti-urban residents involve in the tertiary sectors, and they are often in information and cultural industry, finance and insurance, and professional, scientific and technical services (North American Industry Classification System Canada, 2017). In addition, the main components of the information and cultural industry specifically included “publishing industries, the motion picture and sound recording industries, the broadcasting industries, the telecommunications industries, and the data processing and hosting services industries” (North American Industry Classification System Canada, 2017 p. 298). In addition, some urban migrants had created their own businesses

via computer. Their career decisions drive the local economic transition toward amenity-driven economy by adding up a portion of professional occupations. For instance, a part-time amenity migrant who works in Toronto remarked:

“The location doesn’t mean anything when now a lot of businesses are conducted online, emails, so this [Collingwood] is a great location for somebody like me that had an office in Toronto but don’t have to be there [all the time]. Similarly, there are commodity traders who live up here and trade through Chicago because they are doing it online, their office could be anywhere; they are usually younger people” (K10).

4.5.7 Arts & Culture Industries

The arts and culture industries have been evolving in the community since 1975, 11 years before the shipbuilding industry officially closed down. This sector became popular in Collingwood in terms of the increasing quantity of organizational establishments and their programming. The Blue Mountain Foundation of the Arts (BMFA) was the first non-profit arts organization established in 1975 (BMFA, 2017). One key informant at the BMFA stated that the arts & culture scene in Collingwood emerged through year-round events, activities and festivals in the community, as an important part of the amenity-driven economy.

“Many people in town they do paintings and make things by hand whether be clothing, purses and stuff. Last spring I held a market in the arena. There were over a hundred vendors in there. The majority of them were single proprietor

businesses and it was opened to anybody. But the majority single proprietor businesses made things from scratch themselves (...). So the crafts and arts has grown huge and is getting so much larger in this area” (K3).

Equally importantly, the key informant at the Chamber of Commerce stated that the Chamber strived to provide its members training opportunities in specialized knowledge and skillset required to support establishments of the local arts & culture-related ventures and other types of small businesses. For instance, the Chamber held forums, workshops and annual symposium to discuss local real estate trends, and digital marketing, accounting, and new business start-ups, to discuss and inform the local entrepreneurs about the dynamics of the local tourist-oriented market demands.

4.6 Characteristics of Social Transition

Based on the secondary statistics, findings of the semi-structured interviews, results of survey questionnaires, and the author’s observations in the study area, population in Collingwood is categorized into three main groups: permanent amenity-migrants, temporary second home residents, and local residents.

4.6.1 Motives of Migration

Several key informants representing different stakeholder groups stated that the urban population base of 12 to 15 million within three or four hours driving distance from Collingwood forms the local in-migrants pool. Arrivals of in-migrants are enabled by the proximity of Collingwood to the GTA, improved Internet, highway and telecommunication systems upgrades, and work flexibility.

The local residents and in-migrants who participated in the survey shared very similar motives to live in Collingwood. The motives closely tie to the place-based characters, including the natural amenities (the riparian setting, the forests, the escarpment), cultural atmosphere (lifestyle community, the arts & culture scene), and the small-town characters (tranquil, less traffic, accessible).

The amenity-related motives not only impact on their migration decision, but also drive their social and cultural behaviours in the community. The community interest-based associations that they are connected with can represent their social identities and contribute to the dynamics of place-identity through consistent social and cultural interactions and influences. For example, a generally large portion of all the participants stated that they involve in interest-based associations, such as Collingwood Yacht Club, the Curling Club, Ontario Ski Resort Association, and Georgian Triangle Humane Society. The key informant at the Collingwood Downtown BIA described the daily life of some retiree migrants in town:

“We have many seniors in town who have really active lifestyle. Some people (...) they are 70 years old and they go out for three-hour bike rides in the morning, and then sailing in the afternoon...the next morning they play hockey” (K31).

4.6.2 Permanent Amenity-migrants

Collingwood became a lifestyle and retirement community for amenity-seeking counter-urbanites. The largest migrant group was urbanites in the age cohort from 55 and over. One retiree who

owned a retail store in town shared her opinion: “Collingwood is the premier and most desired location to retire to in Ontario today” (K14). The survey responses show that about (16; 37%) of all respondents are retirees, of which nine respondents identified themselves as anti-urbanites who had migrated in town less than nine years ago from Southern Ontario, including cities like Toronto, Mississauga, Brampton, Richmond Hill, Kitchener-Waterloo, and London. The retiree in-migrants differentiated social identities from the local residents are evident in their educational backgrounds, former occupations, social networks, affiliation with community organizations, and family structure. Based on field observations, all of the in-migrants live in high-end residences, which shows that on average the retiree in-migrants are wealthier than the surveyed local residents. Seven of them have housing properties along the waterfront, whereas two of them reside in the downtown core.

The second major demographics of the migrants are young families who have moved from the city when they were in the age category from 35 to 40, according to the semi-structured interviews with key informants representing different stakeholder groups. They live in Collingwood either part-time or full-time, yet a majority of them had their principle home in town, due to the local aesthetic appeal of the natural amenities and housing unaffordability in Toronto. Two out of seven survey respondents from the 35 to 40 age cohort are employed in the healthcare and retail sectors. They commented that the beauty of natural amenities, work opportunities and good schools for children were their motives of migration. A key informant in this younger demographic specifically referred to the natural amenities in and around town, as she stated:

“We wanted to have a good outdoor lifestyle, and so for us essentially Collingwood is ideal as far as the decision goes, because it is right on the water, there are the hills” (K16).

She plans to live in town for a long time since the safe and friendly environment and good education facilities provide them and their children good quality of life. Moreover, family affiliation and beautiful natural landscapes are identified as major reasons of settlement by another informant who participated in this study. She explained:

“Originally, I lived in the suburb of Vancouver and I wanted to move back to Ontario close to friends and family. It is beautiful out there [in Vancouver], and we thought that we would get the similar living environment in Ontario. This area really offers the lifestyle as close as possible” (K22).

4.6.3 Second Home Residents

All four key informants in the real estate industry who participated in this study stated that a number of urbanites choose to own second home properties in Collingwood. The major group of part-time residents were from the GTA. The price range of the real estate properties were relatively moderate for the upper to middle class or the wealthier in the city. 84% of all informants who participated in the study mentioned a demographic shift in local population due to the part-time migrants, which led to a lot more people in town during the weekends in summer and winter. The town suddenly became bustling during these times. A key informant in the hospitality industry stated that the local population including visitors, part-time amenity and permanent residents

during summer (the highest season) would triple compared to spring (the quietest season). Specifically, recreational and seasonal population was 5,440 in 2011, which is estimated to increase to 9,440 over the next 20 years (The Town of Collingwood Official Plan, 2015). Approximately, 22% of the local residential properties were for recreational and/or seasonal use (The Town of Collingwood Official Plan, 2015).

Table 4 is a profile summary of the survey respondents who are part-time residents in Collingwood. Their demographics ranged from 45 to 64, and they have relatively higher education levels than other full-time residents, especially local residents in town. The number of recreational home ownerships among this group had slightly grown in the last nine years or so, which indicates to an evolving second home phenomenon. Moreover, the months of residency reflected a seasonal pattern showing summer and winter to be popular for part-time migrants. With the exception of one respondent who lived in Clarksburg but had maintained a residence in Collingwood for employment, other respondents had their principle homes in the GTA. Similar to permanent amenity migrants, the motives of the second home residents included the natural amenities, quieter living environment, larger house and real estate investment. Also, second home residents attract their friends or relatives to dwell in the same region through repeat visitations. A real estate manager recalled selling recreational homes to people who had purchased properties in town after initial visits to their friend’s house:

“There are a lot of stories about people who just came up to stay with their friends for the weekend and then they bought [a house]” (K11).

N=7		Frequency
(Gender)	Male	4

	Female	3
(Age)	45-54	4
	55-64	3
(Education)	College	3
	Bachelor	3
	Post-graduate	1
(Year of employment)	0-3	4
	4-6	3
	7-9	1
(Employment status)	Full-time	3
	Part-time	2
	Occasional	1
	Retired	1
(Month of residency)	January	5
	February	4
	June	4
	July	6
(Month of residency)	August	6
	October	1
	December	6
(Place of origin)	Brampton	1
	Clarksburg	1
	Richmond Hill	2
	Toronto	3

Table 4. Profile of the survey respondents who were part-time residents in Collingwood

Three real estate informants mentioned the phenomenon of second home conversion. They explained that a significant portion of the part-time population had become full-time residents after they retired (in their 60s). Similarly, some current part-time residents would likely settle permanently in Collingwood as they retire in the next five years. The three informants shared similar view that most retirees choose to stay permanently as the town is turning into a four-season tourist destination. The presence of a wider range of four-season amenities would enrich the living experiences in Collingwood year-round. In fact, 52% of all key informants stated with emphasis

that the town would be ideal for a year-round residence with the increase of water-based activities, improved living and recreation facilities, and trail systems. Three key informants, including two amenity migrants and one real estate broker, stated that the four-season recreational amenities encourage a portion of the chalet owners who bought their chalets in The Blue Mountains for skiing to settle in Collingwood permanently.

4.6.4 Civic Ties -Volunteering

Volunteers in town contributed to the creation of community culture, the town's economic development, and local decision-making process. Several key informants representing different stakeholder groups held a common perspective that many amenity migrants, and especially those in the retirement stage are active volunteers. As a key informant at the BIA remarked:

“Collingwood is a little bit of throwback to the way communities operated from 50 to 100 years ago, when people were eager to help each other out”
(K31).

The volunteers were willing to contribute professional skills and knowledge of their workplaces to the local community, as a way to increase cultural, social and economic capitals. Some amenity migrants had philanthropic tendencies to making charitable contributions to local organizations. Volunteering was a way of civic connections to be effectively involved in the community, and the contributions have made a positive impact on the community culture formation.

4.6.5 Local Residents

Three key informants who have lived in Collingwood for more than 20 years shared a common concern over the future of the local residents in the community. They discussed that local gentrification marginalized the local residents and gave them a hardship in the local resident's career path and way of living. The societal change forced some of their family members and friends to out-migrate from the town. In particular, one of the informants expressed the concern, as she commented:

“I hope that they don't forget what Collingwood is and its people, and that they don't start trying to please everyone outside of the town and tourist come into the town, and then forget about your people and their ways of life in town”
(K28).

Moreover, she further remarked the alienation of some local residents, as the influx of urbanities currently acquired stronger influence on the development path of the community in various aspects since the economy was amenity-driven. This concern reflected a sense of uncertainty over the role of local residents in the process of social transition.

4.7 Interlinkages between Economic and Social Transitions

4.7.1 In-migrants and Real Estate Boom

As two real estate informants stated, more than 50% of the buyers were from urban areas outside but close to Collingwood. The economic factor that drive the migration from these urban centres to Collingwood was real estate price disparities. On average, although the local dwelling unit prices with property taxes were more expensive than the surrounding towns, they were still lower

than in Toronto and other urban centres. Hence, living permanently in Collingwood allows these migrants more dispensable money to spend and/or invest. This was confirmed by other real estate agents the author spoke to. In other words, rising real estate property prices in Toronto had motivated the migrants to settle in Collingwood for economic opportunities and quality of life. As a result, the local real estate market in Collingwood was experiencing major growth and expansion. The figure 12 illustrates the gap of the average value between Collingwood and Toronto between 1981 and 2011. Despite a periodical decrease between 1991 and 2001 in both housing markets, the relation between the metropolitan core and the periphery during these years were in a positive direction (Census Canada, 1991-2011).

