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COMMUNITY BASED TOURISM PLANNING AND POLICY: THE CASE OF THE BAFFIN REGION, NUNAVUT

by

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A thesis submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts in Geography.

Abstract

This thesis explores twenty years of community based tourism policy and planning in the Baffin Region. This rise of local participation in tourism development is reviewed. Such an approach is seen as being potentially beneficial to marginalized aboriginal people in remote areas. This, combined with political support for Inuit self determination, formed the rationale behind community based tourism policy in Baffin.

With its extensive community participation program, the planning process formed a strategy for sustainable tourism. Since then, the industry has grown but some of the strategy's goals have not been met. The number of Inuit involved in the industry initially increased, but is now beginning to decline and turnover is high. Interest in the industry, and initiatives such as training, need to arise from inside communities rather than the government. To complement traditional subsistence hunting, the tourism industry must support short term employment.

Résumé

Le présent ouvrage se veut une exploration des vingt dernières années de politique et de planification communautaire du tourisme de la région de Baffin. Cette étude analyse l'implication de plus en plus active de la population locale dans ce développement touristique. Une telle approche est apperçue comme étant bénéfique pour les populations locales aborigènes. Ceci, combiné au support politique pour l'autodétermination des Inuits, constituent la base des politiques comunautaires du tourisme de Baffin.

Grâce à ce programme intensif de participation communautaire, le processus de planification a engendré une stratégie viable du tourisme. Depuis ce temps, il y eut une croissance de l'industrie touristique, mais certains buts n'ont pas encore été atteint. En effet, le nombre des Inuits impliqués dans l'industrie avait augmenté au départ, mais serait présentement en déclin, où on remarque un haut taux de remplacements. L'intérêt pour l'industrie touristique et des initiatives telles que l'entraînement au travail doivent parvenir des communautés mêmes et non du gouvernement. L'industrie touristique se doit de supporter les emploies à court terme afin de complémentariser la subsistance et la chasse traditionnelle.

Acknowledgments

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I thank Simon Milne and George Wenzel for the time and funding they invested in me. Their editing and support were essential. As supervisors of my research, their different roles were complementary. Simon's work in tourism fueled my initial interest in tourism research, and George's knowledge of the North provided me with background on the people and the place.

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Community Based Tourism Planning and Policy: the case of the Baffin Region, Nunavut

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Glossary of Acronyms

AEDO	Area Economic Development Officer
CEDO	Community Economic Development Officer
EDO	Economic Development Officer
ED&T	Department of Economic Development and Tourism
GNWT	Government of the Northwest Territories
ITC	Inuit Tapirisat of Canada
MTRG	McGill Tourism Research Group
NTI	Nunavut Tunngavik Inc.
NWT	Northwest Territories
RWED	Department of Resources, Wildlife and Economic Development

Chapter 1 Introduction

1.1 Tourism Planning and Policy

Tourism is the world's largest industry and employer (Hall 1994). No other industry intersects so many economic sectors, levels and interests (Cater & Lowman 1994). It is more than an industry and a business activity. Its dependence upon hosts and guests sharing the same spaces makes it "a universal dynamic social phenomenon" (Elliot 1997, 4). In this way, tourism can be seen as a double-edged sword; great development potential that can, and often does, come at considerable economic, cultural and environmental cost (de Kadt 1976).

Over the past five decades of development, tourism was dominated by the philosophy of simply promoting growth (Gunn 1994; Inskeep 1991). This resulted in mass tourism, which was viewed as a beneficial catalyst for development in regions with few other economic options (Cater 1995). However, as an industry, mass tourism is often thought to offer little opportunity for local control or benefit (Smith & Eadington 1992).

Policy makers are now considering alternative forms of tourism development that will allow better management of the economic, social and environmental impacts associated with conventional or mass tourism (de Kadt 1992; Inskeep 1991). Governments no longer spend their entire budgets on promotion, but are also trying to ensure that some of the economic benefits from tourism stay in local communities, and that areas are not inundated by tourists. There is a focus on local aspirations and values (Gunn 1994).

At the same time, many factors point to intensifying tourism growth in previously inaccessible regions. This growth is stimulated by governments' need to create jobs in rural and isolated areas, consumers' increased demand for out of the way destinations, and airlines' extended flight routes (Gunn 1994). According to Gunn (1994), planning has become a practical necessity rather than just a theoretical perspective.

Hall (1994, 34) states that tourism planning and policy go hand-in-hand because both are essentially political. Tourism planning reflects the economic, environmental and social goals of government; policy is the expression of a government's chosen course of action, providing the underlying values upon which development of a region is based. Keller (1982) indicates that the way to assist planners and policy-makers in forming tourism strategies is to provide research evaluating the contributions and impacts of tourism to regional development through time.

1.2 The Case Study

Governments recognize the income and employment opportunities that tourism can bring to indigenous populations living in remote areas (Hinch and Swinnerton 1993). In the poorer regions of a country, the public sector takes an active role in promoting development that will balance benefits and impacts in the favour of local public interest (Elliott 1997). Yet, the task of stimulating economic growth in peripheral regions is even more complex, when the majority of the population is still involved in a traditional land-based economy (Young

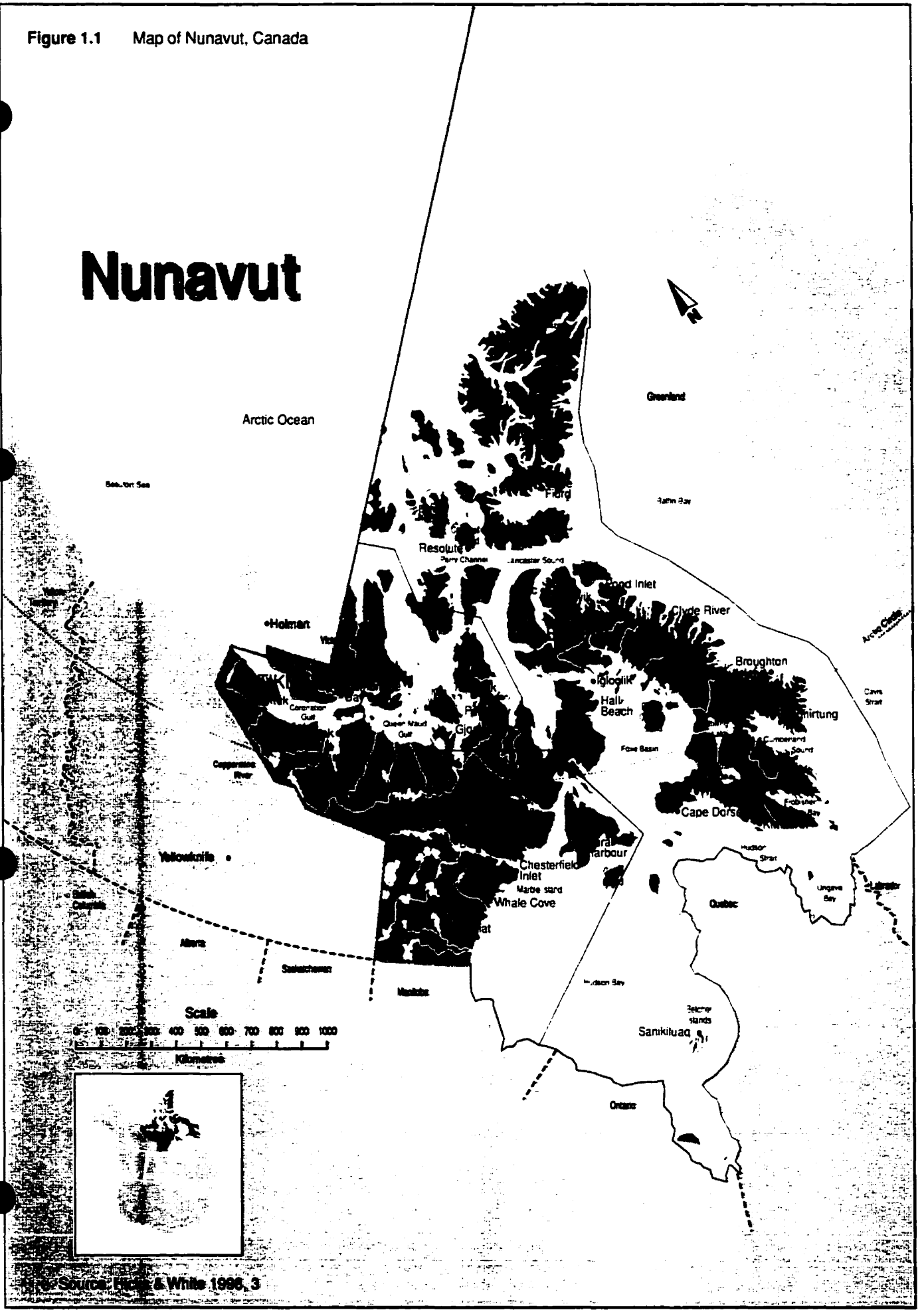
1995). Seasonal subsistence hunting, for example, conflicts with the regular work hours required by wage labour (Whittington 1985). The case study of community based tourism in the Baffin Region provides an illustration of these issues.

This year, Nunavut was formed through the division of Canada's Northwest Territories (NWT) (see Figure 1.1). Located in eastern Nunavut, the Baffin Region is made up of thirteen communities and has a majority Inuit population (Whittington 1985).

Worldwide, there has been growing recognition of indigenous rights to self-determination, including self-government, as seen in the 1993 United Nations Draft Declaration (IWGIA 1994). The formation of Nunavut and the Nunavut Land Claim Agreement are an important expression of the political change occurring in Canada's North with regards to indigenous people.

The NWT has been described as having a 'frontier society', in that two modes of production co-exist within the economy (Hamley 1993). These are the domestic native economy, and an industrial economy employing mostly non-natives. NWT Government (GNWT) policy stressed the necessity of improving native employment opportunities since the mid-1970s, but operationalizing the concept has proved difficult because the northern economy is still in transition from subsistence to a wage-based economy (GNWT 1990a; Hinch 1995).

Figure 1.1 Map of Nunavut, Canada



Source: Hicks & White 1998, 3

1.3 The Research Question and Objectives

Beginning in the 1960s, the sale of sealskins became an important economic activity for Baffin Inuit as it fitted in with their lifestyle of subsistence hunting (Wenzel 1991). However, the European Union (EU) ban on sealskin imports in 1983, ended what for many Inuit had been their only access to the cash economy (Wenzel 1991). During the same year, the NWT introduced an innovative plan for tourism development. The resulting community based tourism strategy represented a major shift in northern economic development policy, both for the increased focus it placed on tourism and because of its community based approach (GNWT 1983).

It has been suggested (Grekin & Milne 1996; Nickels *et al.* 1991), that the GNWT turned to tourism development as a reaction to the economic devastation that occurred in communities following the EU sealskin ban. This cause and effect relationship, in fact, initially formed the main working hypothesis for this research. However, an examination of policy over the period in question, made it clear that the interest in developing community based tourism began earlier (GNWT 1978), at a time when there was no anticipation of the market collapse.