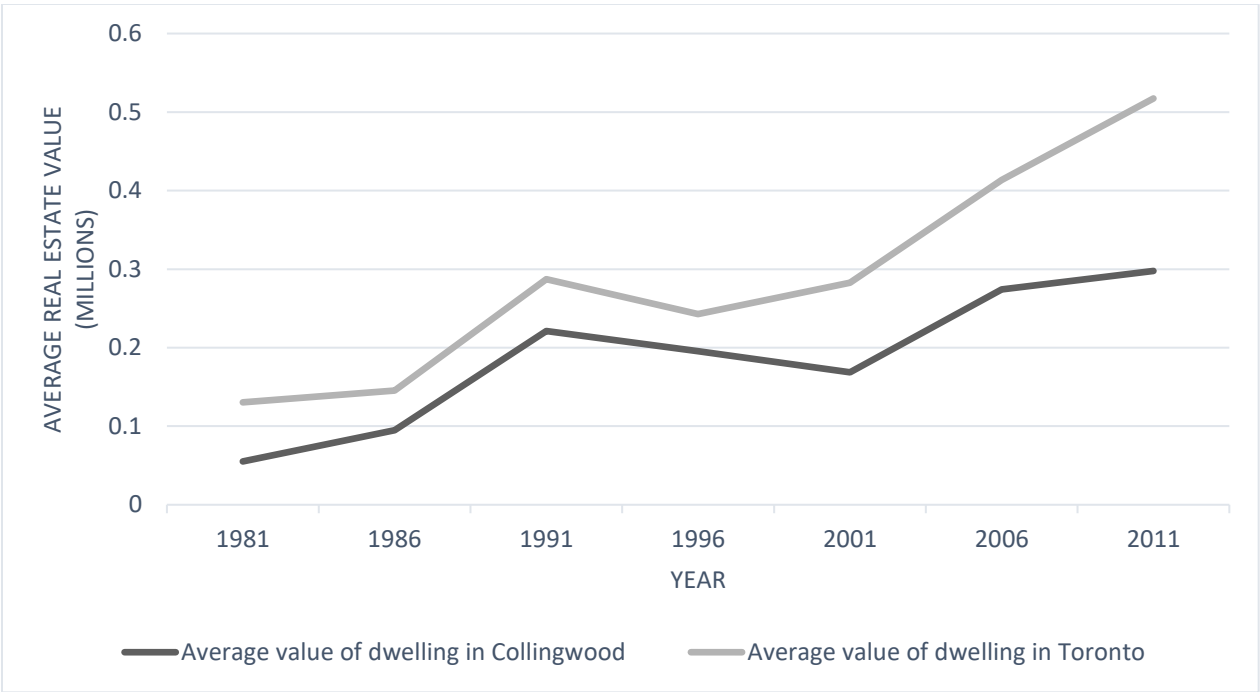


Figure 12: Average value of dwelling in Collingwood and Toronto from 1981 to 2011

(Profile of Census Divisions, Canadian Census Analyser, Census Canada, 1981-2011)

The consumptive demands of real estate properties are directly associated the motives of settlement (amenity-seeking) and socio-economic characteristics of the in-migrants. Two real estate informants stated that some urbanites prefer to have homes in the country or on the waterfront of Collingwood for scenic views, tranquility and privacy. Interestingly, one of the real estate informants pointed out a noticeable trend in migrants' choice of housing location – those in their 60s and over preferred to live in the downtown for convenience and ease of access to amenities. She stated:

“There is a big shift for people who are 60 plus wanting to be in downtown because the downtown becomes very vibrant with restaurants and arts and culture, and they want to be able to walk to all the services when they get older” (K13).

The housing type and structure are influenced particularly by owners who are near or in the retirement or would-be owners. All four real estate key informants mentioned that some urbanites have traded in their smaller houses and purchased larger ones as principle home for retirement. Those older than 60 years of age create a demand for bigger bungalows, considering accessibility issues and hosting social events. The plan of these bungalows shows master bedroom on the main floors and extra bedrooms to be used as home offices (Figure 13). In some cases, they expect properties to accommodate multi-generational families as a place of gathering. Likewise, the preferences of the second home residents indicated that even recreational homes have to be suitable for full-time use, with larger living and storage spaces. The demand for such homes could only be met by new residential developments in town as most of the traditional homes in Collingwood were deemed not suitable.

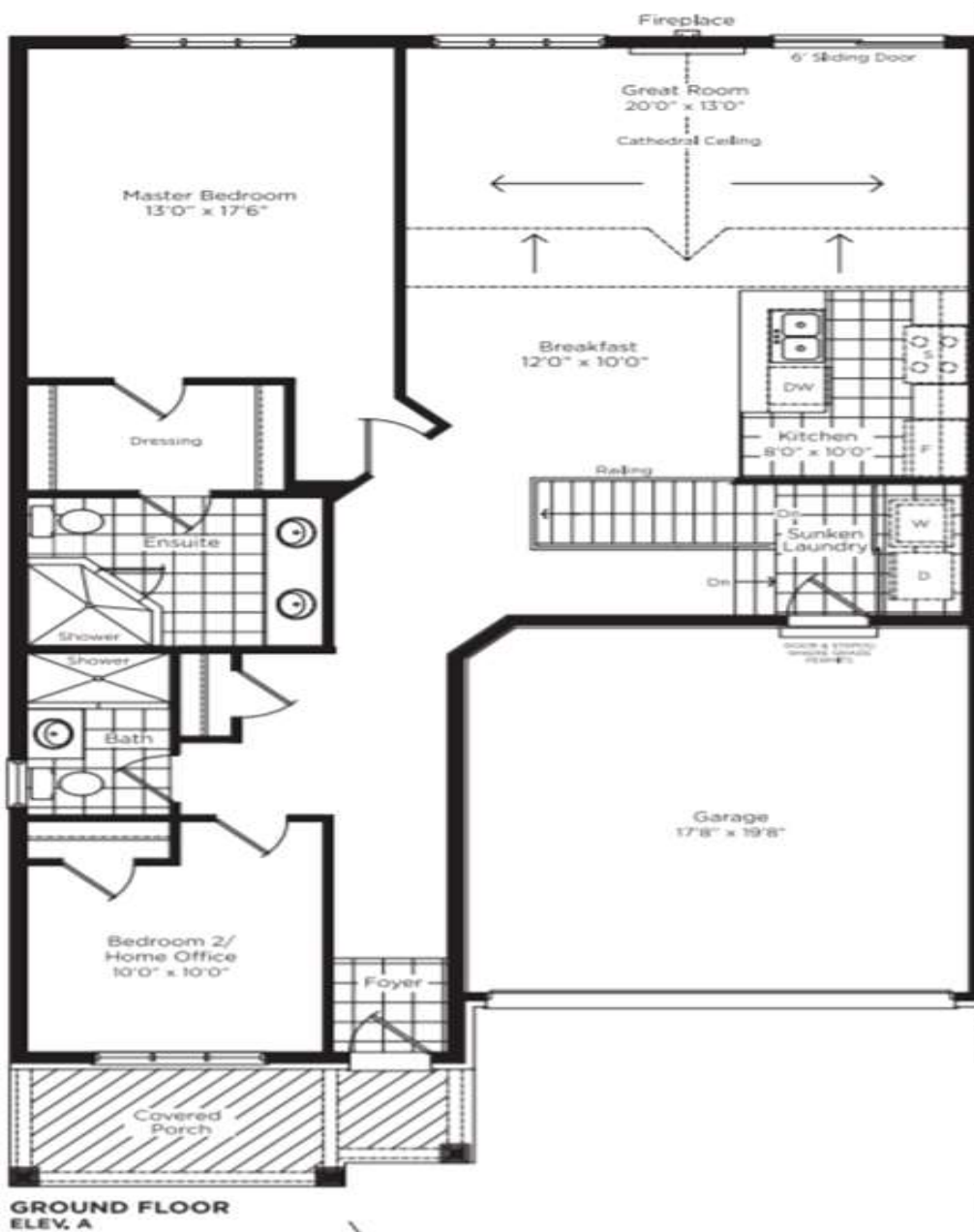


Figure 13. The Retirees’ preferred floor plan, with main-floor master bedroom and home offices (Royalton Homes, 2016, n.p.)

The local real estate market has responded to the urbanites’ demand for new types of housing by building high-end residences in low-density lands near amenity-rich natural landscapes (Figure 14). Two companies advertised the newly-built residential subdivisions as “live in the heart of

Ontario’s four-season playground” (Silver Glen Preserve, 2016, n.p.), and “it’s a lifestyle and we can make it happen” (RE/MAX, 2016, n.p.). A major retirement residential project, with a mix of residential types and ownership schemes, was under construction during fieldwork conducted for this thesis (Balmoral Village Collingwood, 2016). The project was anticipated to include 46 semi-detached bungalow, 50 townhouse bungalows, two 5-storey condominium buildings (53 and 56 units each), and 127 suites in the retirement residences (Balmoral Village Collingwood, 2016).



Figure 14. The high-end real estate properties with private marina

4.7.2. Amenity-driven Economy and In-migrants

A set of interrelationships exist between the heterogeneous migrants and amenity-driven economy. On one hand, the local economic transition toward amenity-driven economy was initially developed by the municipality's place-based approach and partially driven by the development of the mountain resort in the neighbouring town. Some tourism-related businesses emerged when tourism attractions and infrastructures, such as "The Downtown Heritage Conservation District" (Collingwood Waterfront Master Plan, 2016, p. 8), waterfront renovation, and trail expansions appeared in town. These businesses, such as hotels and restaurants, drew people to settle in town. On the other hand, the counterurbanites, amenity migrants and second home residents played a vital role in reinforcing the economic transition. The in-migrants' urbane consumption habits intensified creations of tourism-related businesses, recreational infrastructures, and lifestyle community identity that can indirectly shape the economic transition.

More new retail ventures have been established in downtown areas, particularly in service sectors, capturing the urban consumption habits of the in-migrants. According to the 30 interview scripts and 43 survey responses, the urbane consumption behaviours have driven commercial counterurbanites (5 out of 73 participants) to locate in town. Their businesses are categorized into retail trade (3 participants) and accommodation and food services (2 participant) in North American Industry Classification System. Two small business owners indicated that they generate local employment opportunities. For instance, two local chiropractors stated that their primary reason to open private healthcare ventures was due to the demands of active population in town. They explained that the migrants, representing a wide demographic range from the youths to seniors had higher levels of disposable income and wealth. This group of people was interested in

investing in health, which stimulates some economic opportunities to evolve. In fact, both of the informants stated that the health-related business ventures have been growing, especially in the last five years. In addition, a chiropractor remarked that the significant number of part-time and seasonal migrants in town play an important role in generating economic opportunities. She had some clients who were part-time amenity migrants, so she adjusted the business hours to open on Saturdays in summer and winter to meet this clientele. She stated:

“The permanent population is still relatively small, but we get an influx of people regularly starting from Thursday afternoon until Monday morning. You can see the traffic in town increase every single weekend whether it is winter or summer (...) so there is an interesting population in that respect because those people are still here in their majority of time, and they are spending here” (K23).

Equally important, amenity migrants have worked or established their own small businesses in town. Some amenity migrants closer to the retirement age, or in the younger demographic of 35 years and older, had chosen to work locally; several of them had become entrepreneurs in service-related sectors to serve the demands of the counterurban residents. Five small business owners who participated in the study, two in the private healthcare sector and three in the retail sector, stated that the landscape amenities were the primary determinant in drawing people to work in Collingwood; this was particularly true of people who had moved in as full-time residents. Some counterurbanites had moved in town for lifestyle purposes and had found jobs afterwards. One informant stated:

“The majority of my employees have chosen to work here because they wanted to live here and then found a job. No one has moved here specifically to work for me...and for me, go live where you want to live and build your business around it if you can (...). The end of the day, we still chose to move here because we wanted to live here and operate our business because of that” (K17).

The five informants considered themselves amenity migrants or retirees, and shared the view that to establish a small business is a way to build social networks in town, get involved in different stakeholder groups of the community, and enrich their life while fulfilling financial needs. As one retail owner remarked:

“We originally came to Collingwood to retire, to enjoy it, and just take life a little easy. I never planned to have the store, it just evolved. However, the store gave me a focus on our life and retirement (...) opening a business also has been a way for me to be introduced to the people in the community. When I started the business, I immediately became involved in lots of associations, groups and meeting people who have been part of the community for a long time” (K14).

All five in-migrants who participated in the study contributed to local jobs in the tertiary sector, which further illustrates the dominant role of the tertiary sector in the local economy. It also suggests that although the small businesses generate local employment opportunities, potential tensions could arise among local residents and in-migrants as both compete for jobs and

income/business opportunities. For instance, one retail store owner, who also considered herself as a counterurbanites, shared that the employees of her store includes more counterurbanites (3 individuals) than local residents (1 individual) since she looked for potential employees through her social networks. Therefore, in-migrants' internal social connections made an impact on employment opportunities.

Moreover, a collective effort on creating and enhancing the town's consumption-oriented lifestyle place-identity has been made by a range of local stakeholders and in-migrants who demand and/or generate amenity-driven businesses in town. The town's consumption-oriented lifestyle identity potentially draws more people who have the same interest to settle in, which indirectly stimulate the development of amenity-driven economy that includes tourism services, health and wellness services, natural food products, fine dining restaurants, and gourmet specialty stores. As a small business owner stated:

“There is different boards of directors that are building the health and wellness active lifestyle in town. The overall consensus and a priority are being placed on things that increase in an active living. I know they are looking at a new waterfront plan that will draw more and more active people. That will benefit my type of business [health and wellness services]. It is predominately the mayor and the town council but also a lot of stakeholders and citizens that involve with the active lifestyle culture”
(K22).

4.7.3 Issues of Gentrification

55% of all the informants mentioned that gentrification has cumulative effects on local residents' livelihood and their socio-economic wellbeing. In fact, economic inflation, unaffordable housing, and out-migration of local residents and young people are the major challenges that Collingwood is facing. The net result is a community that is less diversified and getting older. A part-time amenity migrant remarked an increased costs of living due to the amenity-driven development, as he pointed out:

“When I moved here from the suburb of Toronto in 1985, I did not notice a big difference in living expenses from where I had moved to here. [Collingwood] is a tourist area, and tourist areas always seem to have higher cost through lots of things, and it is the nature of that (...) tourism bring tourists in the area who tend to be more affluent and have more money to spend” (K25).

According to this informant, gentrification may lead to out-migration of some long-time residents who suddenly find that they can no longer afford to live in Collingwood. Moreover, a local resident remarked that the real estate price inflation and the overall living expenses, such as utility costs have been higher than the nearby areas, including Thornbury, Meaford and Wasaga Beach. The fixed incomes of some local residents could not offset the increased costs of living, so they sold their residential properties to take advantage of the housing price inflation and left town.

One of the major issues prevalent in most amenity resorts and towns is the gradual increase in housing prices and declining housing affordability. The inflation of housing price in Collingwood has impacted some local residents who no longer can afford to own a house. A key informant at the Georgian Triangle Housing Resource Centre stated that the urbanites are in a better position to purchase a property at a high price, and therefore have priced out the local residents. Several informants representing various stakeholder groups expressed concern about homelessness in the near future. One local resident mentioned about “couch servers” in the community who helped the temporally homeless people by letting them spend the night on couches in their homes.

The key informant at the Georgian Triangle Housing Resource Centre was particularly concerned about homelessness as housing prices escalate locally. She described that the Ontarian housing affordability indicator suggests spending 30% of annual income toward maintaining a house, whereas some residents in Collingwood had to pay between 35% to 50% of their incomes toward the mortgage/rent. The residents who experienced housing issues came from all spectrum, from Generation Y to seniors. A number of them are employed in tourism-related services, either on fixed incomes or at minimum paying jobs. There are also people who look for affordable housing during their seasonal employment in Collingwood. The local inventory of available affordable housing during the fieldwork (July and August in 2016) was less than one percent.

The semi-structured interviews also revealed that many local residents could no longer afford residential properties, while at the same time there had been a decline in inventory of affordable housing over the last three years. According to the Housing Needs Study 2015 Update, Town of Collingwood (2015), the vacancy rate of the affordable residential units in Collingwood was at

0.9% in 2014, which was less than the provincial vacancy rate (2.3%) (Housing Needs Study 2015 Update, Town of Collingwood, 2015, p.5). It is worth noting that the vacancy rate of 0.2% in Collingwood was in general equal to one unit available (Housing Needs Study 2015 Update, Town of Collingwood, 2015, p.5).

Furthermore, the key informant commented that some local residents have significant challenges to maintain a housing unit provided by the Centre due to the lack of sufficient income opportunities in Collingwood. The Housing Needs Study 2015 Update, Town of Collingwood (2015) reported that housing prices had a dramatic increase of 62.8% between 2001 and 2006, and a relatively slow growth of 9% between 2006 and 2011. Whereas the median household income in Collingwood increased only 22% from 2001 to 2015. This indicated that although a slowly stabilizing market appeared between 2006 and 2011, home prices have increased at higher rates than household incomes. The number of people who could not find affordable housing in town grew from 392 in 2010 to 410 in 2012 (Housing Needs Study 2015 Update, Town of Collingwood, 2015, p.6).

Moreover, three informants raised the issue of relative absence of young people in town, due to unaffordable housing and lack of education and employment opportunities in higher-paid industries. The absence of young people had affected social networks for other younger generation living in town. One local resident commented:

“I am still in the 18 to 24 demographics and I have no friend in my age basically. There aren’t people in my age around here because everybody moves away for school and work. Nobody wants to stay in Collingwood; everybody wants to come back when they are older” (K8).

4.7.4 Gap in Economic Structure and Population Displacement

A significant gap in industries and the labour force by industry appeared in Collingwood in the transition stage. Professional and high-income occupations have been increasing alongside the growing tourism-related industries and retail trade because of the local municipality's place-based actions, the demands of tourists and in-migrants, and the development of the mountain resort in the neighboring town. Knowledge-based industries including creative industries, healthcare and social assistance, finance, real estate and insurance, and professional, scientific and technical services together took more than 34% of the total labour force that is "higher than normal small population centres in Ontario and Canada" (Collingwood Economic Development Action Plan Final Report, 2015, p.12). Tourism-related labour-intensive industries took as high as 37% of the total labour force. Whereas the shipyard closure led to eroding employment opportunities in the manufacturing industry. However, the growth in the tertiary sector responding to the demands created by the in-migrants have affected some local residents' employment opportunities, since the local residents, who were mostly manufacturing workers, are often lack of a specialized set of skills that is required in the professional or the knowledge sectors. An entry barrier in the higher-paid sectors pushed the previous manufacturing workers and some other local residents to choose occupations in low-wage service occupations. However, employments generated in the tourism-related industries were somehow considered as precarious, low-paid and low-skilled by some survey respondents and the interviewed local residents. Working in tourism-related jobs has limited their affordability to continue to live in Collingwood, which forced some residents to move out from Collingwood. As a local resident commented:

“We are not having a large middle class in town. We have the professionals, lawyers, and health professionals and dentists all making decent money, then we have the cooks, the waiters, the waitresses in the restaurant and house keepers who change linens in the hotel rooms who don’t make very much money. The middle class which is the factory workers we don’t have a lot of jobs in this area any longer. So they are filling in the sandwiches very thin, with the wealth, the professionals and the retirees, and the people who serve being under paid” (K19).

The gap in industries and the labour force by industry have been widening the social hierarchy in Collingwood. The manifestations include social polarization, with an increasing social segregation among different industry-based community groups and social inclusion within each of the groups. Thus, the gap leads to an out-migration trend of the local residents in Collingwood. In particular, a retail store owner explained that factory closures in town resulted in reduced labour demand forcing people to seek employment elsewhere. The out-migrants tend to move to South Owen Sound or Thornbury. Another local resident described migration path of some local residents:

“(…)what you end up with is people who are looking to get into other fields end up having to leave the area. And we do have some people who have homes here going out to work for fuel processing in Alberta, and come home every few weeks for a week or two and then go back out. Similar to some of the other areas of the country, like the Atlantic provinces, so there are some people who are doing that” (K27).

4.7.5 Labour Shortage in the Service Sectors

The combination of lack of affordable housing and strong service sector employment demands has meant that there is a perpetual shortage of people willing to work in the service sector. Table 5 is a summary profile of the respondents who were involved in tourism-related services, which indicates to a lower education level, and a more seasonal employment than respondents in the other sectors. More importantly, six out of the seven respondents live outside of Collingwood. A local resident expressed her concern about labour shortages in Collingwood due to high costs of living and unaffordable housing. She commented:

“There are a lot of service jobs but there is not necessarily many affordable housing to help those people out. It causes a serious staff shortage in the resort during busy seasons” (K28).

N=7		Number of Respondents
(Gender)	Male	3
	Female	4
(Age)	18-24	0
	25-34	0
	35-44	5
	45-54	2
(Education)	High School	2
	College	4
(Employment status)	Bachelor	1
	Full-time	2
	Part-time	1
(Place of residence)	Seasonal	4
	Collingwood	1
	The Blue Mountains	1
	Thornbury	2
	Wasaga Beach	3

Table 5. Profile of the survey respondents involved in the tourism-related service sectors

The combination of lack of affordable housing and strong service sector employment demands has meant that there is a perpetual shortage of people willing to work in the service sector. Another real estate informant described the relation between unaffordable housing and staff shortage in tourism sector in Collingwood: the incoming amenity seekers bid up the local real estate prices and costs of living, which force the workers in the resort to live about 50 miles away from their workplace and rely on shuttle bus to go to work. As confirmation, one of the key informant in the hospitality sector stated: “I live in a place which is about 45-minute drive and that is quite common” (K7). In fact, one of the local hotels provided staff housing for people who lived elsewhere. The employee shortage issue became more acute with the expansion of tourism-related development. As a key informant stated:

“Currently the resort is experiencing staffing issues. We don’t have enough staff to work. For example, our spa and restaurant are open but we have not have enough people to run them yet” (K9).