The following research question thus emerged: how did community based tourism come to be a major component of local economic development policy in the Baffin Region? To answer this question, the present analysis will encompass the past thirty years of national, territorial and regional economic development policy and planning as they apply to tourism in the Baffin. The scope of this thesis includes the period up to the changeover from the GNWT to the Nunavut

Government on April 1, 1999. Since it is an historical analysis, the thesis will refer to GNWT policy rather than to the Government of Nunavut. For continuity within the thesis, the geographical area is usually referred to as the Northwest Territories(NWT) rather than Nunavut.

This thesis aims to provide a basis for understanding the causes and consequences of GNWT policies, decisions and actions regarding tourism development. I will examine the circumstances that led the GNWT to formulate its community based tourism policy, and how this policy was implemented in the Baffin Region. The objectives of this research are to examine the policy and planning of tourism development. Specifically:

- to research the underlying policy motivations to discover why tourism was chosen as an impetus to economic development and how planners arrived at a community based development approach.
- to compare the planning process, strategy and outcome against government policy aims: to involve local participation; to increase economic benefit to local residents; and to spread benefits throughout the communities of the region.
- to examine the tourism strategy that concentrated upon learn/observe/experience tourism.
- to evaluate the GNWT's consultative planning process and community based strategy as a model for sustainable development.

As the final thesis to be completed under the aegis of the McGill Tourism Research Group (MTRG) Arctic Dreams project, this study will also provide context for the case studies which focused on Inuit perceptions of tourism in individual Baffin communities (Grekin 1994; Nickels 1992; Tarbotton 1995; Ward 1993; Woodley 1999).

1.4 Methodology

Both interviews and archival research have been used to achieve the study objectives. The field work portion of the research was completed in Iqaluit. Seventeen one-on-one interviews were conducted with individuals who either work(ed) for the GNWT, or are involved in the tourism industry. The historical nature of the study made it necessary to speak with regional policy makers who had been in the Baffin during the late 1970s, at the beginning of tourism planning (Table 1.1). Other respondents included community based development workers and tourism operators. Many of the individuals interviewed have been continuously involved in Baffin's tourism development over the past 20 years.

All interviews were arranged in advance and usually conducted at the individual's place of work in Iqaluit. Exceptions to this included: two completed by email with people based in Yellowknife, one conducted as a breakfast meeting, and another as a home visit. I had an agenda for each meeting, but allowed the discussion to be free-ranging within the parameters of my study interests. Most interviews were audio taped and then transcribed, but for a few I relied upon note-taking. I was careful, at all times, to respect the wishes of individuals when they indicated that they did not wish their comments to be attributed. Also there were times when taping seemed inappropriate due to the informal tone of the interview, for example, at the breakfast meeting, and during the interview with Inuk guide Meeka Mike.

Table 1.1 Interviews conducted between July 14 and August 7, 1998 in Iqaluit, Nunavut

Date	Name and Title(s)	Aim of Interview
July 14/98	David Monteith Assistant Director, Parks and Tourism RWED, GNWT (formerly) Area Economic Development Officer, Pond Inlet	Overview of tourism industry structure Background on its development Role of RWED in tourism How were seal skin ban and tourism strategy linked?
July 21/98	Rick Hamburg Parks and Tourism Officer RWED, GNWT (formerly) Regional Tourism Officer, Iqaluit	History of tourism development in the region How did communities have input in policy, strategies? History of tourism policy
July 21/98	Alan Vaughan (email interview) Consultant (formerly) Head, Long Range Planning, GNWT, Yellowknife	What played a major role in forming the 1983 tourism strategy? Why did the GNWT in Baffin decide to focus on tourism? Why a community based approach to development?
July 22/98	Richard Zeiba (email interview) Statistician, RWED GNWT, Yellowknife	How to measure real growth in tourism in the last 15 years? eg. arrivals and expenditures
July 27/98	Ken McRury Deputy Minister of Health GNWT, Iqaluit (formerly) Regional Director, GNWT Baffin Region	Why did Baffin decide to concentrate on tourism development? Why community-based development? How has the responsibility for tourism changed departments? Today, does tourism fit the plan for economic development in Baffin?
July 28/98	Dorothee Komangapik (home interview) Manager/Curator Nunatta Sunakkutaangit Museum	History of tourism development in Baffin
July 28/98	Cheri Kemp-Kineer Executive Director Nunavut Tourism	Nunavut Tourism: role and responsibilities in tourism development What image of the Baffin is projected, how has it changed? What is the projected image of Baffin and how it has changed?
July 29/98	Jim Edmonson Policy Consultant RWED, GNWT Yellowknife	What was the role of the Carrothers Commission in NWT development? When did the region begin to focus on community-based development?

Table 1.1 Interviews conducted between July 14 and August 7, 1998 in Iqaluit, Nunavut (cont'd)

Date	Name and Title(s)	Aim of Interview
July 29/98	Jack Hicks Asst. Director, Strategic Planning RWED, GNWT	Background on General Development Agreement, when & what funded? Help with finding archival material
July 30/98	Kenn Harper (breakfast meeting) Entrepreneur	Gain the perspective of a long-time resident and business person on tourism development in the Baffin Region
July 30/98	David Monteith	Clarification of how decentralization affected responsibility for tourism Roles of RWED, CEDOs, Nunavut Tourism
August 4/98	Greg Logan Regional Tourism Development Coordinator Nunavut Tourism	How he works within communities to develop their tourism products Roles of RWED, CEDOs, Nunavut Tourism
August 5/98	Katherine Trumper Deputy Minister Sustainable Development Iqaluit, GNWT (formerly) Area Economic Development Officer, Pangnirtung	History of tourism policy in Baffin What is the link between the seal skin ban and tourism? How to find archival material
August 5/98	Colleen Dupuis Baffin Chamber of Commerce Consultant (formerly) General Manager Baffin Tourism Association	History of tourism development in Baffin How the Baffin Tourism Association (BTA) worked Future directions?
August 6/98	Matty McNair Co-Owner Northwinds Arctic Adventures	Compare working under Nunavut Tourism and BTA How does tourism policy affect business? Does Northwinds work with Inuit?
August 7/98	Meeka Mike Manager Qimuk Adventure Tours	Compare working under Nunavut Tourism and BTA How does tourism policy affect business?
August 7/98	Rick Hamburg	Background on Nunavut Tourism and BTA Help with finding archival material

Perhaps because the majority of my interviews were conducted with government officials, interviews were fairly easy to set up and people were generous with their time. I tried, unsuccessfully, to speak with a representative of Marshall Macklin Monaghan Ltd., the consulting firm that handled the planning for the regional community based strategy. Instead, this input was gathered through published conference proceedings, in which one of the original team of consultants who worked in the Baffin evaluated the process ten years later (Robbins 1992).

The other half of the research was archival work. This consisted of the analysis of government documents related to policy decisions made in the 1970s and 1980s, as well as MTRG case studies, industry reports and GNWT reports from individual Baffin communities. I relied upon the help of GNWT officials who granted me access to historical documents and set up loaning privileges for me at the Arctic College library. This section of the research was challenging as the government responsibility for tourism has moved through three departments since its inception, and many records are incomplete or missing. Major sources include: annual policy reports for the Department of Economic Development and Tourism (ED&T) (GNWT 1977 to 1990); the Resources, Wildlife and Economic Development (RWED) Arctic Development Library of CD ROM disks; a series of seven reports on the 1982 Baffin Regional Tourism Planning Project (Marshall *et al.* 1981, 1982); GNWT tourism strategies (GNWT 1983; ED&T 1988); and an evaluation of community based tourism prepared for ED&T (Reimer & Dialla 1992). At McGill, I collected the MTRG industry reports and theses (1992 to

1999). Reports that could not be found in Iqaluit, eg. the Marshall Macklin Monaghan series, could often be found in other Canadian university libraries. These sources were traced through the McGill Interlibrary Loans Office.

The basis for analysis used in this thesis is primarily qualitative. The case study region is a developing area, and even with a large government presence, there is a critical absence of accurate data. The tourism industry involves many different types of business activities, and to date, there are very few standardized procedures set up within the government for collecting such data (Hicks, 1999 personal communication). This has made analyzing the success or failure of the tourism strategy a difficult task when looking at tourism growth alone. However, the lack of numerical data was offset by the insights and interpretations of economic indicators of growth offered by GNWT staff. The continuity of the Baffin Region government staff involved in the compilation and interpretation of these data, increases confidence in their usefulness as a tool for the analysis of regional tourism development over the last twenty years

1.5 Chapter Outline

The following chapter will review the literature on tourism planning and policy in developing regions. Its purpose is to provide an overview of debates and issues relating to tourism development. The main theme is the movement toward more sustainable tourism development. Concepts such as community participation and forms of ecotourism are discussed to contribute to a background for analyzing the case study. Finally, the benefits of tourism development in remote

aboriginal communities are explored. Cultural and environmental issues, as well as the critical issue of community control are also considered.

Chapter Three provides a profile of the Baffin Region. The environmental, political, social, and economic factors present in the region form the backdrop for understanding the opportunities and constraints upon tourism development. In the final section, I review the tourism sector and in particular, the factors underlying its structure and development are explored. In this respect, central issues are Inuit dependence upon subsistence hunting, the lack of employment opportunities in Baffin communities, and the low rate of Inuit participation in the wage economy. This chapter ends with a discussion of literature from the 1970s which suggests that involvement in tourism may provide a link for Inuit between the subsistence economy and the wage economy.

Chapter Four examines overall economic development policy in the Northwest Territories, focusing on the period of the late 1970s. The purpose of this section is to provide the reasoning behind the development of Baffin's community based tourism strategy. Both GNWT reports and policy-makers have been consulted to explore the influence of political and economic factors on the choice of tourism development.

Chapter Five describes Baffin's community based tourism strategy, from planning and public consultation stages through to implementation and monitoring. This chapter addresses issues of community consultation, and in particular, which stakeholders participated in the 1981 and the 1982 studies. The latter sections of Chapter Five focus on the period from 1982 to 1998, to

explore how the strategy was implemented, and to evaluate its effectiveness. First, the decision to focus on non-consumptive tourism is questioned to determine whether it fully represented local aspirations. Then a review of implementation looks at the stages of community development, to determine how individual communities were assigned a level of development priority, how the region has been promoted to tourist markets, and how progress has been monitored. The final section evaluates the community based approach to tourism in Baffin. Achievements are measured from economic and social perspectives. Industry growth and resident attitudes toward tourism development are two key factors that contribute to an understanding of whether the tourism strategy met policy goals.

Chapter Six analyzes the findings and presents conclusions about the approach to community based tourism taken in the Baffin Region. From this, recommendations are made for future development of the industry. This section ends by suggesting areas where further study is required.

Chapter 2 Tourism and Development: A Review

2.1 Introduction

This chapter is divided into three sections that provide the context for the thesis by reviewing literature on tourism and economic development. The first section begins with an examination of the growth of mass tourism in the Third World and its accompanying problem of dependency. Next, the literature discussing the move toward more sustainable tourism development is explored. A central theme in this section is the degree to which local control is possible in tourism projects designed to promote community based decision-making. Following this, the growth of alternative forms of sustainable tourism, such as ecotourism, is explored. The third section focuses primarily upon aboriginal tourism, considering issues of self-determination, as well as social and economic impacts.

2.2 Tourism and Dependency

From the 1950s, development of economically marginal regions and countries has been a central concern of policy-makers (Hewitt 1992). The dominant political and economic ideology influencing development encouraged poorer countries to follow the lead of industrialized nations in moving towards modernization. This meant development policy that stressed growth in GNP as a means to create employment, increase income and material wealth (Hewitt 1992). In the academic literature, the prevalent theories embraced this top-down approach to development (Young 1995). The 'trickle down effect' suggested that

the benefits of economic growth would gradually filter through to the population at large (Hewitt 1992; Young 1995). During the same period, Rostow's model of the Stages of Economic Growth proposed that all countries pass through five stages, and that underdeveloped countries were simply at an earlier stage than industrialized ones (Griffin 1973). Another perspective supported the idea that modernization would begin in 'core' regions and naturally spread to the 'periphery' (Young 1995).

The 1960s also brought the emergence of mass tourism. Tourism was seen as a way to diversify the economies of the developing world by providing a direct flow of foreign exchange from wealthy countries (Allen & Hamnett 1995; Crick 1989; de Kadt 1976; Liu 1998). Tourism was viewed as an easy economic opportunity for infrastructure poor countries, being reliant only upon a area's natural and cultural resources (Crick 1989; de Kadt 1976).

Tourism has spread unevenly across the globe and between sectors of society (Cater 1995). First World countries continue to be the most visited, generate the most income from tourism, and have the largest number of tourists (Mowforth & Munt 1998, 17). Europe receives sixty percent of tourist arrivals, whereas the developing world accounts for only twenty percent (Cater 1995). Economic growth has not consistently trickled down to result in more equitable income distribution, and the gap between rich and poor regions has widened (Hewitt 1992; UNDP 1996). Even within industrialized nations, the benefits of growth have not spread from the core regions to the periphery, as theorized, but instead continue to flow within and between metropolitan core economies. This

has resulted in the marginalization of remote regions and people living there (Young 1995).

The paradox of this uneven growth and development has been explained by an imbalance of economic power, often established during colonial times, that led to the dependence of developing regions upon developed, industrialized regions (Britton 1996; Fik 1997; Hewitt 1992; Keller 1982). The relationship, based upon trade, began unequally: poorer regions supplied raw materials to developed regions in exchange for manufactured goods. Narrowly based economies of less developed regions were subject to the fluctuations of world prices for their primary commodities. The resulting uneven interdependence is seen as being responsible for maintaining and worsening regional economic disparities both within and between countries (Fik 1997; McMichael 1996).

Dependency theory (Frank 1972) has been applied to the growth of mass international tourism in the Third World (Britton 1996; Crick 1989). The historical development of a colonial export economy in a region sets the stage for modern-day tourism industries that are dominated by local elites and outside ownership (see Milne 1997). When travellers purchase inclusive foreign-owned airline, hotel and activity packages before they leave home, the main economic benefits leak out of the destination region. Britton's model for dependent tourism development (1996: 168) explains how this process forms and reinforces a hierarchical tier of foreign-owned commercial power, leaving only small, peripheral services to be provided by local entrepreneurs.

In such a setting, it seems that the mass tourism industry formed in a manner that put much of it beyond the control of developing countries. For this reason, international tourism in the Third World has been described as reminiscent of colonial power and control (Allen & Hamnett 1995; Chambers 1997).

2.2.1 Impacts of Tourism

Along with a lack of control, tourism brings other issues to developing regions and countries. The expansion of international tourism can cause local taxes to rise, as well as prices for labour, goods and land (Butler 1992; Crick 1989). Residents may have to choose between tourism employment and traditional pursuits. This is because the timing of the tourist season often conflicts with traditional agricultural or hunting activities (Butler 1992; Hitchcock 1997; Pearce 1998; Reimer & Dialla 1992).

Aside from economic considerations, the host environment and society can also suffer adverse impacts. The local environment is a key attraction for tourism, yet a fast-growing industry can result in environmental degradation. The limited infrastructure present in developing regions may not be sufficient to deal with the increase in garbage and sewage, as well as demands for water that come with a large increase in the number of visitors (Butler 1992; Cater 1995).

In terms of social impacts, residents in less developed regions have little control over tourist expectations or the manner of the contact experienced (Hitchcock 1997). This begins with outsiders' image of the destination, largely

determined by promotional media that are created and viewed outside the developing region, whether in the form of films, travel brochures or magazines (Milne *et al.* 1998; Silver 1993). As a result, local people may have no control over the expectations of arriving tourists. Further, the behaviour of visitors may be culturally inappropriate to residents, such as indigenous groups, and this can result in locals becoming unwilling hosts (Smith 1977).

The process of acculturation figures prominently in the discussion of the social impacts that arise in the meeting of hosts and guests. Much has been written about the stark contrast that exists between the idealized view that tourists hold of an area and the realities of everyday life for locals (Cohen 1988; MacCannell 1973; Milne *et al.* 1998; Urry 1990). To understand the gap between real and ideal cultures, Cohen (1988) looks at the impacts of tourism through the processes of commoditization and authenticity. First, he draws on Greenwood's idea that tourism leads to commoditization, in which culture is packaged for sale to visitors who come to experience 'colourful' local customs, rituals and art. According to Greenwood (1977), it is through commoditization that cultural expressions and human relations are changed, making them eventually meaningless. Since local culture can be commoditized by anyone, without the consent of the participants, it can be expropriated, and the local people exploited (Greenwood 1977). Cohen's (1988) second point builds on MacCannell's theory that commoditization destroys the authenticity of cultural expression, eventually resulting in the emergence of a surrogate 'staged authenticity'. Through the process of commoditization, cultural expressions

become increasingly oriented to the external public, and rituals may be shortened or changed to suit the tastes of tourists.

Chambers (1997) points out that the local resident's point of view and motivations are too often missing in discussions of tourism's impacts. Dependency theory has also been criticized for not recognizing the agency of local people and their ability to influence their own development (Corbridge 1990). To conclude that tourism is bad for developing countries would be to disregard the fact that despite its inherent impacts, tourism is still one of few economic options available to many poor regions and countries (Cater 1995). As Poon (1993) indicates, the size and spread of tourism across the globe means that the issue is not a question of whether to develop tourism, but how.

2.3 Toward More Sustainable Development

The concept of sustainable development came to be widely discussed after the World Commission on Environment and Development (WCED) published the Bruntland report in 1987 (Barrow 1995; de Kadt 1992; Hall & Lew 1998). The report produced a definition that is widely referred to: "sustainable development is development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs" (WCED 1987, 43). However, despite the appeal of sustainable development, Hall & Lew (1998) draw attention to widespread uncertainty over finding a workable definition. Barrow (1995) explores the evolution of the term and its various interpretations and questions whether it is possible to have ongoing development that is

sustainable. Further, Milne (1998, 36) notes that it may not be possible to resolve conflict between different scales of resolution. He asserts that while the contradictory goals of continued economic growth and ecological and societal stability/sustainability may never be met, the concept of sustainable development provides a focal point for stakeholder discussion.

The Bruntland Report was a response to the general recognition of the deficiencies in conventional development theory and quantitative economic analysis (de Kadt 1992). One result of unchecked market-led growth is that individuals use natural resources short-sightedly, enticed by short term benefits and heedless of the needs of both marginal populations and future generations (Zazueta 1995, 1). This understanding has created a political shift toward greater regulatory involvement of the state, managing and directing growth in the best interest of the public (de Kadt 1992). The result is a move towards forms of development that are ecologically-minded, small-scale, based upon a long-range view, and consider present and future local needs in equal measure. Hawken (1993) demonstrates, however, that this shift is not occurring everywhere at the same level. In some cases, only lip service is paid to the concept of sustainable development.

The problem of growing regional disparities in development raises the question of how policy decisions are made, and for whose benefit.

> A given political unit is not necessarily of the right size for economic development to benefit those whose need is the greatest. In some cases it may be too small, but in the generality of cases today it is too large (Schumacher 1973, 164).

Liu (1998) provides an example where tourism growth in less developed countries continues to be promoted in the most accessible regions with the most infrastructure. While this policy is understandable in a country with few resources, it reinforces the development of a wealthier core and poorer periphery. An "increase in the national cake is viewed as far more important than questions of how the cake might be spatially made and distributed" (Liu 1998, 32).

Hall (1994) has pointed out that coordinated national and regional policy make for more sustainable development. The case of Bali, as presented by Picard (1993), illustrates differing views of development at the national and regional levels. Bali's national master plan for the development of tourism concentrated on luxury resorts, mostly owned and operated by large Indonesian or foreign corporations. This type of development earned foreign currency and provided low-skilled employment for locals, but formed limited links with the domestic Balinese economy.

At the same time, unanticipated growth occurred in another sector of the industry. Budget tourists began arriving and were catered to by small scale locally-owned Balinese accommodation and services. Whereas Indonesia's priority at the national level is still ~~for~~ development of high-end services in Bali, the regional government favours the budget travel market which allows the local population to own businesses and so benefit more from tourism. In a comparison of the two scales of development, Rodenburg (1980) finds that not

only do smaller scale enterprises offer more profit and control to locals, but they are also congruent with traditional social relationships and values.

2.3.1 Public Participation and Community Based Decision-Making

Some argue (Din 1997; Lele 1991) that the process of development must embody local participation if it is to succeed even in the short run. In a review of sustainable development and popular participation, Redclift (1995) shows that differences between Northern (developed) and Southern (developing) regions exist not only in their material circumstances, but also between their systems of knowledge. He argues that currently, sustainable development thinking employs northern management in solving southern problems. To be truly applicable to developing countries, policy must value the contribution of local knowledge.

Zazueta (1995) provides the reasoning behind public participation:

> First, if ways to involve marginal populations in policy-making are found, projects and programs will better respond to their needs. Second, it is in the interest of these populations to support policies and projects that will directly improve environmental management...And third, once people's basic needs are met, they will be more willing to invest in the well-being of future generations (1995, 1).

Added to this is the base of ecological knowledge possessed by local people who may have developed sustainable resource management systems over centuries of living in a region (Vivian 1995).

This view of bottom-up development promotes devolution of power from central political systems to the community level (de Kadt 1992). As Zazueta (1995, 20) notes:

> Clearly, government has a catalytic role to play in creating new, more democratic, and flexible policy-making institutions, structures, and methods; in developing the negotiation capacities of marginal groups; and in making available the information needed for informed choices.