4.8 Summary of Major Findings

The research findings meet the research objectives and answer the research questions. The first research question asks for an examination of the characteristics of economic transition from the aspects of changing patterns of economic sectors, economic structure, and relationships between the local economy and the small town place in the current years. Accordingly, the findings based on secondary statistics and the qualitative and quantitative research methods are as follows:

- At present, Collingwood’s economy is multifunctional, with an emerging imbalanced economic structure. This economy is fueled by a high proportion of various amenity-driven

economies (i.e., industries that are labour-intensive or knowledge-based and a low proportion of production-based economies (i.e., traditional manufacturing and agricultural industries). The overarching pattern of the economic transition in Collingwood is that its economic base has been experiencing a straight shift from shipbuilding (production-based economy) toward the tertiary sector that is labour-intensive or knowledge-based (consumption-oriented economy). A general decline in the manufacturing industries and a sustained rise in the tertiary sector embody in labor force by industry and business establishments.

- The economic base is built on recreational real estate, tourism, creative industries, and residential economy. This economic shift is along with a change in the town's physical outlook, from a manufacturing town to a lifestyle destination constructed by appealing natural amenities and cultural atmosphere, high-end real estate properties & retirement residences, and tourist-oriented attractions & ventures. A concern emerges as the local tourism-related industries focus exclusively on economic growth by meeting market demand, which may lead to an overdevelopment in the foreseeable years.
- The relationship of the local human agencies and natural resources is altered toward an equilibrium between the two. The present economic engine of Collingwood is underpinned by environmental conservation and amenity building. Natural environmental resources construct an important part of the physical characters of Collingwood, which have been attracting creative entrepreneurs and other knowledge-based industries to locate in town.

- These characteristics of the economic transition are in part a result of the local place-based development actions, which capitalizes on the distinctive physical (e.g., natural landscape amenities) and cultural (e.g., lifestyle place-identity, the arts & culture scene, and creative knowledge) and social (e.g., interest-based civic ties) assets considered as the competitive advantages of the town. This development strategy has been driven by the local municipal actions, implemented and enabled by the local innovative entrepreneurs, the amenity-seeking in-migrants, other public, private and civic groups, and the expansion of the Blue Mountain resort in the neighboring town.

The second research question suggested an investigation of the characteristics of social transition by looking at the motives of temporary or permanent settlement, as well as the changes in social indicators (population, demographics, gender, housing, employment status), and life's experience in the recent years. The findings are included below:

- Natural amenities and cultural atmosphere are identified as a key motivator of the local population growth. The high-quality amenities have become a determinant force leading to permanent and temporary migration, and increased amenities in the less popular tourists' seasons (Spring and Fall) can encourage second home residents to become full-time residents.
- Wealthy urbanites, in retirement stage or at working age, are the major in-migrants groups in Collingwood. Their continual arrivals are changing the characteristics of local population, from a demographic and gender balanced society to a significant increase in

age 45 and plus cohorts and female population. The net result is a community that is less diversified and getting older, as more and more amenity-seeking retirees settle in.

- The in-migrants compete local land resources, employment opportunities and political power with the local residents, which give the local residents a hardship in career path and way of living. The societal change forces some of their family members and friends to out-migrate from the town. Alienation of local residents emerges, as the influx of urbanities currently acquire stronger influence in the community decision-making in various aspects.
- The in-migrants' social behaviours can intensify the social and cultural divides between local residents and the amenity-seeking in-migrants due to the social dichotomy between local residents who consider the community as a home and amenity migrants who expect the locale to be a destination to experience. In other words, the society is being socially and culturally divided, as counterurbanites hold a shared set of expectations and civic ties different from local residents.

The final research question explores the interlinkages between economic transition and social transition. The findings show interlinkages of the social and economic transition, specifically, as follows:

- A set of interrelationships is formed between the heterogeneous migrants and amenity-driven economy. The amenity-driven economies driven by the municipal place-based actions, as stated in the sub-section above, attract amenity-seeking counterurbanites to migrate in town. This local economy promotes the local landscape amenities, generates

economic activities that are hedonic and tourist-oriented, and provides place-attachment to retain the in-migrants.

- The counterurbanites, amenity migrants and second home residents increase local capacities and play a vital role in reinforcing the economic transition. They generate economic capitals since the in-migrants' urban consumptive demands provide business opportunities for the local entrepreneurs, and some amenity in-migrants either work or have established their businesses in town. They increase cultural capitals by committing volunteering activities and creating knowledge-based businesses in town. The in-migrants also provide social capitals as they enforce the lifestyle place-identity in a way of strengthening the interest-based associations and shaping social networks.
- Several interrelated economic and social issues have risen in the stage of transition. The gap in the economic structure, gentrification, economic and social polarisation emerge, which can result in economic and social instabilities. These issues lead to local economic inflation, unaffordable housing, having cumulative effects on local residents' livelihood and their socio-economic wellbeing. The combination of lack of affordable housing and strong service sector employment demands has meant that there is a perpetual shortage of people willing to work in the service sector. It is resulted in an out-migration of some local residents and young people for better employment opportunities and living conditions.

5.0 CHAPTER 5: DISCUSSION

5.1 Introduction

The previous chapter uncovered the characteristics of Collingwood in transition from both economic and social perspectives. This discussion intends to employ the case study to provide an understanding of the broader economic and social transitions of small towns taking place, based on a comparison of the research findings in Collingwood with existing literature for consistencies and discrepancies. The semi-structured interviews, survey questionnaires and the author's observations in the study field indicate that the place-based development has successfully attracted counter-urbanites in Collingwood. The counterurbanites as a form of contemporary mobility practices are not only a social consequence in the global context (Halfacree, 2012), but a significant economic implementer and enabler that stimulate the transition of a place, particularly in amenity-rich communities. The discussion starts with a description of the relation between the contextual background and the importance of amenities in place-based development for Collingwood and other small towns. The following sections of this chapter answers the research questions 1) the characteristics of economic transition 2) the characteristics of social transition; and 3) the interlinkages of the two.

5.2 Contextualizing Collingwood in Global Change

Change is a defining hallmark of amenity-rich small towns like Collingwood. The local leisure landscape is constructed through a positive relation that has existed consistently between amenities and migration in Collingwood since the 1980s. The aesthetic and recreational value of high-quality natural and cultural landscapes can enhance a pleasant life and can be dated back to the 19th century (Moss & Glorioso, 2014). However, similar to other small towns, amenity-led migration

streams, comprised of amenity migrants and the associated economic opportunity seekers (Moss & Glorioso, 2016), did not begin to emerge in Collingwood until the late 1980s (Census Canada, 1986). This inward migration occurred a few months after the shipyard closure (Law, 2001).

Globalization, economic restructuring and mobility are the triad of forces working to create contemporary changes and derive the place-based transition in Collingwood. The closure of the shipyard was the result of global economic restructuring brought about with the introduction of modern means of transport and technologies, an aspect that is beyond the scope of this research. The counterurbanites, amenity migrants, second home residents, and pleasure seeking tourists form the basis for stimulating and reinforcing economic and social transitions in Collingwood. Migration for amenity seekers is enabled by technological advances in telecommunication and the Internet, improved accessibility, proximity to urban centres in the Southern Ontario (Bunting & Rutherford, 2006). Small towns today are networked, fluid and more contingent on the conditions of migrants-generating cities (Halfacree, 2012). Economic restructuring at multiple scales enables the amenity-seeking migration. On one hand, this restructuring has led to the local decline in traditional production industries. On the other hand, it has increased discretionary income and time and work flexibility for a number of individuals.

As a product of the economic restructuring, the urban-periphery relation continues, but in a new direction; from supplying construction or raw materials and agricultural productions in the past to a host community of counter-urbanites, amenity migrants and second home residents of the present (Dahms & McComb, 1999, as cited in Nepal, 2007). Situated at the outer edge of the urban field, Collingwood has economic and social relations to the Ontario's largest metropolitan concentration

(Dahms & McComb, 1999). The town is imbued with consistent exchanges and negotiations with urban forces. Wilkinson and Murrays' (1991) study of the Collingwood region stated the significance of core and periphery functional interdependency between the GTA and Collingwood, which indicated that the evolving path of Collingwood has been oriented by urban functional demands since the town was initially incorporated. The interactions and associations between Collingwood and the urban centres constructed Collingwood with a mosaic of economic and social functions (Bryant & Mitchell, 2006). In Dahms and McComb's study of south Georgian Bay area in 1999, natural amenities were identified as a key motivator of the regional population growth. They argued that, residential preferences and individual perception toward a place contribute to repopulation of amenity-rich small towns and economic development in the post-industrial era (Dahms & McComb, 1999). High-quality amenities have become a determinant force leading to seasonal, intermittent or permanent residential decision at family level (Moss, 2006). Findings of this study support their argument, as it documents that there is a relatively high consensus on the determinant role of amenity attributes in driving local transitions among each local stakeholder group, including the retiree migrants, the working age migrants, the local residents, and the local economic and political representatives who participated in this study.

In accordance with the classification of Deller et al (2001), amenity resources in Collingwood include land resources (e.g., forestland), water (e.g., Georgian Bay), winter recreations (e.g., ski facilities that the nearby Blue Mountain resort provides), small town ambience (e.g., "a slower pace of life, less traffic", friendlier neighbourhood) (Robinson & Stark, 2006, p.137), and the developed recreational infrastructure (e.g., golf courses, the renovated recreational waterfront and the heritage downtown). These resources have become major pull factors for the GTA based

urbanites. The town's physical outlook is transitioning from an industry landscape to "leisurescape" where leisure and recreation functions orient the town's development (Law, 2009, p.351). Amenity resources are commodified to meet the urban incomers' needs and desires for accumulating capital (Mitchell, 2013). In addition, the draw of visitations in Collingwood is in part due to the resort development at The Blue Mountains. According to Travis (2007), Collingwood can be seen as the "sprawling amenity zone" (p.146), where upscale residential development, golf courses and recreational facilities are located.

5.3 Characteristics of Economic Transition

5.3.1 Municipal Planning Actions

Local change is not formed passively by external forces, but it is a consequence of the interaction of both local and outside forces (Bryant & Mitchell, 2006). The municipal planning actions in Collingwood mirror the relations between endogenous and exogenous actors of change. To cope with the dynamic forces in the post-industrial era, the municipality of Collingwood has repurposed the local development from relying on staple extraction (e.g., shipbuilding) (Mitchell & O'Neill, 2016) and orienting toward building natural and cultural amenities that in fact thrive resort development (i.e., based on tourism and recreational real estate economic sectors) (Travis, 2007). The local staple-based economy was mainly derived from a top-down trajectory driven by a regional governance and external stakeholders to respond to external markets (Barnes, 1996, as cited in Markey, et al, 2008) with a focus on exploiting resources and a de-emphasis on the value of localized environments (Mitchell & O'Neill, 2016). The local place-based development at present recognizes the importance of natural landscape amenities, place-identity, recreational facilities, and advanced infrastructures (Markey et al 2006).

The successive municipal planning actions have played a proactive role in creating the lifestyle place-identity and in driving the transition, as they build some qualitative and quantitative competitive advantages to hold and draw in-migrants and external capitals. For instance, a strong correlation exists between ownership of property for lifestyle related purposes and local development priorities, including the construction of upscale real estate properties and revitalization of waterfront or conservation of natural amenities (e.g., the trail systems). The interview transcripts demonstrate the municipal planning actions in reinventing cultural amenities and infrastructure. There also seems to be alignment between the phenomenon of second homes transforming into principle/retirement homes in Collingwood and the successive municipal actions in creating four-season recreational amenities in town. The successive public policies and actions in Collingwood carefully balance the consumptive and conservation aspects of natural resources. The relationship of the local human agencies and natural resources is altered toward an equilibrium. Natural amenities are viewed as a competitive asset and an important component of the community's economic revival (Markey et al, 2008).