With an understanding of the issues surrounding the choice between different forms of development, stakeholders, including members of the public, can decide upon the route that fits their aspirations and environment.

Asking the question 'who benefits from growth?' has led to a new ideology for development. However, the structure of the planning process and the way in which it is managed, determines how democratic participation is actually carried out. Haywood (1988) emphasizes that strategic planning is meaningless unless it is accepted and implemented at the operational level. Tourism planning has been advocated as a means of bringing development to a broader section of society (Louw & Smart 1998). Through intervention and monitoring of the tourism industry, planners can manage the impacts and the distribution of benefits.

Much has been published on the impacts of conventional or mass tourism development, but alternative ideas for achieving more sustainable development only began to surface in the academic literature in the 1980s (Gunn 1979; Haywood 1988; Inskeep 1991; Murphy 1985). The focus became long term planning, based on local decision-making. Described as a seminal piece of work, Murphy's "*Tourism: a Community Approach*" (1985), is seen as the blueprint for local participation in tourism planning (Taylor 1995). Woodley (1993) notes, and Din (1997) agrees, that the community based approach to

tourism development has come to be viewed as a prerequisite for sustainability. Still, for some researchers, the exact meaning of the term 'community based' remains unclear (Taylor 1995; Woodley 1993). On this subject, Din makes the point that:

> Tourism planners and policy makers seldom pay attention to issues considered relevant among academics. As for the host, they have never sought to understand the subject except on their terms, and their terms, like others, usually revolve around the question of...what's in it for them?" (Din 1997, 161).

A central issue in community based development is how much local control exists. Different definitions range from: "giving an opportunity to local people to become involved in the decision-making process" (Tosun & Jenkins 1998, 110), to: "producing a tourism product that the community as a whole wishes to present to the tourism market" (Murphy 1985, 37). The choice of strategy appears to be mostly influenced by the funding agency or institution (Tosun & Jenkins 1998). Depending upon how terms are defined and portrayed to the community involved, differences can arise as to the level of control expected and that which is actually given (Reimer & Dialla 1992).

Tourism planning has evolved by adopting the view that residents' local knowledge is essential for decision-making (Gunn 1994). Gunn (1994, 21) provides a comparison between conventional and new interactive planning. The most significant difference is in equating the importance of stakeholder and planner roles. Open participation consists of the planner acting as a 'value-committed advocate' rather than a 'value-neutral expert'. Still, Gunn's ultimate

belief in the indispensable role of the professional planner does not go as far in terms of community control as others have. Tosun and Jenkins (1998) review approaches to tourism planning with reference to their suitability to development in Third World countries. They find that no one model perfectly fits developing countries, and instead suggest training and developing the planning expertise of local residents.

Din (1997, 153) comments that the texts on tourism planning generally approach the subject from the macro level. While they support the idea that tourism should benefit the community, they do not explain how to mobilize local involvement. Planning for participation denotes a move from the question of who benefits, to the mechanics of who participates.

A review of the literature on community based participation techniques (Din 1997; Keogh 1990; Simmons 1994) reveals methods such as: meetings; selected interviews; public attitude surveys; mail out surveys; focus groups and the Delphi technique. Meetings have an advantage over the other forms as they can be conducted by locals, whereas more sophisticated methods rely upon being administered by a professional (see Mowforth and Munt 1998).

Mowforth and Munt (1998) review public participation using Pretty's typology. Here, seven levels of public involvement start from the situation where local residents have no power or at best a passive role. The opposite end of the spectrum is 'self-mobilization' where people participate by taking initiatives, independent of external institutions. An examination of the middle ranges of this

typology shows that the exercise of public consultation does not necessarily mean that local ideas will be reflected in the final development.

In addition to considering the degree of citizen involvement in community participation, Simmons (1994) highlights two other key elements: equity and efficiency of participation. Planners must balance the incompatibility between these three elements; each increase in the degree of citizen participation is more time consuming. As Mowforth and Munt (1998) show, the concepts behind public participation are relatively new and the techniques are flawed. Since communities are not homogenous in their views, but may have conflicts of interest, the question of who participates becomes of interest in itself.

Getz and Jamal (1994) point out that Murphy's model does not provide a process for sorting out conflicting and complex issues within a community. Rather than relying on confrontation, the writers recommend stakeholders adopt a collaborative approach. Such consensus-based tourism planning results in a communal strategic vision, and requires community, industry and environmental interests to recognize their interdependence.

Madrigal (1995) and Ryan et al. (1998) offer another approach which involved clustering groups within communities according to their attitudes toward tourism. Clusters, which range in their level of support for tourism, can then be examined to find other common features that may act as determinants for opinions. Additionally, they can indicate which groups within the population feel strongly enough about tourism to participate in decision-making. On this issue, Taylor (1995) questions whether community participation produces tourism

development that is different from any other kind. He argues that those in the community with the most to gain from tourism are the ones who participate. Taylor (1995) further suggests that such an insider approach may only differ from an outside initiative in its political expedience, lending the appearance of local empowerment. Zazueta (1995) draws attention to the fact that there are degrees of power, influence and access to decision-making within communities. For example, among marginal populations, local elites who speak for the community, may in fact only represent their own interests. As with any research, the findings of local attitude studies are only as good as the sample is representative of the whole population.

Milne (1998; 1999) foresees a progression toward more local control in commoditization. Technology, such as the internet, provides a direct link between consumers and communities. In designing their own websites, localities benefit by controlling how they profile and package themselves as a tourism destination. In the case of aboriginal tourism, the ability to design websites allows indigenous groups the opportunity to provide potential visitors with accurate cultural and historical information that may affect how tourists act and what they expect when they arrive. Further, the internet provides a venue for marketing locally-owned businesses directly to consumers.

In the past, examples of the successful application of community based approach to tourism development were rare (Woodley 1993). Inskeep agrees (1991), writing that the degree to which a plan is workable and fits into the local community has not always been an effective part of tourism planning. Sofield

(1993) provides an example of the gap between tourism planning, policy and implementation in the Solomon Islands. In this case, the policy for development was based upon a public participation study which involved extensive consultation throughout all levels of government and within local communities. The plan included both international standard resorts and small-scale indigenous tourism businesses. However, existing legislation and regulations were not considered. The legal structure placed constraints upon the development of the village-based plans, leaving no room for the application of traditional resources, skills and systems. There is now recognition that to be successful, community based planning must include the implementation stage, and must be flexible and able to respond to changing circumstances (Gunn 1994; Inskeep 1991).

2.3.2 Ecotourism

Sustainability has now become a major theme in the tourism literature, and many texts explore the changes in the industry and the emergence of new forms of tourism (Cater & Lowman 1994; Hall & Lew 1998; Mowforth & Munt 1998; Smith & Eadington 1992). There has, for example, been an increase in demand for travel to previously inaccessible places for the experience of 'untouched' wilderness and cultures (Eagles 1992; Smith 1996; Smith & Eadington 1992), making ecotourism the fastest growing segment of the industry (Cater 1995; Mowforth & Munt 1998). Ecotourism occurs on a smaller scale than forms of mass tourism, and is based upon conservation of nature and gaining understanding of local cultures (Hawkins and Khan 1998).

Mowforth and Munt (1998) list twenty five names currently being used to describe forms of tourism that are ecologically and culturally sustainable (see Table 2.1). Many authors (Butler 1992; Cater 1995; Lew 1998; Milne 1998) write that such broad parameters make sustainable tourism an idealistic concept that is difficult to operationalize.

Table 2.1 Tourism Terminology

academic tourism	ethnic tourism
adventure tourism	green tourism
agro-tourism	nature tourism
alternative tourism	risk tourism
anthro-tourism	safari tourism
appropriate tourism	scientific tourism
archaeo-tourism	soft tourism
contact tourism	sustainable tourism
cottage tourism	trekking tourism
culture tourism	truck tourism
eco-tourism	wilderness tourism
ecological tourism	wildlife tourism
environmentally friendly tourism	

Adapted from Mowforth & Munt (1998, 100)

McKercher (1993) questions whether tourism, as a resource-dependent industry, can survive the current shift toward sustainable development. He draws attention to the competition between the conservation movement and resource-consumptive economic sectors and points out that sustainable development policies may severely impact wilderness and adventure tourism. However, despite apparent contradictions, such new forms of tourism are recognized as a move toward achieving more sustainable development (Lew 1998).

While some (de Kadt 1992; Hall 1994) see the growth in alternative tourism as a result of a shift in social values, opinions vary. Poon (1993) indicates that the new forms of tourism development are characterized by a

demand for flexibility, segmentation and more authentic tourism experiences. From this perspective, new tourism has arisen as a result of post-Fordist production trends. Poon (1993) explains that tourism never fitted well within the model of mass production but is better suited to flexible production models. Mowforth and Munt (1998) write that alternative tourism has come about not as a response to the impacts of conventional mass tourism, but as an industry-driven, re-invention of itself as 'sustainable'. They argue that such forms of tourism are an extension of colonialism and control, further benefiting the already advantaged.

Although alternative tourism is growing, many agree (Butler 1992; de Kadt 1992; Inskeep 1991; Poon 1993) that it will not replace mass tourism. Butler (1992) writes that some destinations are better suited to smaller scale ecotourism, but that they are also areas that would likely not experience mass tourism, eg. because of inaccessibility. He also stresses that it is possible for alternative forms of tourism to grow into mass tourism without careful management. Mercer (1998) writes that regions and nations do not go through unidirectional change in tourism development. De Kadt (1992) says that while conventional and alternative tourism are on opposite paths, they should be regarded as continua. He suggests that policy can push development in either direction, but that policy makers can also promote sustainability by constantly striving to make the conventional more sustainable. Milne (1998; 1999) agrees and cautions that it may be counter productive to differentiate 'new', alternative

forms of tourism from 'old' mass tourism. Rather, they can be viewed as interdependent parts of an evolving industry.

2.4 Tourism Development and Aboriginal People in Remote Areas

Tourism is seen as a potentially major source of economic growth for aboriginal communities (Altman & Finlayson 1993; CTC 1996; Williams & Stewart 1997). However, many write that careful planning is required so that tourism development fits into both aboriginal culture and economy (Butler & Hinch 1996; Smith 1996).

Parallels exist between the general development processes that led to the marginalization of Third World countries and those experienced by indigenous people living in remote regions of industrialized nations. Both have experienced decolonization and economic and political marginalization (Chaturvedi 1996; Young 1995). As a group, aboriginal people also have the following characteristics in common: a subordinate position within national societies; marginal and inhospitable territories; subsistence economies (UNDP 1992, quoted in Sofield & Birtles 1996, 400). Their situation has led to them being sometimes referred to as the "fourth world" (Crick 1989; Young 1995). Over the last three decades, there has been a movement toward greater aboriginal self-determination and land rights (IWGIA 1994). Young (1995) notes that this change has been highly significant in remote areas of both Canada and Australia and can be seen as recognition of their marginalization.

In such countries, aboriginal cultures share many traditions and values which are different from the majority of society. This influences the way aboriginal groups fit into the larger society. In remote areas such as Canada's arctic, Hamley (1993) describes the existence of a frontier society which is responsible for a divided economy. The small proportion of non-native residents are engaged in the industrial economy, such as non-renewable resource extraction, while native people rely on a combination of traditional, subsistence activities and some involvement with the modern economy.

Aside from lacking the training to participate more fully in modern economic activities, the world view of aboriginal people can limit their level of involvement. Whittington (1985) explains how resource extraction industries are opposite to the aboriginal view of living with and from the land. For such people, the physical environment is central to both their subsistence and culture. Further, aboriginal people have traditionally worked in groups for communal benefit; employment for individual gain may be too much of a departure from cultural values (Butler & Hinch 1996; Whittington 1985). The challenge for economic development is to be compatible with traditional aboriginal pursuits and lifestyle. In the book, Third World in the First, Young (1995) notes conflicting views between the conventional ideology for development and that of aboriginal peoples living in Australia and Canada. When considering development, aboriginal groups value a process of economic advancement that does not come at the cost of the long term sustainability of their land, society and culture.

Pearce (1998) says that tourism has the maximum social impact on those in small, isolated host communities. Indigenous tourism offers visitors the experience of remote natural environments as they relate to aboriginal life (Jamieson & Galloway-Cosijn 1998). From an aboriginal perspective, tourism provides an experience that is different from other forms of development (Young 1995). In this case, the people, their culture, and their environment are the main resources. These three elements also pose issues for development. The positive, welcoming attitude of the local people is part of the tourists image of the product they are consuming. Studies in Alaska, Australia and Canada (Smith 1977; Mercer 1998; Reimer & Dialla 1992) point to the fact that aboriginal attitudes toward tourism development depend largely upon direct experience. The most positive response comes in cases where people are involved in development planning and the industry is not merely imposed by outsiders (whether government or private enterprises).

Some writers (Matthews & Richter 1991; Sofield & Birtles 1996) see tourism as a way for aboriginal people to preserve their culture by interpreting it for others. However, when culture becomes commoditized and part of the system of exchange, there is the risk of inauthentic development. This is less likely if aboriginal people are in control of the process (Hinch 1995). Jamieson and Galloway-Cosijn (1998) study different types of aboriginal tourism, from casinos to homestays, and note that smaller scale development offers more opportunity for cultural expression.

The isolated, often fragile, environments of aboriginal groups, such as Canada's arctic or Australia's outback, serve as both an asset and a liability in tourism development. Tourists are interested in experiencing the inaccessible and untouched, but their numbers are limited by distance and the cost of transport (Hinch 1995). This limiting factor can also be an advantage, acting as a natural barrier to the development of mass tourism. A further issue is the seasonality of such regions; the period when locals are hunting or collecting food is often the most attractive to tourists (Harrison & Price 1996). The cultural and subsistence significance of the environment to aboriginal people combined with its importance to tourism creates a need for long term vision and planning.

Altman & Finlayson (1993) foresee limitations to aboriginal participation in tourism due to the often low levels of literacy and poor communication skills. Therefore, many indigenous workers remain in unskilled or semi-skilled positions within the tourism industry. For tourism entrepreneurs to be successful, they need to develop familiarity with the demands of international tourists. The writers outline a broad list of factors necessary for sustainable aboriginal tourism development, including:

> Aboriginal control, market realism for aboriginal participants, appropriate corporate structures, appropriate scale of enterprise, accommodation of cultural and social factors, educating the industry and consumers, and realistic subvention (Altman & Finlayson 1993, 42).

Young (1995) stresses that in remote regions with few other options, tourism can offer a potentially important economic activity if it is compatible with traditional lifestyles. Providing education about the potential benefits and

impacts of tourism, as well as alternative strategies to manage these, is one way the public sector can aid such development (Young 1995). Mercer (1998) notes that tourism is no longer seen from the perspective of offering unparalleled economic benefits, nor is it viewed as being entirely destructive to local communities, indigenous people and the environment. The agency of local residents is now recognized as influencing development to the point where the outcome of tourism development can be viewed as a negotiated process.

The key to aboriginal involvement in the tourism industry is control (Harrison & Price 1996; Mercer 1998; Young 1995). Politically, this is now supported in the growing move toward aboriginal self determination and self government. With the ability to exert control over land and other resources needed for tourism, aboriginal people can determine the type and level of development, as well as their own involvement in the industry. An understanding of tourism combined with local aboriginal control creates the ability for balance between development and protection of cultural and social values.

Chapter 3 A Profile of the Baffin Region

3.1 Introduction

Aboriginal groups living in remote areas of industrialized countries are often characterized by high unemployment, low income, and a lack of education, making them the most disadvantaged people within their nation states (Young 1995). Griffin (1973) asserts that underdevelopment is a product of historical processes and he rejects economic models in favour of examining a country's individual circumstances to explain its current state. "One cannot explain the poverty of the region today without referring to the region's history" (Griffin 1973, 79). Similarly, Milne (1998) sees the value of understanding different stakeholder perceptions of the development process. Such perceptions, he explains, are influenced by a group's socio-economic and environmental circumstances. The following chapter briefly outlines the setting of the Baffin Region which has created both challenges and opportunities for economic development.

3.2 Geography

The Baffin Region forms the northeastern part of Nunavut. The Nunavut Territory is 2.1 million square kilometers, encompasses nearly one fifth of Canada's land mass (see Figure 1.1), and is situated north of the sixtieth parallel (Hicks & White 1998). The land is only sparsely vegetated, being above the treeline and underlain by continuous permafrost (GNWT 1986). The physical landscape includes flat lowlands, mountain ranges up to 3,000 meters, glaciers

and fjords (GNWT 1980). Seasons are extreme; temperatures between winter and summer may differ up to 70°C (GNWT 1980). Throughout the territory, available sunlight ranges from zero to a few hours per day during the winter, to 21-24 hours per day in the summer.

The environment plays a direct role in the economic situation of the Baffin Region. The relative isolation of Baffin's communities, as well as the extreme climate, means that residents must pay high costs for utilities, housing, transportation and food (GNWT 1986). Most goods are flown in as there are no roads connecting communities and the weeks of summer provide only a limited ice-free period for shipping (Hicks & White 1998).

3.3 Social and Political Background

The move by the Inuit of Nunavut from a semi-nomadic lifestyle into permanently settled communities occurred in the post-war years and brought major societal and cultural change (Hughes 1965). Inuit have lived continuously in the Eastern Arctic for at least 4,000 years (Burch 1988). Their highly specialized technology was well-adapted to hunting for marine and terrestrial mammals along the Arctic coasts where agriculture was not possible (Rea 1968). Familial groups were spread throughout the region, but remained small, limited in size by the availability of game (Hughes 1965).

Today, Inuit live a mix of traditional and modern lifestyles (Brody 1991), with many dependent upon subsistence hunting for a portion of their diet (Borre 1990; Hicks & White 1998). According to the GNWT (1997), country foods are

consumed by more than 90% of aboriginal households. Hicks & White (1998) point to the fact that country food is more nutritious than the extremely expensive frozen meat flown in from the South.

> ...(H)unting and fishing have tremendous cultural importance both for individual Inuit for whom going 'on the land' is crucial to their identity and for communities whose traditional values and ties are reinforced by the hunt itself and the sharing of the harvest (Hicks & White 1998, 8).

The population of the Baffin Region is 80% Inuit (Nunavut Statistics 1999). Communities are small; most have between 500 and 1,000 people living in them and many are 90% Inuit (Hicks & White 1998). The region has one of the lowest population densities in the world but numbers are steadily increasing (Environment Canada 1994). The population has grown from 7,480 in 1971 to 13,218 in 1996 and is projected to rise to 16,833 by the 2006 (Nunavut Statistics 1999). More notably, the population is growing at three times the rate of the rest of Canada. Almost 55% of Baffin Region Inuit are under 25 years old (Nunavut Statistics 1999).

Settling in government communities offered Inuit access to housing, schools, medical facilities and trading posts (Brody 1991). However, Brody (1991) shows that in addition to a social concern for the Inuit, the impetus for the Canadian government's increased interest in the North arose from political issues of national security. The cold war increased the strategic importance of the area, and created a need for a Canadian presence in the northern frontier (Brody 1991; GNWT 1980).

This was the start of significant change in public policy regarding northern aboriginal people (Smith 1995). The government began to focus on bringing them into the wider Canadian society (GNWT 1975). In *The People's Land*, Brody (1991) shows the nature of the government's role and how it formed. Based upon southern models of administration, the federal government became the caretaker for the North and northern people. A general shift toward Inuit self determination and self government began in the 1970s (Brody 1991). This movement was strengthened by the findings of the Berger Inquiry in 1977 (Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples 1994). Berger recognized the need for a new relationship between native people and Canada, embracing the idea that they are distinct peoples, with a right to be involved in formulating the decisions which ultimately affect them. Around this time, Inuit Tapirisat of Canada (ITC), the national organization representing Inuit, became involved in discussions for the creation of Nunavut. The underlying ideology was for Inuit to have their own jurisdiction and thereby overcome a dependent and colonial relationship with the federal government (Weller 1990).

3.4 Economic Background

Whiting *et al.* (1989) find that the NWT's economy parallels that of the less developed regions of the world. Most northern communities share high population growth; there is a large traditional component in the economy; communities are small and dispersed; there is a high cost of living; and residents lack entrepreneurial skills. This situation requires an increase in the

management role of public policy, to direct development and ensure the productive use of resources (Whiting *et al.* 1989).

Most of the Baffin Region shares the characteristics listed above. Further, there is a large economic disparity between various communities; eleven are classed as underdeveloped, whereas three are affluent centres with high per capita incomes (Hamley 1993). This disparity arises from the non-renewable resource-based industries in or near Resolute Bay, Nanisivik, and the government offices based in Iqaluit.

On the whole, the region is still in transition from a subsistence to a wage-based economy, and government has been concerned since the 1970s with how to involve more Inuit in the modern economy (GNWT 1977; Hicks & White 1998; Hinch 1995; Keller 1982). While many Inuit can rely more on subsistence hunting and fishing for food in times of unemployment, most can no longer sustain these activities without cash income from wage employment or from social transfer (DIAND 1988; Wenzel 1991).

> Despite the varied assistance schemes, no satisfactory solution has been found for those many villages whose economy is an expensive question mark between the old hunting and trapping and the new petroleum and mining industry (DIAND 1975, 2).

Opportunities for employment within Baffin communities are limited. During the late '70s and early '80s, Baffin was only peripherally involved in most private sectors of the economy (Hicks & White 1998). While the mining, oil and gas sectors were the largest private contributors in the NWT economy, employment in these sectors was available in only three out of thirteen Baffin communities (Marshall *et al.* 1981a). In contrast, all thirteen communities were engaged in

hunting during the same period (Marshall *et al.* 1981a). Selling sealskins provided Inuit with access to the cash economy that complemented subsistence hunting (Wenzel 1991). This continued to be a valuable source of income until the EU ban on sealskin imports in 1983. As Europe was the largest market for sealskins, the ban had a large economic effect on Inuit (Wenzel 1991).