5.3.2 Amenity-driven Economy

The interview excerpts and survey responses highlight the consumptive values of both natural and cultural amenities. They show that the counter-urbanites were at least partially attracted by the local natural landscapes, and that Collingwood's economy is increasingly oriented toward the use and consumption of its amenity resources. This fits with Power's (1996) "environmental model of local economic development" (p.4). This environmental model depicts an integration of sustainable economic development and natural environment. Aesthetic natural environment, recreational opportunities, cultural richness, and social amenities (e.g., safe neighborhood and

high-quality public services) attract a wide range of highly skilled migrants, retirees and tourists. The lifestyle demands of the amenity-migrants direct creation of local employment opportunities, which lead to growth in the tertiary sector, particularly retail, real estate, tourism, health care creative industries and other professional services, contributing to the local economic transition. Amenities also attract firms to locate, since firms follow labours, markets and wage frontier (Power, 1996). Local financial, technological and organizational resources can be significantly increased by employing the in-migrants (Knox & Mayer, 2013). The circular flows construct a services-based and diversified economy, which expands economic options to the residents and sustain the local economic viability (Power, 1996). In this regards, a desirable natural and social environment is a pivotal determinant in the community's economic prosperity (Power, 1996). In other words, the relationship between people and economic growth has been altered. Jobs follow people, and "quality of life factors" influence the distribution of economic activities (Shumway & Otterstrom, 2001, p.493).

5.3.3 Infusion of Creative Individuals

The emerging amenity-driven lifestyle has given rise to a creative arts & culture scene and have created other demands in the tertiary sector in Collingwood. Travis's study (2007) in small resort communities in western U.S. also indicated that cultural trends influence entrepreneurial activities in a powerful way. The interview transcripts demonstrate an infusion of creative individuals. Dissart (2014) referred to Florida's (2003) definition of creative individuals, as people who "focus on innovation, the creation of commercial products and consumer goods, including activities in science, engineering, computer programming, the arts, design, and the media, solving specific problems that require a high level of education (knowledge intensive sector), comprising activities

in the health, finance, law, and education sectors” (p.190). These individuals were mainly attracted by the local natural, cultural and social amenities, which is in line with Dissart’s (2014) explanation that the creative class pursue amenity-based recreation opportunities.

5.3.4 Real Estate-driven Economy

Another characteristic of economic transition is that counter-urbanization has led to a spatial redistribution of capital between the urban areas and Collingwood, since incomes generated by the counterurbanites in the urban areas were spent in the peripheral regions. Due to the large expenditures of the counterurbanites in the tertiary sector, residential economy became a significant component of the economic base of Collingwood. The expansion of Cranberry Golf Resort and the Living Water Resort & Spa and other development in real estate, and construction, and tourism and hospitality industries, mirror the strong external incomes and expenditures. It is worth noting that although the residential economy opens various avenues for some local residents and local governance, it should be combined with productive economy to enhance the stability and diversity of local economy since migrants, commuters and tourists may relocate and spend their discretionary wealth elsewhere (Dissart, 2014). The downside of reliance on residential economy is that it may increase urban sprawl and overconsumption of public lands for private recreational and residential purposes (Perlik, 2014).

5.4 Actors of Social Transition

The retiree in-migrants, the younger counter-urbanites, the second home residents and the local residents together are part of a redefined network of Collingwood community that has and will change over time (Halseth, 1998). The influx of heterogeneous counter-urbanites has changed the

local demographic, social and economic composition in Collingwood (Halseth, 2004). The motives, ideologies and behaviours of the counter-urbanites have become important elements of place making. Their impacts on the Collingwood community are dynamic, diverse and contested (Paris, 2011).

5.4.1 Characteristics, Motives and Behaviours of the In-migrants

Anti-urbanites and ex-urbanites, who are amenity-migrants, or second home residents play a major role in changing the societal characteristics in Collingwood. Even though no statistical information was available on the number of in-migrants who were from a larger municipalities including Census Agglomerations and a Census Metropolitan Area to Collingwood (Mitchell, 2005), a combination of qualitative and quantitative data collected in this study offers evidence of counter-urbanization between the GTA and other urban centres, and Collingwood.

The natural and/or cultural amenity resources of a place are a distinct motivation factor for migrants to move to Collingwood, either temporarily or permanently. According to Moss's (2006) definition of amenity migrants, most in-migrants who participated in the research were amenity migrants who had moved to Collingwood for a higher quality of natural and/or cultural environment that could improve quality of life factors. Only four survey respondents were amenity-led migrants, who migrated from the surrounding similar-sized communities in Collingwood primarily for economic gains associated with the emergent amenity-driven economy (Moss, 2006). Including the four amenity-led migrants, 11 out of 74 individuals who participated in this study were involved in lateral migration (Mitchell, 2004), and no participant's place of origin was in rural area. A large number of migrants (63 out of 74) were ex-urbanites or anti-

urbanites relocating from larger municipalities. According to Mitchell's (2004), they live in Collingwood to escape the metropolitan city's congestion and pollution, and pursue a better lifestyle and/or work opportunities either in the city (i.e. ex-urbanites) or in town (i.e. anti-urbanites).

Although natural and cultural amenities appear to be strong pull factors, economic concerns and family connections are also important drivers in choosing a destination (Gosnell & Abrams, 2011; Halfacree, 2012). In accord with Moss's (2006) argument, the motivations of amenity migrants in this study are strongly intertwined with economic incentives and family/friend ties. This finding indicated that family and/or friend connections are an important factor in determining the location of both a primary residence and a second home. Second home or retirement home ownership is an element of life-course consumption and household investment strategy, while low mortgage rates and lower real estate price (than in Toronto) are the stimulants that generate interest among the amenity migrants, especially retirees, to investing in real estate property (Paris, 2011). Motivations among the younger migrants or the commercial counter-urbanites (Mitchell, 2014), are primarily economic: employment opportunities or greater entrepreneurial investment potential (Moss, 2006).

The findings indicate that the counter-urbanites and second home residents in Collingwood are significant actors influencing the economic, social and physical transitions of Collingwood from a manufacturing (e.g., shipbuilding) town to a functionally specialized place for tourism and recreation within an urban system (Halseth, 1998). The "in-migration-driven population" contributed to a consumption-led pattern to the economy of Collingwood (Moss, 2006, p.18). The local economy is tied to amenity uses and is driven by anti-urban residents, who seek quality of

life factors (Shumway & Otterstrom, 2001). More importantly, their behaviours are led by urban preferences, ideologies and visions to redefine and remake the meaning of what and how Collingwood as a lifestyle and retirement community should be (Hiner 2016; Kruger et al, 2014). Similar social characteristics are indicated elsewhere in Canada. In a study of Kelowna, BC, Aguiar et al (2005) suggested that psychological meanings contribute to new definitions of a place. Particular lifestyle preferences of anti-urbanites and ex-urbanites can lead to exclusionary territorial behaviours, where an ideological gap between the wealthy anti-urbanites and the local residents is constructed (Aguiar, et al, 2005). This gap then results in a break up of a collective place-identity (Aguiar, et al, 2005).

Improved quality of life recognized by counter-urbanites is comprised of access to natural and cultural amenities, technological advancements in communication and the Internet, recreation opportunities, and health and education services (Kruger et al, 2014; Moore et al, 2006). Manifestations of idealized form of small town living (Gosnell & Abrams, 2011) among migrant retirees, the younger counter-urbanites and second home owners emerges from the findings of this study. The migrants exert influence on the type and location of new housing, service quality and delivery expectations, and new forms of social and cultural activities. Some temporary amenity-migrants take a longer-term perspective and buy second homes initially for seasonal visits but gradually make these their permanent homes. The growth in permanent retirees in town would certainly result in changes in social structure and entrepreneurial activities in service-related sectors, and an increase in demands on medical facilities and a wide variety of infrastructure (Müller et al, 2004). From social and economic perspectives, counter-urbanites and second home residents can commonly lead to the urbanization of small towns (Overvag & Skjeggedal, 2014).

Collingwood appears to follow that trend as it transforms into an urbanized setting, with an altered sense of place.

The influx of in-migrants has also affected the demand for other types of services including big box stores and specialized small boutique shops, thus expanding the local commercial space (Travis, 2007). The consuming behaviours of in-migrants are urbane in characteristics, with a number of them bringing the ways of urban living into rural regions. Overvag and Skjeggedal (2014) argued that the amenity-led economic growth can be “conceptualized as recreational urban growth”, and the small town is gradually becoming a recreational element of the enlarged metropolitan core (Overvag & Skjeggedal, 2014). Collingwood seems to fit this conception of space.

5.5 Interlinkages

5.5.1 Migrant-induced Contributions

The place-based development is implemented and enabled by a collaboration of the heterogeneous temporary and permanent amenity migrants, local innovative entrepreneurs who have adapted for the globally changed circumstances and responded to the demands of the in-migrants, and other public, private or civic groups who have a collective interest (i.e., to (re)identify the town as a consumption-oriented leiscapescape (Law, 2001). In fact, counter-urbanites, amenity migrants and second home residents as the main implementer and enabler, reinforce the economic and social transitions in Collingwood. Similar to the findings of Steel and Mitchell (2017)’s study of the local migrant-induced development in Dawson City, Yukon Territory and other studies (Mitchell, 2014; Bosworth, 2010; Moss, 2014), this study found that the in-migrants, especially those who are anti-

urbanites or ex-urbanites, have significantly contributed to the Collingwood's economy in terms of capacity building and the enhancement of place-identity.

Despite the urban consumptive demands that generate business opportunities for some local entrepreneurs, the retiree migrants' establishment of unplanned retail ventures and volunteer activities, which are considered as a "serious leisure" (Kruger et al, 2014, p. 94), and a way of civic involvement and social engagement (Matarrita-Cascante, 2014) by the participants, enhance and build economic, cultural and social capacities locally (Steel & Mitchell, 2017; Bosworth, 2010). The in-migrants apply their externally-accumulated incomes, knowledge and/or work experience to generate entrepreneurial or volunteering activities, or employment opportunities, contributing to the local development directly or indirectly, although some of the in-migrants tend to employ urbanites rather than local residents. Also, the in-migrants protect the preferred leisure-oriented place identity by using their stronger influence in the community (Matarrita-Cascante, 2014). As a result, their behaviours enforce and shape the lifestyle place-based identity and the arts & culture scene in Collingwood (Matarrita-Cascante, 2014). This consumption-oriented place-based identity can facilitate to attract more in-migrants with the same preference and thus leverage the amenity-driven economy.

These in-migrant induced contributions, on one hand, revitalize the local economy and enhance the place-based identity (Steel & Mitchell, 2017). On the other hand, the in-migrants' behaviours may intensify the social and culture divides between local residents and the amenity-seeking in-migrants since the local residents often have a different image of the place (Halseth, 1998). The different dichotomy between local residents who consider the community as home and amenity

migrants who view the locale as a resource or a destination to be consumed (Urry, 1995, as cited in Gill, 1998). The counter-urbanites reconstruct the composition of community functions and reinforce the local transition toward a new economic and social base. The influx of counterurbanites forms the primary basis for generating and sustaining the local economy. This new economy reflects the shift from “resource production to consumption of natural and/or cultural landscapes” (Nelson, 2001).