Whittington's (1985, 1986) in-depth analysis of the NWT economy provides the reasoning behind its classification as a frontier society. He sees the northern economy as having three distinct parts. First is the wage economy, including mining, oil, gas and government service sectors. This is an extension of the southern Canadian economy and is reliant primarily upon a transient white labour force. Second, the traditional economy encompasses the harvest of renewable resources such as furs or fish by native aboriginal people. Third, the welfare economy involves mostly native people. Whittington (1985) notes that few aboriginal people exist entirely on welfare or traditional activities and most participate to some degree at different times in all three economies. Here, Inuit have experienced problems integrating their involvement in the three parts of the economy. Hicks and White (1998) provide data for Nunavut showing that less than half of the Inuit population is employed in the wage economy, versus over 90% of the non-aboriginal population.

The most significant factor that limits Inuit participation in the formal wage economy is that it conflicts directly with the flexible time they require for subsistence hunting (Whittington 1985, 1986). Northern aboriginal people have a different level of commitment to the mainstream economy than the non-native

population. Accepting a wage position necessitates both a departure from collectivist values, in the form of individual gain, and often the loss of the sense of community resulting from a move to an urban centre or mining settlement (Whittington 1985). McRury (interview) explains how in 1974/5, mining projects such as Nanisivik failed to bring as much long term employment for Inuit as government officials had hoped. "People came and tried the work, then they went back to their communities. Some returned, but the mine didn't reach anywhere near their goals on Inuit employment" (McRury interview).

Along with subsistence hunting, much of the Inuit population is involved with local co-operatives, most often in the production and marketing of art (Mitchell 1996). After the public sector, this is the largest employer of Inuit, and has been described as being "one of the success stories in terms of Inuit economic self-sufficiency" (GNWT 1990a).

Additionally, cooperatives were established by the government as a means to integrate aboriginal people into the capitalist wage economy (Mitchell 1996). The philosophy was to have paralleled the traditional sharing ethic of pooling labour, skills and rewards for the betterment of the whole (GNWT 1990a). The organizations were seen by government as a 'learning ground for Inuit', a way to gain business skills. For this, Mitchell (1996) writes that the co-operatives were communal in name, but capitalist in effect, providing the link between indigenous and capitalist modes of production.

Other problems are recognized in the structure of the northern economy. It is disproportionately based upon production of non-renewable resource staples

and is "without exception, dependent upon outside economies for their markets, their capital and, to a significant extent, their labour force" (Whittington 1986, 14). This structure makes the North subject to boom and bust cycles dictated by an external economy (Grekin & Milne 1996; Hamley 1993).

Also worrisome to economic planners is the high level of northern dependence upon government. Well over half of the jobs available are in the public sector, and many others, such as construction and services, are dependent upon government activity (Hicks & White 1998). Additionally, the level of public subsidy through federal transfer payments to the North makes the government a central economic force.

3.5 The Tourism Sector

Relative to other sectors of the Nunavut economy, tourism is the third largest industry, after mining and government (Espie 1979; GNWT 1997). Prior to the community based strategy of the 1980s, growth in tourism was slow (Hamley 1991). The industry was primarily based in the western region of the NWT or in Eastern Arctic fly-in fishing and hunting lodges owned by non-residents (GNWT 1987). Although the Baffin Region received only six percent of total visitors to the NWT in 1 979 (GNWT 1987), a study by Outcrop et al. (1980) highlighted it as the area with the greatest future growth potential.

Many have studied the unique challenges that development of the northern tourism industry represents (Anderson 1991; Butler 1975; Hamley 1991; Hinch 1995; Hinch & Swinnerton 1993; Outcrop *et al.* 1980; Smith 1977; 1996).

Hinch (1995) comments that the northern environment is both a major asset and a major liability for tourism development. The beautiful, but fragile environment, is an attractive destination to adventure travellers (Hamley 1991). However, in the Baffin Region, the remote communities make air travel a necessary but expensive mode of transportation for people and goods. This factor means that the cost of doing business is 60% higher than in southern Canada (Hinch 1995). In construction, not only must all materials be flown in, but the technical problems with building on permafrost are expensive to overcome.

Seasonal variability in the climate and available sunlight restrict tourism to the summer, a season that does not fulfill some tourists' images of the frozen Arctic (Anderson 1991; Outcrop *et al.* 1980). Further, the opportunities for tourism employment conflict with the time when many Inuit are normally camping and hunting out on the land (Hinch 1995). Thus the seasonal nature of Arctic tourism means that it provides limited employment and the industry is profitable for only a short period of the year (Anderson 1991).

With regard to Inuit employment, some (Hinch 1995; Mieczkowski 1973) regard consumptive tourism, such as sports hunting and fishing, as being compatible with the traditional economy. In an early study on NWT tourism, Mieczkowski (1973) observes that some Inuit elect to sell their hunting quotas to tourists for "luxury hunting". Inuit can utilize their hunting knowledge and skills by acting as guides, outfitters and interpreters. In this way, Mieczkowski views tourism as a vehicle "to draw Inuit into the mainstream of northern development, thereby terminating their passive dependent relationship to white society" (1973,

102). Rea (1976) questions the relative importance of tourism to employment, writing that the contribution of tourism as a source of native employment has been exaggerated. He sees fluctuations in consumer tastes and environmental conditions as difficult to predict and impossible to control. Further limitations to the expansion of the industry arise because many northern aboriginal people lack the capital and entrepreneurial skills to own tourism businesses, and when they are hired by non-natives it is usually on a casual and seasonal basis (Rea 1976).

In contrast, Hinch and Swinnerton (1993) show that significant potential for growth in NWT tourism was recognized by some in the 1970s (Butler 1975; Mieczkowski 1973), although tourism policy was not formally developed before 1980. Butler's (1975) study, commissioned by ITC, stressed the need for planning with respect to market, activities, scale and rate of development, selection of areas and types of tourism. Butler saw the need for coordinated planning, to be developed and maintained between all those involved in tourism industry, including federal and territorial government as well as individual entrepreneurs. Mieczkowski (1973) agreed with the need for planning and saw government subsidies as the means to training Inuit to take on a larger role in the tourism industry. The conclusion to Butler's 1975 report seemed to suggest change in the northern tourism industry, from non-resident ownership, toward more Inuit involvement.

> The final decision on the nature and scale of development, and the rate at which such development should take place should clearly rest with the local residents of the area, and be in accordance with their wishes and desires (Butler 1975, 81).

In summary, by the late 1970s, both consultants and academics saw the tourism sector as a possibility for economic growth that would suit the particular geographic, social and economic situation in the Baffin. It was suggested that some of the problems that had been inherent in northern development, such as Inuit marginalization, could be overcome by planning. Some felt that the tourism industry could be developed to complement rather than conflict with traditional hunting lifestyles. During this period, such recommendations were considered by the government and came to influence economic policy.

Chapter 4 Economic Policy in the Northwest Territories

4.1 Phases of Economic Development Policy

Economic policy in the NWT made an important shift between the '70s and '80s. Previously, the GNWT had mainly supported the continued expansion of the non-renewable resource extraction industry, but during this period, it began to focus on the development of the tourism industry. This chapter will examine the key steps in the process that led to the strategy for community based tourism in the Baffin Region.

In 1972, the general development objectives for the Northwest Territories, as stated by Jean Chretien, then Minister of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, recognized people, resources and the environment as the components of northern development (Gemini North 1974). He outlined the different level of priority given to each of these throughout the territories' history of development:

> During the past two decades, the emphasis has moved from defense, to social programs, to resource development and then on to ecological problems. Today there is a new requirement for shifting emphasis toward people programs... (Chretien 1972, quoted in Gemini North 1974, 38).

Towards the end of the 1970s, government policy-makers recognized that much of the economic benefit from the mining and petroleum industries, including employment and revenue, was leaking to the South (GNWT 1978; Whittington 1986). This situation, combined with concerns about the economy's

dependence upon the public sector, resulted in attempts to find alternatives to diversify the economy and provide residents with long term employment opportunities that would be compatible with their lifestyles (GNWT 1978).

In trying to understand why policy for economic development had failed, the government reviewed its policy history. In the publication *Economy in Transition*, the GNWT (1990b) makes the distinction between national and domestic policy thrusts. The federal government concentrated on non-renewable resources, such as providing incentives to open new mines. Lacking such large scale resources, the territorial government focused its resources upon creating employment opportunities through encouraging small business development. Territorial planners began to realize that these different approaches meant that policy initiatives had been directing growth in two different directions.

During the same period, departmental reshuffling within the GNWT moved the responsibility for tourism and 'Indian development' to economic development, which became the Department of Economic Development and Tourism (ED&T). This change was reflected in the economic policy for 1978 which expressed the priority of developing the capabilities of native northern people to earn a living. For this, policy-makers supported the promotion and development of cooperatives and a travel industry.

Up until 1980, economic development policy describes joint efforts between public and private sectors to seek means of attracting and retaining Inuit as employees in mining and petroleum industries (GNWT 1980). However,

beginning in 1979, government annual reports mention the need for greater emphasis to be placed on planning and development of local initiatives. In that same year, the GNWT and the Federal Government negotiated the General Development Agreement, which provided a commitment of $3.8 million to support growth of renewable resource industries in communities (GNWT 1979). Politically, the North was working toward devolution, which meant increased regional and local-level participation in decision-making (GNWT 1977; Graham 1990).

4.2 Policy for Community Based Tourism

In 1983, the GNWT presented its Community Based Tourism Strategy for the Northwest Territories (GNWT 1983). This was considered a major shift in policy, both for its focus on tourism and because of its community based approach. The strategy was based upon a new policy to increase economic opportunities for local Inuit residents and to spread the benefits across all northern communities, by adopting a consultative planning process that would include local development aspirations (GNWT 1983, ED&T 1988).

The new focus was on northern-owned businesses, based in communities, that would cater to small groups of visitors interested in natural, cultural and historic tourism. Specifically, the strategy emphasized the development of attractions to 'learn, observe, and experience' the North. This choice of ecotourism was seen as the way to minimize social and environmental

impacts and to ensure that the industry did not compete with subsistence hunters and trappers for scarce natural resources (GNWT 1983).

Some have suggested that the GNWT turned to promoting tourism development as a reaction to the economic devastation that occurred in communities following the 1983 EU ban on the importation of sealskins (Grekin & Milne 1996; Nickels *et al.* 1991). At that time, all Baffin communities were involved in this resource industry. This is an interesting point because it defines how tourism was viewed by government; either as a replacement for traditional economic pursuits, or as complement to them.