5.6 Issues of Gentrification

The characteristics of the counter-urbanites and second home residents in Collingwood reflect a distinct group that has a relatively higher education level than local residents, and are employed in professional or knowledge sector. Their residences are clustered along the waterfront. Halseth’s (2011) study of cottagers in the Rideau Lakes region of eastern Ontario and the Cultus Lake area of southwestern British Columbia also indicated the socio-economic distinctions and imbalanced economic, social and political power relations between cottagers and local residents. These social characteristics reinforce the sense of separateness and elite landscapes, and pose a challenge to community cohesion. This study indicates that not only cottage residents, but also a number of permanent counter-urbanites have distinctive socio-economic characteristics that sets them apart from the local population. As a result, there is an emergence of physically and psychologically segregated communities trending toward self-contained enclavic spaces (Nepal & Jamal, 2011). Indeed, amenity-seeking individuals constitute a structure of segregation (Perlik, 2014).

Counterurbanization and second home ownerships in Collingwood have an evidence of gentrification and socio-economic polarization, due to their competition for properties with local

residence buyers who purchase a residence for a subsistence purpose (Paris, 2011). Many real estate properties in Collingwood were purchased by counter-urbanites for investments, future retirement and/or recreational use. The high proportion of urban buyers for primary, retirement or recreational home properties has fueled real estate price inflation, resulting in market distortion and overproduction of commercial housing, and subsequently intensifying the scarcity of affordable residences (Paris, 2011). As in high-quality amenity hinterland communities, such as Kelowna in British Columbia (Aguilar et al, 2005) and Canmore in Alberta (McNicol & Glorioso, 2014), impacts of amenity migrants on costs of living, affordable housing, and the diversity of social values and life ways of local residents lead to an out-migration of local residents and young people in Collingwood. Moreover, this study found that the growing counter-urbanites in turn attracted commercial counter-urbanites and other service workers to Collingwood. Residents employed in tourism services found it difficult to afford housing locally. Retaining the stable local workforce is essential to the long-term development of the community, in part because this workforce makes an important component of the social and economic fabric of Collingwood (Moore et al, 2006). Overall, Paris (2011) defined that lack of affordable housing is a principal driver for social change. It weakens the economic, social and political power of the lower income class, leading the community into a homogenous social and political entity of upper class counterurbanites with a destroyed economic structure (Moss, 2014).

6.0 CHAPTER 6: CONCLUSION

6.1 Major Findings

This thesis attempted to understand the characteristics of economic and social transitions and the interlinkages in an amenity-rich small town, changing from the development base (staple-based) orient toward place-based development. Collingwood was used as a singular case study, due to its place-based neo-endogenous approach in response to the contextual turn at the broader scale. Globalization and mobility, as both drivers and implications of economic restructuring from productivism to post-productivism economic state, have altered production and consumption patterns (Gosnell & Abrams, 2011). Post-productivism alters economic value attached to the environmental, social and cultural resources, changes relations between humans and places (Sharpley & Telfer, 2015). It favors multidimensional objectives associated with local landscapes and resources (e.g., environmental amenities and ecosystem values), and more diverse economic activities (Reed & Gill, 1997, as cited in Markey et al, 2008) that emphasize the production of distinctive and memorable experiences (Pine & Gilmore, 1999, as cited in Dissart, 2014). This shift in economic activities and values leads to a rising importance of the distinctive physical and human characteristics as a source of local advantages (Markey et al, 2012). Transitioning toward the place-based development is a way for some small towns to attract and hold workers, firms and capitals, which have become mobile (Kitson et al, 2004).

This study examined 1) changes in economic sector, economic structure, and relationships between economy and the small town space/place; 2) dynamics in population, demographics, gender, housing and employment 3) motivations, ideologies and behaviours of the in-migrants and life experiences of local residents at the transition stage; and 4) the interrelations between the

economic transition and the social transition. Mixed methods consisting of (i) 30 in-depth, semi-structured interviews with various local stakeholder groups, (ii) 43 survey questionnaires, (iii) secondary data, and (iv) two-months long field observations were employed to collect and analyze the data.

Research findings show that the economy of Collingwood has been transitioning from production-based economies to amenity-driven economies and from a dwindling manufacturing town to a reviving community. The local municipality has been redeveloping the town toward a four-season lifestyle destination. The local natural and cultural amenities become distinctive by its successive actions and partnerships with local public and/or private sectors in renovating infrastructures and the downtown district and recreating community cultures. These implementations have improved the physical environment of the town, generated economic activities that are hedonic and tourist-oriented, and provided place-attachment to retain and draw heterogeneous temporary and permanent in-migrants who look for quality of life factors. In turn, Counterurbanites and/or amenity migrants, or second home residents, with the local entrepreneurs and other public, private or civic groups, implement and enable the town as a consumption-oriented leisurescape (Law, 2001). The place-identity has changed from shipbuilding to lifestyle and recreation. The consumption-oriented leisurescape is constructed and enhanced by amenity-driven economic activities, interest-based social connections centred on urbane consumptive ideologies and recreational purposes, and volunteering activities characterized as the in-migrants' "serious leisure" (Kruger et al, 2014, p. 94) and a way of civic involvement (Matarrita-Cascante, 2014). The counterurbanites, amenity migrants and second home residents increase and shape local economic, cultural and social capacities (Steel & Mitchell, 2017), as they involve and apply their knowledge

and experiences in entrepreneurial activities through social networks in town. In other words, the in-migrants play a vital role in reinforcing the place-based economic transition in multifaceted ways.

At present, Collingwood is in an economically and socially hybrid state, with its economic base experiencing a straight shift from shipbuilding (i.e., production-based economy) toward the tertiary sector that is labour-intensive and/or knowledge-based (i.e., consumption-oriented economy). Creative industries, tourism, recreational real estate, retirement living, and retail become the local economic engine. The relationship of the local human agencies and natural resources is altered toward an equilibrium since the environmental conservation currently appears as the basis of the town's redevelopment. An equilibrium between human actors and natural resources means a sustainable integration of economic development and natural environment (Power, 1996). Moreover, the reinvention of Collingwood, similar to other amenity-rich towns (e.g., Canmore, Alberta), can be organized in four overlapping discourses (McNicol & Glorioso, 2014). Collingwood is a retirement community, a four-season playground, a site for high-tech and innovations, and a hometown for local residents. Urban infrastructure and facilities coexist with bucolic natural amenities and cultural atmosphere, and low-wage local residents who face difficult prospects live together with amenity-migrants who purchase recreational experiences (McNicol & Glorioso, 2014).

Furthermore, several economic and social issues have risen due to ripple effects as Collingwood is becoming a resort-induced and real estate driven community with adverse social and economic implications. The in-migrants' social behaviours can intensify the social and cultural divides

between local residents and the amenity-seeking in-migrants due to the social dichotomy between local residents who consider the community as home and amenity migrants who expect the locale to be a lifestyle destination. More importantly, an imbalanced economic structure emerged, with a high proportion of industries that are labour-intensive or knowledge-based and a low proportion of traditional manufacturing and agricultural industries. Gap in the economic structure, gentrification, and economic and social polarisation appear, resulting in uncertainties on local residents' livelihood and their socio-economic wellbeing. It leads to local economic inflation, unaffordable housing, and out-migration of local residents and young people. The combination of the lack of affordable housing and strong service sector employment demands has meant that there is a perpetual shortage of people willing to work in the service sector. The net result is a community that is less diversified and getting older, as more and more amenity-seeking retirees settle in. In addition, a concern emerges as the local tourism-related industries focus exclusively on economic growth by meeting market demand, which may lead to an overdevelopment in the foreseeable years.

6.2 Recommendations for a Sustainable Future

The research findings illuminate that a small town's competitive advantages can be underpinned by a high quality of public amenities and infrastructure, a high degree of human, social, cultural, creative, and productive capitals, and a high level of social embeddedness, which retains and attracts in-migrants, local residents and firms in town (Kitson et al, 2004). The aim of transitioning toward building place-based assets is to improve local productivity and employment rate, in order to achieve economic, social and environmental wellbeing and prosperity for both the in-migrants

and the local residents (Kitson et al, 2004). Economic diversification underpinned by progressive and innovative economic activities is a way to revitalize the local economy.

However, the economy in Collingwood has a strong tendency to rely solely on the tourism-related industries, which mainly value natural and cultural amenities. An integrated policy approach that embeds tourism development in the economic, social and environmental fabrics of small town development is recommended (Canadian Council on Rural Development, 1975, as cited in Hall & Jenkins, 1998). Small towns should not identify a single industry as their economic engine (Nepal & Jamal, 2011). The tourism-induced development can draw external capitals, yet it is necessary to accumulate capital locally by creating an innovative platform (Rudzitis, 2014). That is to say, tourism-induced development can coexist with other economic sectors to improve the local employment rate and reduce the impacts of the issues associated with gentrification. Although community development (e.g., infrastructure, cultural, education and technological facilities) is to facilitate economic development, development of economic sectors can be encouraged only if it supports community development (Markey et al, 2012).

Economic and social development is connected, and this connection plays an important role in generating competitive advantages to hold and attract quality workers and firms in the post-industrial era (Markey et al, 2008). As a way of implementation, to build a symbiotic social environment between the heterogeneous amenity-seeking in-migrants and local residents becomes critical in Collingwood, as it is for any other small towns (Moss, 2014). Social capitals, which refer to reciprocity and bond of trust, are identified as an integral part of social environment of a community (Nelson, 2006). Social amenities are important factors not only to provide place-

attachment for the in-migrants and local residents (Matarrita-Cascante, 2014), but also to enable a dynamic, innovative and creative platform for stakeholders to involve, collaborate and expand local economic options for a long-term development (Markey et al, 2008). To create a more restorative, livable and equitable society through establishing a shared place-identity among the heterogeneous stakeholder groups in the ongoing process of place-making is a development priority in Collingwood (Kruger et al, 2014). At this stage of transition, the place-based identity should aim to turn each stakeholder group in the community into active stewards of natural resources and social characteristics of the place (McMillan, 2014). This priority could lead to positive and sustainable integration between economic and social development. In other words, it intends to increase inclusion and connectivity of multiple stakeholders to balance their socioeconomic costs and benefits, to strengthen productivity, and achieve a sustainable development (Nepal & Jamal, 2011).

6.3 Future Research

The development of Collingwood is an empirical practice of place-based development in the face of rapidly changing and reordering economic and social structures. Although the transition of Collingwood is driven by place-based governance, trends in Collingwood reflect broader global trends and patterns. Future research should focus on exploring the economic and social characteristics, and potential issues emerging in the process of the place-based development in other small towns in Canada and worldwide to gain a broader picture of small towns in transition to develop more supportive and feasible place-based strategies.