When questioned, Trumper and McRury (interviews), who were policy makers in the region at the time, both said that the sealskin ban did not lead directly to a turn toward tourism development. Trumper (interview) indicated that while the ban may have been a popular argument (often helpful in securing project funding at the time), the concurrent timing of the tourism strategy was only coincidental. McRury (interview) said that the initiative to develop the tourism industry came earlier. This opinion is reflected in Table 4.1, which outlines three major tourism planning studies that had already taken place before the ban.

Wenzel (1991) writes that the initial EU ban in 1983 was thought to be a short term measure. However, before the Royal Commission on Seals and the Sealing Industry in Canada could finish its investigation, the EU ban was reinstated in 1985 for an indefinite period. With respect to Inuit employment, annual reports show that the GNWT only responded after the 1985 extension.

Table 4.1 Evolution of the Baffin Region Community Based Tourism Strategy

Year	Project	Purpose
1980	Tourism Development, Marketing Strategies and Action Plan for the Northwest Territories Outcrop Ltd./Inntrec Ltd./Qaivvik Ltd.	Baseline study for NWT, to outline problems and implications for tourism development - Baffin region receives 10% of visitors and has most growth within the NWT
1981	Pangnirtung Pilot Tourism Study Marshall Macklin Monaghan Ltd	The first consultative tourism study in the Baffin region. - To determine whether community based tourism could strengthen and diversify the local economy. - To develop methodology for a regional study.
1982	Baffin Regional Tourism Planning Project Marshall Macklin Monaghan Ltd.	A region-wide consultative tourism study in each Baffin community - Baffin Regional Tourism Strategy - Community Tourism Development Plans
1983	Community Based Tourism: ED&T, Yellowknife, GNWT	NWT Strategy: goals, guiding principles, market overview, outline of programs
1988	Strategy for Tourism Development Hamburg & Monteith, Iqaluit, GNWT	Baffin Region implementation plan - objectives, planning model, territorial/federal/community responsibilities

Source: see individual reports in reference list.

In the first year, this included exploring the feasibility of producing seal leather as an alternative use of seal pelts. However, in 1986, when world prices also fell for petroleum and minerals, the government recognized the urgent need to diversify the NWT economy. The degree of NWT dependence upon southern and world markets was reassessed and it was suggested that the North needed to move beyond exporting raw materials alone. For this reason, and for its potential value as an employer of Inuit, tourism continued to be viewed as an important avenue for development. From this discussion, it appears that the major thrust toward tourism development began much earlier than 1983.

In 1977, a study by Commissioner Thomas Berger recommended against the development of a pipeline in the NWT's Mackenzie Valley (Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples 1994). This had a large effect on subsequent economic and social policy in the North. The GNWT Annual Report for 1978 describes a necessary shift from preparing for the construction of the pipeline to identification and assessment of alternatives to stimulate the Territorial economy. In an effort to create long-term employment opportunities for its residents, the department announced:

> A comprehensive economic strategy is being developed for the '80s. Included will be a major tourism development plan and increased emphasis on tourism promotion, a leading role in planning for major primary sector projects to maximize northern participation, new measures to ensure the northern labour force acquires necessary skills, encouragement of northern business development and special attention to development of the traditional economy as a primary industry (GNWT 1978, 44).

Here, the impetus for an increased focus on tourism is made clear. Rather than acting as a replacement for traditional pursuits such as sealing, tourism was

seen as another sector that Inuit could participate in. These two sectors were meant to be complementary renewable resource industries. The order of priorities outlined for the decade of the 1970s in the *Northern Policy Statement* placed establishing parks and developing the renewable resource industry of tourism at the top of the list, above non-renewable extraction projects (DIAND 1975). Public policy officials seemed to view tourism as a tool to create small scale resource development for Inuit within their home communities (Marshall *et al.* 1981a; DIAND 1975).

Evidence of the complementarity of hunting and tourism development comes from the Auyuittuq National Park policy, which has always permitted aboriginal people to continue traditional wildlife harvesting within its borders (Espie 1979). Seale (1992) points out that this may be one reason why Auyuittuq has enjoyed local support.

A paper published in 1979, entitled *Economic Development Prospects for the NWT*, shows the official Government of Canada stance on the issue. The paper reviews the tourism industry of the late 1970s and indicates growing pressure for balanced socio-economic development. In this, it was felt that tourism could play a role in diversifying the NWT economy to bring more benefit to residents. The markets for outdoor and wilderness travel were seen as growth markets, but highly specialized and with limited potential. The GNWT and the federal department, DIAND, would conduct a comprehensive assessment of NWT tourism that would involve the preparation of an integrated strategy and plan for development of the industry and following this, " a major tourism

development effort is expected to be undertaken on completion of the strategy and plan" (Government of Canada 1979a, 9). The report ends by saying that while the federal government felt tourism could be beneficial for native northerners, it would never rival government or mining sectors for their impact on the NWT economy.

The 1979 General Development Agreement (GDA) between Canada and the NWT, granted funding for a large study to assess northern tourism, with the expectation that it would provide recommendations regarding development activities for a 5-10 year horizon (Government of Canada 1979b, Schedule A, unpaginated). The first study, conducted in 1980 (Outcrop *et al.* 1980), provided a strong voice in favour of tourism development in the North. It noted that other industries such as fisheries, logging, mining, oil and gas provide limited and often short term employment that, because of the nature of the resources, could be not spread throughout the NWT. A recommendation was made for tourism to be given a high priority because of its reputation for providing a good financial return and high levels of long term employment which, unlike other economic sectors, did not come at the cost of adverse environmental impacts (ED&T 1979).

Following this, the department of ED&T outlined its view of the difference between "good" and "bad" tourism development (Addison 1996; Marshall *et al.* 1981a). The key aspect to "good" tourism was that it would create jobs complementary to traditional lifestyles, with the proviso that northern residents gain control and benefit from local management of the industry.

4.2.1 Why a Community Based Approach?

Tourists began arriving in the Baffin Region in the early 1970s but tourism planning did not begin until ten years later (Marshall *et al.* 1981a; Trumper interview). Following the Outcrop report on the NWT tourism industry, a series of studies to assess tourism's potential took place in individual Baffin communities. The first study was conducted in 1981 as a community based public consultation. Both the timing of the study and the style of research chosen, indicate that the GNWT may have employed an innovative approach. The way in which the government of a peripheral developing region, which included a high percentage of marginalized aboriginal people, arrived at this forward-thinking approach is of interest.

Burton's (1979) review of Canadian public participation studies shows very few examples of planners seeking to gain public input at that time, either in the Northwest Territories, or within the tourism sector in general. In their books on tourism planning, Gunn (1979) and de Kadt (1976) agree that it was rare for people in the local community to be given the opportunity to influence the course of development. Keogh (1990) traces the beginning of support for public participation in tourism to the late '60s and '70s when Parks Canada implemented its parks planning program. Evidence of the need for change came from the strong public opposition and legal proceedings that sometimes arose with the establishment of parks. At that time, there was little opportunity for consultation, and planning decisions were seen by locals as being imposed from the outside. However, in these early stages, public consultation was a process

used only for imparting information, answering questions, and putting concerns to the public, but not for seeking feedback (Espie 1979).

With respect to Baffin's tourism strategy, interviews conducted with GNWT staff who worked on the original plans (Vaughan and Trumper) found that no tourism publication or planning model could be recalled as having influenced the selection of community based development as a strategy for Baffin. It seems that the planning process was drawn from the social and political setting of the region. This is the general suggestion made by Hinch (1995) in his review of aboriginal people and the tourism economy of NWT. He indicates that the changing political framework, including devolution, created a trend toward more local and regional control, and a more democratic response to the issues facing northerners (1995, 115).

The politics of the 1970s brought many changes to the NWT. At this time, references to aboriginal self determination are found throughout the Northern Policy Statements (DIAND 1975) and Annual Reports (GNWT 1977, 1978), which include a call for increased opportunities for Inuit consultation with regard to economic development. The government began to recognize the problem with its policy for assimilation of aboriginal people into the Canadian society and economy. "The 'one way' direction of integration, as well as an insufficient involvement of native people, account for some of the shortcomings in the implementation of the policy guidelines established in the 1970s" (DIAND 1975, 3).

McRury (interview) suggested that community involvement in economic development began after the 1966 Carrothers Commission. The Commission specified that during the process of northern political and economic development, indigenous peoples should be free to maintain their ethnic and cultural identities (Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples 1994). In terms of devolution, Carrothers recommended the establishment of the Department of Local Government, as well as the facilitation of self-sufficient communities (Swiderski 1992).

Coming after the Carrothers Commission, the consultative process used in the Berger Inquiry of 1977 is recognized as awakening native consciousness in the NWT; "mobilizing native political organizations...(and)...elevating northern issues to a national level" (Whittington 1985, 102). The consultative process undertaken in the Berger Inquiry represented a change from past attempts to assimilate northern aboriginal people into southern culture (Whittington 1985). By gaining native views and weighing them equally with others', Berger approached development from the perspective of integration rather than assimilation.

The Drury Report of 1980 was considered the third key step toward the movement of responsibilities down to the municipal level (DIAND 1992). The federal government came to support devolution as a more convenient model of governing such diverse peoples, spread out across a vast territory (Weller 1990) and local government was viewed as a way to introduce the state institutions of democratic government to Inuit (Graham 1990). Interestingly, the model for

decentralized government mirrored the way that decision-making was already being carried out in native society (DIAND 1992). The Dene and Inuit concept for decision-making was described by George Barnaby, Vice President of the Indian Brotherhood of the NWT.

> No one can decide for another person. Everyone is involved in the discussion and...the decision (is) made by everyone. Our way is to try and give freedom to a person as he knows what he wants (George Barnaby quoted in Berger 1977, 95).

With regards to the aboriginal style of decision-making, Berger (1977) notes the presence of an implicit assumption that everyone has shared in forming a community judgment. Working as an Economic Development Officer (EDO) in communities, Hamburg noted that as early as the 1970s, communities wanted open discussion of all development issues and decisions (interview #1). Here the northern aboriginal value of community and its importance in decision-making is made clear.

Arising from a social and political setting that required it, the GNWT and the Government of Canada began to pursue a policy of gaining the participation of the resident aboriginal people in decision-making. As expressed in the 1979 GDA:

> The theme underlying this initial Agreement is one of convergence -- bringing local skills, capabilities, demands and interests together with appropriate resources through programs designed to build upon local initiatives. These programs seek, for example, to marry local demands with local production; existing skills with resources and opportunities; traditional economic sectors with resource export opportunities; cultural inclinations with economic development opportunities; and local desires to plan and participate in

> development with effective consultative/planning mechanisms (Government of Canada 1979b, Schedule A, unpaginated).

Projects funded under the GDA had to be consistent with this policy. This also directed the way in which Baffin tourism studies were conducted, and this principle was built into the *Terms of Reference* for future research. The research studies to be conducted in Baffin communities, for example, specified that the contractor prepare a "community based tourism development concept" (ED&T 1981, 5).