Moreover, bridging disciplinary divides for a comprehensive analysis is a useful way to conduct research related to small town development as a place is considered as a complex system (Halseth et al, 2010). This thesis provided an in-depth investigation of the characteristics of economic and social transitions by integrating the themes (i.e., globalization, urban economic restructuring, mobility, place-based economic development, amenity migration, counter-urbanization and second homes). More scholarly research is in need to integrate different themes according to small towns' territorial variables and the issues at hand. Comparative case studies can be conducted to further look at the relations between economic/social development and environmental conservation to gain strategic insights onto the place-based transition. As an exploratory study, this thesis offered a conceptual framework of amenity-rich small towns underpinned by the selected themes based on the existing literature and the dynamics of the social and economic transitions underway in Collingwood, Ontario. This exploratory study provides further research avenues to analyze the interlinkages between economic and social transitions of small towns. More studies are needed to describe and explain the interrelations of the two in order to design better management and planning policies.

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APPENDIX A. Semi-structured Interview Questions

Interviewee: Local Entrepreneurs, Private Business Owners & Operators, and Real Estate Informants

Research Question #1: What are the changing patterns of industrial sectors, tourism-related businesses, real estate industry, and other private businesses?

Potential Probes:

- Tell me a little bit about you and your business
- What are the reasons to start your business in Collingwood?
- What are the reasons that help you choose to run this type of business in town?
- What were your expectations of operating a business in the town?
- How is the current operation in term of economic gain?
- In your opinion, have the local economic conditions changed in the previous years? If so, how does your business adapt to these changes?
- Is your business seasonal? How does the seasonality make an impact on your business?
- What types of funding or assistance (support from yourselves, relatives, governments, banks, agencies and so on) have you received to be a business owner?
- What type of development would you want to see in Collingwood in the foreseeable future?

Research Question #2: Does economic transition lead to social transition and vice versa? If so, what are the interrelations between economic transition and social transition?

Potential Probes:

- Tell me what impacts your business
- Tell me about your customers; are they mainly local people or tourists?
- Tell me about your typical experiences in regard to your relationships with your customers
- In your opinion, who is playing a critical role in local issues relevant to you and your work? (governments, competitors, in-migrants, tourists, local residents and so on)
- What are some potential concerns for your business?
- Tell me about your plan for your business in the next five years
- *Do you engage in any local community association? If so, what types of activities are you involved in the local community (volunteering, events, activities and so on)? How often do you participate in these community works?

Can you recommend any other local entrepreneurs that may be interested in being interviewed?

Interviewee: Economic and Political Representatives

Research Question #1: What are the changing patterns of industrial sectors, work forces, tourism-related businesses, real estate industry, and other private and public businesses?

Potential Probes:

- Tell me a little bit about you and your duty
- What were some the improvements in local economy in the past 10 years?
- Is there any industrial sector or community program inclined to be invested in town? If so, what are they?
- What are the reasons to develop tourism and hospitality industries in town in the recent years?

Research Question #2: Does social transition lead to economic transition and vice versa? If so, what are the interrelations between the nature of a community in transition and economy in transition?

Potential Probes:

- Is there any influx of migrants in town in the current years? If so, what impacts do they bring to Collingwood?
- In your opinion, who has the most control over local economic development?
- How would you normally deal with community conflicts?
- How do you consider about stakeholders' different interests?
- Is there a forum for residents to speak about their concerns surrounding local planning/development?
- What type of development do you want to see in Collingwood in the next five years?
- Is there anything else relevant to economic and community changes in Collingwood you would like to add on?

Who are the key informants for economic and community development would you recommend me to interview with?

Interviewee: Local Residents, Permanent and Temporary Amenity Migrants

Research Question #1: How are the residents' life experience and qualities constructed in Collingwood in the recent years?

Potential Probes:

- Tell me a little bit about you and your family
- What do you usually do while you are in town?
- What do you like to do in your leisure time in town?
- In what aspects is Collingwood important to you?
- Tell me about your friends in town
- *Do you engage in any local community association? If so, what types of activities are you involved in the local community (volunteering, events, activities and so on)? How often do you participate in these community works?

Research Question #2: What are the factors driving migrants temporarily or permanently settle in Collingwood?

Potential Probes:

Did you move from any metropolitan area or any other area? If so,

- What were the specific reasons for you to decide to settle in Collingwood?
- In what way your daily experience (work, leisure, social and so on) are similar or different from your previous place?
- How satisfied are you with your life in Collingwood? Does this community meet your expectations?
- Do you like travelling? Can you tell me about your past travel experiences?
- Does these travel experiences affect your attitudes towards local (tourism) development? If so, can you tell me more about that?
- *Do you engage in any local community association? If so, what types of activities are you involved in the local community (volunteering, events, activities and so on)? How often do you participate in these community works?

Research Question #3: Does community transition lead to economic transition and vice versa? If so, what are the interrelations between the nature of a community in transition and economy in transition?

Potential Probes:

- Tell me about the reasons you live in Collingwood
- What do you like and dislike about local services (shopping, tourism and hospitality services, medical services and so on)?
- In your opinion, has Collingwood been experiencing changes (physical landscapes)? If so, what are the changes?
- Do you have any concern about your community? If so, tell me about your concerns of the community
- If there are newcomers in town, what do you think of the influx of newcomers in town?
- What are your opinions about local tourism development? Would you like to see more (less) tourism development in the foreseeable future?
- If you know any other change in Collingwood in terms of economy, community, and the government, can you tell me more about them?

Can you recommend any other residents that may be interested in being interviewed?

*optional question

APPENDIX B: Survey Questionnaire

Survey Questionnaire

- How long have you been living in Collingwood? _____year(s)
- Do you rent or own a house in Collingwood?

- Do you consider yourself a full-time or part-time resident in Collingwood?

- Full-time (If full-time, Go to question 4) Part-time

3 a. If part-time, how many month per year approximately do you stay in Collingwood?

_____ ; 3 b. Approximately in what months (season(s) do you stay in Collingwood?

- Do you own a house/ houses outside of Collingwood? Yes No (If no, Go to question 5)

4a. If yes, where are they located respectively?

4b. How many houses do you own outside of Collingwood?

4c. Why do you own the house(s) outside of Collingwood?

5. Will you move out from Collingwood in the future? Yes No Don't know

5a. If yes, why?

5b. If no, why not?

6. What is your place of origin? (If you moved in Collingwood from other regions)

7. What is your current employment status? Full-time (5 years) Full-time (< 5 years)
Part-time Seasonal Occasional
Unemployed (If unemployed, go to question 13)
Retirement (If retirement, go to question 13a)

8. What business sector you are currently working in? (businesses categorized by North American Industrial Classification System)¹

- Manufacturing
- Wholesale trade
- Retail trade
- Transportation and warehousing
- Real estate and rental and leasing
- Professional, scientific and technical services
- Health care and social assistance
- Accommodation and food services
- Other services (except public administration)

9. Do you work specifically in tourism industry? Yes No

10. What is your current occupation in Collingwood?

(You don't need to provide the name of your corporation/ organization)

11. How long have you been in this job? _____year(s)
_____month(s)

12. Have you ever worked in a different business sector in Collingwood?

Yes No (if no, go to question 13)

12a. what business sector did you work for in Collingwood?

12b. until which year? _____ 12b. Why?

13. What is the highest level of education you have attained?

- Did not finish high school High school diploma
 Some College/University College Diploma University Degree
 Graduate degree (Masters) Graduate degree (PhD)
Other _____

14. Do you have any immediate relative living in Collingwood?

Yes No (If no, Go to question 16)

14 a. If yes, how many relatives do you have in Collingwood? 1-3 4-6 7-9 10

15. Are your most friends living in Collingwood or outside of Collingwood?

In town (If in town, Go to question 17) Outside of town

15a. If outside of Collingwood, which cities/ regions do they live?

16. What are the reasons that make you decide to live in Collingwood?

17. Will you move out from Collingwood in the future? Yes No Don't know

17 a. If yes, why?

17 b. If no, why not?

18. What is your place of origin? (if you moved in Collingwood from other regions)

19. What do you like to do in recreation activities in your leisure time?

20. How many times per month do you participate in recreation activities?

- 0 1-3 4-6 7-9 10

21. Are you associated with any local community association? Yes No (If No, Go to question 22)

21 a. If yes, what type of community events did you participate? (such as: volunteering, events, activities) Please identify:

22. How do you feel about the current economic status in Collingwood? Please Specify:

23. What is your gender? Male Female

24. What is your age? 18-24 25-34 35-44 45-54 55-64 65 or
older

1: North America Industrial Classification System (Mitchell, 2014)

Any additional comments are welcomed. Thank you for participating!

Appendix C. Semi-structure Interview Invitation Letter:

Date

Dear Resident/ business owner:

This letter is an invitation to consider participating in a study I am conducting as part of my Master's degree in the Department of Geography and Environmental Management at the University of Waterloo, Ontario, Canada under the supervision of Professor Sanjay Nepal. I would like to provide you with more information about this project and what your involvement would entail if you decide to participate.

As you may know, Collingwood has been experiencing dynamic changes in respect to the local economy and community. This study is designed to understand the characteristics of economy and community in transitions, and explore the linkages of the two. In particular, this study will focus on three aspects: a) local stakeholders' experiences in terms of economic, social, and political conditions in town b) the relationships between newcomers and local long-term residents, and the role of the local government in the process of development c) residents' perception toward local economic development, especially the tourism-related economic development, and how these on-going development projects impact on the residents' daily living and working experiences. Thus, I would very much appreciate the opportunity to speak with you about this.

Participation in this study is voluntary and would involve a 45 minutes interview in your home or an alternate location at a convenient location and time. There are no known or anticipated risks to your participation in this study. You may decline answering any questions you feel you do not wish to answer. Further, you may decide to withdraw from this study at any time without any negative consequences by advising the researcher. With your permission, the interview will be tape-recorded to facilitate collection of information, and later transcribed for analysis. All information you provide will be considered confidential. Further, you will not be identified by name in my thesis or in any report or publication resulting from this study, however, with your permission, pseudonymous quotations maybe used. The data collected through this study will be kept for a period of 3 years in a secure location at the University of Waterloo.

If after receiving this letter, you have any questions about this study, or would like additional information to assist you in reaching a decision about participation, please feel free to contact me by email at s52chang@uwaterloo.ca. You can also contact my supervisor, Professor Sanjay Nepal at snepal@uwaterloo.ca or phone at +1(519)-888-4567, Ext. 31239. I would like to assure you that this study has been reviewed and received ethics clearance through a University of Waterloo Research Ethics Committee. However, the final decision about participation is yours. Should you have comments or concerns resulting from your participation in this study, please contact Dr. Maureen Nummelin in the Office of Research Ethics at 1-519-888-4567, Ext. 36005 or Maureen.nummelin@uwaterloo.ca.

I look forward to speaking with you and thank you for your assistance in this project.

Yours sincerely,

Sha Chang

University of Waterloo

Department of Geography and Environmental Management

519-729-0077

S52chang@uwaterloo.ca

APPENDIX D. Door to Door Anonymous Survey Invitation Letter:

Date

Dear Resident:

This letter is an invitation to consider participating in a study I am conducting as part of my Master's degree in the Department of Geography and Environmental Management at the University of Waterloo, Ontario, Canada under the supervision of Professor Sanjay Nepal. I would like to provide you with more information about this project and what your involvement would entail if you decide to participate.

As you may know, Collingwood has been experiencing dynamic changes in respect to the local economy and community. This study is designed to understand the characteristics of economy and community in transitions, and explore the internal linkages of the two. In particular, this study will focus on three aspects: a) local stakeholders' experiences in terms of economic, social, and political conditions in town b) the relationships between newcomers and local long-term residents, and the role of the local government in the process of development c) Residents' perceptions toward local economic development especially tourism-centred economic development programs and how these on-going development projects impact on the residents' daily living and working experiences. Thus, I would very much appreciate the opportunity to speak with you about this. Thus, I would appreciate the opportunity to speak with you about your experience on this topic.

I plan to conduct this research as a door-to-door survey between the hours of 5 pm and 8 pm, and expect to be in your neighbourhood during the week of July 25 to July 31. However, I would be happy to arrange another time, if you prefer. Your involvement in this survey is entirely voluntary and there are no known or anticipated risks to participation in this study. If you agree to participate, the survey should not take more than about 15 minutes. The questions are quite general (for example, do you consider yourself a full-time or part-time resident in Collingwood?) However, you may decline answering any questions you feel you do not wish to answer. All information you provide will be considered confidential and will be grouped with responses from other participants. Further, because this is an anonymous survey the researchers have no way of identifying you or getting in touch with you should you choose to tell us something about yourself or your life experiences. The data collected will be kept for a period of 3 in my supervisor's office at the University of Waterloo.

If after receiving this letter, you have any questions about this study, or would like additional information to assist you in reaching a decision about participation, please feel free to contact me by email at s52chang@uwaterloo.ca. You can also contact my supervisor, Professor Sanjay Nepal at snepal@uwaterloo.ca or phone at +1(519)-888-4567, Ext. 31239. I would like to assure you that this study has been reviewed and received ethics clearance through a University of Waterloo

Research Ethics Committee. However, the final decision about participation is yours. Should you have comments or concerns resulting from your participation in this study, please contact Dr. Maureen Nummelin in the Office of Research Ethics at 1-519-888-4567, Ext. 36005 or Maureen.nummelin@uwaterloo.ca.

I look forward to speaking with you and thank you for your assistance in this project.

Yours sincerely,

Sha Chang

University of Waterloo

Department of Geography and Environmental Management

519-729-0077

S52chang@uwaterloo.ca

Appendix E. Door to Door Anonymous Survey Cover Letter:

Dear resident,

You are invited to participate in a survey I am conducting for a Master's thesis at the University of Waterloo. The course instructor is Professor Sanjay Nepal.

As introduced before, this study focuses on three aspects: a) local stakeholders' experiences in terms of economic, social, and political conditions in town b) the relationships between newcomers and local long-term residents, and the role of the local government in the process of development c) Residents' perceptions toward local economic development especially tourism-centred economic development programs and how these on-going development projects impact on the residents' daily living and working experiences. The project will help me learn more about the topic area and develop skills in research design, collection and analysis of data, and writing a master's thesis. Thus, I would very much appreciate the opportunity to speak with you about this.

I would appreciate if you would complete the attached brief questionnaire which is expected to take no more than 15 minutes of your time. The questions are quite general (for example, what business sector you are currently working in?) You may omit any question you prefer not to answer, and you may withdraw from the study at any time. Participation in this project is voluntary and anonymous. Further, all information you provide will be considered confidential. Because this is an anonymous survey the researchers have no way of identifying you or getting in touch with you should you choose to tell us something about yourself or your life experiences. The data collected through this study will be kept for a period of 3 years in a secure location and then destroyed. There are no known or anticipated risks to participation in this study.

If you have any questions about this study, or would like additional information to assist you in reaching a decision about participation, please feel free to contact the course instructor, Professor Sanjay Nepal, at 519-888-4567 ext. 31239.

I would like to assure you that this study has been reviewed and received ethics clearance through a University of Waterloo Research Ethics Committee. However, the final decision about participation is yours. Should you have any comments or concerns resulting from your participation in this study, please Dr. Maureen Nummelin, the Director, Office of Research Ethics, at 1-519-888-4567, Ext. 36005 or maureen.nummelin@uwaterloo.ca.

Thank you in advance for your interest in this project.

Yours sincerely,

Sha Chang

APPENDIX F. Interview Consent Form:

CONSENT FORM

By signing this consent form, you are not waiving your legal rights or releasing the investigator(s) or involved institution(s) from their legal and professional responsibilities.

I agree to participate in an interview and a survey being conducted by Sha Chang of the Department of Geography and Environmental Management under the supervision of Professor Sanjay Nepal at the University of Waterloo, Ontario, Canada. I have made this decision based on the information I have received in the Information Letter and have had the opportunity to receive any additional details I wanted about the study. As a participant in this study, I realize that I will be asked to take part in an approximately 45 minutes interview and that I may decline answering any of the questions, if I so choose. All information which I provide will be held in confidence and I will not be identified in the thesis, report or publication. I understand that I may withdraw this consent at any time by asking that the interview be stopped.

I am aware that I have the option of allowing my interview to be audio recorded to ensure an accurate recording of my responses. I am also aware that excerpts from the interview may be included in the thesis and/or publications to come from this research, with the understanding that the quotations will be anonymous. I was informed that I may withdraw my consent at any time without penalty by advising the researcher. This project has been reviewed by, and received ethics clearance through at the University of Waterloo Research Ethics Committee. I was informed that if I have any comments or concerns resulting from my participation in this study, I may contact the Director, Office of Research Ethics at 519-888-4567 ext. 36005.

With full knowledge of all foregoing, I agree, of my own free will, to participate in this study.

0YES 0NO

I agree to have my interview audio recorded.

0YES 0NO

I agree to the use of anonymous quotations in any thesis or publication that comes of this research.

0YES 0NO

Participant Name: _____ (Please print)

Participant Signature: _____

Witness Name: _____ (Please print)

Witness Signature: _____ Date: _____

Appendix G. Appreciation Letter for the Interview:

Date

Dear _____,

I would like to thank you for your participation in this study entitled “Small Towns in Transition: An Exploratory Study in Collingwood, Ontario, Canada”.

As a reminder, the purpose of this study is to understand the characteristics of economy and social transitions, and explore the linkages of the two by questioning whether economic transition leads to community transition or not and vice versa in the Town of Collingwood, Ontario.

The data collected from the interviews will contribute to a better understanding of a) local stakeholders’ experiences in terms of economic, social and political conditions in town b) the relationships between newcomers and local long-term residents, and the role of the local government in the process of community development c) residents’ perception toward local economic development especially tourism-centred economic development, and how these on-going development projects impact on the residents’ daily living and working experiences.

Please remember that any data pertaining to you as an individual participant will be kept confidential. Once all the data are collected and analyzed for this project, I plan on sharing this information with the research community through seminars, conferences, presentations, and journal articles. If you are interested in receiving more information regarding the results of this study, or would like a summary of the results, please provide your email address, and when the study is completed, anticipated by 10 August 2017. I will send you the information. In the meantime, if you have any questions about the study, please do not hesitate to contact me by email or telephone as noted below. As with all University of Waterloo projects involving human participants, this project was reviewed by, and received ethics clearance through a University of Waterloo Research Ethics Committee. Should you have any comments or concerns resulting from your participation in this study, please contact Dr. Maureen Nummelin, the Director, Office of Research Ethics, at 1-519-888-4567, Ext. 36005 or maureen.nummelin@uwaterloo.ca.

Sha Chang

University of Waterloo

Department of Geography and Environmental Management

519-729-0077

S52chang@waterloo.ca

APPENDIX H. Appreciation Letter for the Survey:

University of Waterloo

Date

Dear _____,

I would like to thank you for your participation in this study entitled “Small Towns in Transition: An Exploratory Study in Collingwood, Ontario, Canada”.

As a reminder, the purpose of this study is to understand the characteristics of economy and social transitions, and explore the linkages of the two by questioning whether economic transition leads to community transition or not and vice versa in the Town of Collingwood, Ontario.

The data collected from the surveys will contribute to a better understanding of a) local stakeholders’ experiences in terms of economic, social and political conditions in town b) the relationships between newcomers and local long-term residents, and the role of the local government in the process of development c) residents’ perception toward local economic development especially tourism-centred economic development, and how these on-going development projects impact on the residents’ daily living and working experiences.

Please remember that any data pertaining to you as an individual participant will be kept confidential. Once all the data are collected and analyzed for this project, I plan on sharing this information with the research community through seminars, conferences, presentations, and journal articles. If you are interested in receiving more information regarding the results of this study, or would like a summary of the results, please provide your email address, and when the study is completed, anticipated by 10 August, 2017. I will send you the information. In the meantime, if you have any questions about the study, please do not hesitate to contact me by email or telephone as noted below. As with all University of Waterloo projects involving human participants, this project was reviewed by, and received ethics clearance through a University of Waterloo Research Ethics Committee. Should you have any comments or concerns resulting from your participation in this study, please contact Dr. Maureen Nummelin, the Director, Office of Research Ethics, at 1-519-888-4567, Ext. 36005 or maureen.nummelin@uwaterloo.ca.

Sha Chang

University of Waterloo

Department of Geography and Environmental Management

519-729-0077

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APPENDIX I. Coding Samples

(Key informant #14) Why did you originally come to Collingwood?

Well, I originally came, or we originally came, my husband and I to Collingwood...to retire, to enjoy it, just relax, doing a little travelling, and just take life a little easy. This is being a little bit easy, it is very busy... so...it was not planned, I never plan to have the store, it is just evolved. That was not our original (plan). Well, I...love it, so it is something that is in me, that has to come out. So I cannot do nothing, I have to do something. This is...my passion.

(Key informant #23) What are the reasons to run this type of business (wellness, clinic, health) in town?

So in...Collingwood has very active population. This is time it is an active senior population but there are a lot of younger families moving here as well. So when you think of putting any type of wellness business, you definitely want to be in an active population, those of the people we can treat those of the people we can help... that was probably the main reasons is looking for a population that have an active healthy lifestyle. So they are interested in getting back to whatever sport that they are in, and they are not living in a pain focused lifestyle they want to get back out there you know get back to their activities. Yeah and Collingwood has a large demographic of that type of person here. The other side is that you need to be somewhere aware is where economically sound enough that people can afford your services, because our services are covered under OHIP, they are covered under a lot of extended health benefit, but you need to be somewhere where people could afford what you are offering so that is part of the demographic in Collingwood as well.

(Key informant #12) Do you expect to see more local tourism development?

I think so yeah. The town really is trying to draw the people in, there is a downtown Collingwood business association and even things like the farmers market, the farmers market is larger than last year, there are more restaurants than there were last year. Again the waterfront development plan half of the reason for that is to bring more tourists and you know not just from the city but by boat providing a marina for them, so the town is very tourist minded and really trying to bring people in.

(Key informant #11) How is the business going so far?

The market this year is very strong, there is definitely a shortage of inventory. There is a lot more buyers at this time than there are sellers hmmm so that is creating a very unusual market for us. ...lots of multiple offers and hmmm that's sort of thing. We haven't filled to that degree, but this year because we have such a shortage of inventory we are starting to see multiple offers... just market condition where is driving prices up and the price is going over list and all simply because there is more buyers than there are properties for sale... Because the lifestyle live younger families, so there has been a whole movement for people that cannot afford a million dollars as a start home in Toronto now they come to Collingwood to be looking in our area. And also because the lifestyle that it provides it is becoming a very popular place to be so that is sort of nutshell the whole market conditions.