Chapter 5 The Community Based Plan and Strategy

5.1 Introduction

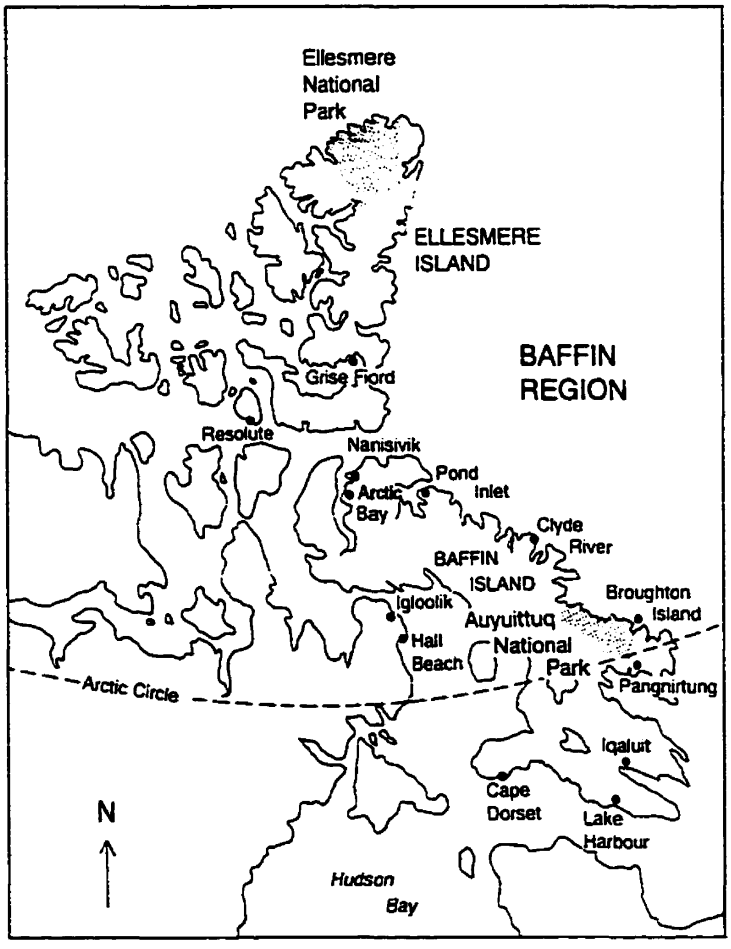
In its publication, *Sustainable Tourism Development*, The World Tourism Organization (1993) profiled the GNWT strategy as an example of sustainable tourism. The planning that provided the framework for this strategy was based upon the development aspirations of the local aboriginal population at a time when public participation in such projects was rare. It appears that tourism planning in the Baffin Region may represent an early case of the adoption of sustainable development principles. Addison (1996) indicates that the *Baffin Regional Planning Project* was one of the first major Canadian planning initiatives in ecotourism. This chapter reviews the initial planning process that led to the community based strategy for non-consumptive tourism. In the 20 years that followed, three distinct stages of strategy implementation can be identified. The chapter ends with an evaluation of the GNWT approaches to community based tourism.

5.2 The Pilot Study

The number of tourists arriving in the Baffin Region rose dramatically in 1972 with the establishment of Auyuittuq National Park, northeast of Pangnirtung (see Figure 5.1) (Marshall *et al.* 1981b). Seale (1992) notes that, in the early stages, the tourism industry in the NWT mirrored the mining industry in that it was characterized by its lack of economic links to Inuit. Tourists flew up to hotels and

fishing lodges owned and managed by southern entrepreneurs; they had little contact, if any, with aboriginal residents, and most of the money they spent leaked back to the South (Seale 1992). The resultant antagonism between the Inuit residents and tourism operators, centred around resource conflicts and lack of employment opportunities for locals (Addison 1996; Marshall *et al.* 1981a, 1982a).

Figure 5.1 Map of the Baffin Region



Source: Grekin & Milne 1996, 80

The informal government policy at the time was simply to encourage tourism growth through marketing and promotion (ED&T 1979; GNWT 1983). This ad hoc approach to economic development is consistent with what Gunn (1994) notes was common in the period prior to tourism planning.

The interview with Katherine Trumper concurs with this. When she arrived as the Economic Development Officer for Pangnirtung in 1980, there was a need for a strategic approach to development. At that time,

> ...airways were bringing in fishermen - selling cheap seats and dumping people in Pang. This unstructured tourism resulted in (tourists) walking through people's yards and watching them do carving - all the seamy side of tourism you want to avoid.

When asked, residents of Pangnirtung echoed this concern: "tourists interfere with the local people by walking into their houses and asking many questions" (representative resident comment quoted in Marshall *et al.* 1981b, section 7, unpaginated).

Trumper explained that Alan Vaughan, head of long range planning for the GNWT in Yellowknife, chose to focus on a pilot project in Pangnirtung because he saw opportunity there. In 1981 the GNWT commissioned a study in Pangnirtung to determine if tourism growth could improve the local economy. Consultants Marshall Macklin Monaghan Ltd. were selected and asked to research the possibility of developing a form of tourism which would provide the opportunity for visitors to learn, observe, and experience the Arctic and the ways of the Inuit people (Marshall *et al.* 1981b). This research was viewed as an

introductory study, which would develop methodologies for testing the feasibility of tourism in other NWT communities.

To determine the potential for tourism in Pangnirtung and the surrounding region, the initial part of the pilot study was divided into three sections for community discussion (Marshall *et al.* 1981b). The first section, a map entitled 'Resources of the Land', was developed to show sites and features that both consultants and locals felt would be potentially interesting to tourists. The second section, 'Community Feelings About Tourism', included both positive and negative views about development and the ways in which these perspectives would be incorporated into the plan. The third section was another map, called 'Resources of the People'. This identified the features and sites important to Inuit. Next, those places that the locals did not want tourists to go were separated from those which tourists were welcome to visit (Marshall *et al.* 1981b). The purpose of this exercise was to plan for increased resident control over the arrival and activities of tourists. It was hoped that such a plan would help minimize impacts of tourism and could be implemented by the community itself.

The consultants recognized that the most important and challenging aspect of the study was the development of a public participation program which would make clear to local residents the benefits and potential hazards of the tourism industry. This would enable them to reach an informed decision as to whether or not they wanted tourism development, and under what conditions (Marshall *et al.* 1981a). The public participation program was to be a two way

flow of information; determining the aspirations and concerns of local residents, and gaining their knowledge of the land and its resources. Mike Robbins worked as a consultant with Marshall Macklin Monaghan Ltd. and describes how this was achieved:

> In order to ensure maximum community involvement in the process, we visited the community a total of four times throughout the year, during each season, spending a week or two weeks per trip. Newsletters translated into Inuktitut were sent to the community, and circulated prior to each visit, notifying the residents of the purpose and timing of our trip. When in the community, we opened a local office, held drop-in sessions, public meetings, group meetings, radio talk back shows and we travelled on the land with locals whenever we had an opportunity. We also made an effort to take part in daily community activities such as volleyball and bingo (Robbins 1992, 134).

A Tourism Committee was formed to provide the link between the community and the consultants. The committee was the first of its kind in the Baffin Region, comprised of six members appointed from the Co-op, Parks Canada, the Hamlet Council, Land Claims, the Hunters and Trappers Association, outfitters, and community members (Marshall *et al.* 1981c).

The next stage of the study was the market analysis. A survey was conducted with tourists in the NWT, to determine their level of interest in visiting Pangnirtung. This elicited a positive response and the consultants began working on five possible strategies to re-construct Pangnirtung's growing tourism industry. Working alongside the consultants, Trumper (interview) remembers presenting a spectrum of approaches to the community, with the expectation that a decision would be reached that night. The concepts were exhibited in display form, including renderings of possible development, to help people visualize

what tourism could mean to Pangnirtung. However, the process of community based decision making took much longer than anticipated; as Trumper said, it was "a good lesson to learn...you have to let things distill" (interview). Robbins indicates how a decision was finally made:

> The strategies proved too difficult to comprehend and in the end the Tourism Committee, as representatives of the community's tourism interests came back to us with eight guidelines for tourism development which dictated the selection of the "tour group approach" (Robbins 1992, 135).

A key aim, held throughout the planning, was that development would ultimately reflect community aspirations (Marshall *et al.* 1981a; Robbins 1992). It was felt that hosting tour groups would offer the community control and the ability to direct tourist activity, both of which were primary concerns. "In other destinations, tourists control the community, and this community does not want that (Pangnirtung resident quoted in Reimer & Dialla 1992, 14). The tour group approach was approved by the Hamlet Council and consultants began to prepare a five year development plan.

5.3 The Process of a Region-Wide Public Participation Study

The Baffin Regional Council Summit in 1981 provided an opportunity for community mayors to meet and discuss the issue of the tourism planning study in Pangnirtung (Hamburg interview #1). Here it was decided to expand the study into a region-wide baseline study, awarded to Marshall Macklin Monaghan Ltd. Hamburg (interview #1) notes that within the NWT, Baffin led the way in acquiring large amounts of tourism project funding. Through conducting the initial

study in Pangnirtung, Baffin became the first to research the community based approach and were more organized in their focus on tourism than other regions.

The first step in the regional study was for consultants to provide a *Background Information Report* (1981a) to establish how the growing tourism sector would fit into the Baffin economy. The report provided some insight into one of the reasons a community based approach was essential:

> The general implications of this situation for tourism development are that local communities will probably participate in the tourism industry only if they have some control over it. Exclusive control by federal and territorial authorities will, undoubtedly, elicit resentment and hostility for both senior governments and tourists, resulting in a very unpleasant environment for tourists (Marshall *et al.* 1981a, 13).

The underlying goal of the project was to research employment opportunities for Inuit that would complement and support their subsistence activities, as well as diversify the economy (Marshall *et al.* 1982b, 54). The *Background Report* listed the twenty principles that formed the basis for the planning process (Table 5.1). These guidelines were specified by the GNWT in the terms of reference for the project contract.

Overall, the principles signaled a departure from previous tourism development. This was made in the statements supporting a focus on Inuit control, preservation of traditional lifestyles, and the specification that future development consider the long term interests of the Inuit population. Some guidelines appeared to conflict with standard capitalist development. Table 5.1 shows that the industry was to be run by the private sector and under the free

enterprise system, but rather than strive to respond to market demands, it was to be resource-oriented.

The regional study process was similar to that conducted in the Pangnirtung Study, with an extensive Community Involvement Program (Figure 5.2). Planners visited each of the twelve remaining Baffin communities for between one and two weeks and the study took a year to complete (Marshall *et al.* 1982b). The upcoming visit was announced by posting a picture of the consultants with an Inuktitut explanation of their purpose in the Co-op store. On arrival, a newsletter was distributed, explaining the study, describing what the planner hoped to achieve, and how the community could participate. There were meetings with community groups and individuals, audio visual presentations, and radio call-in programs.

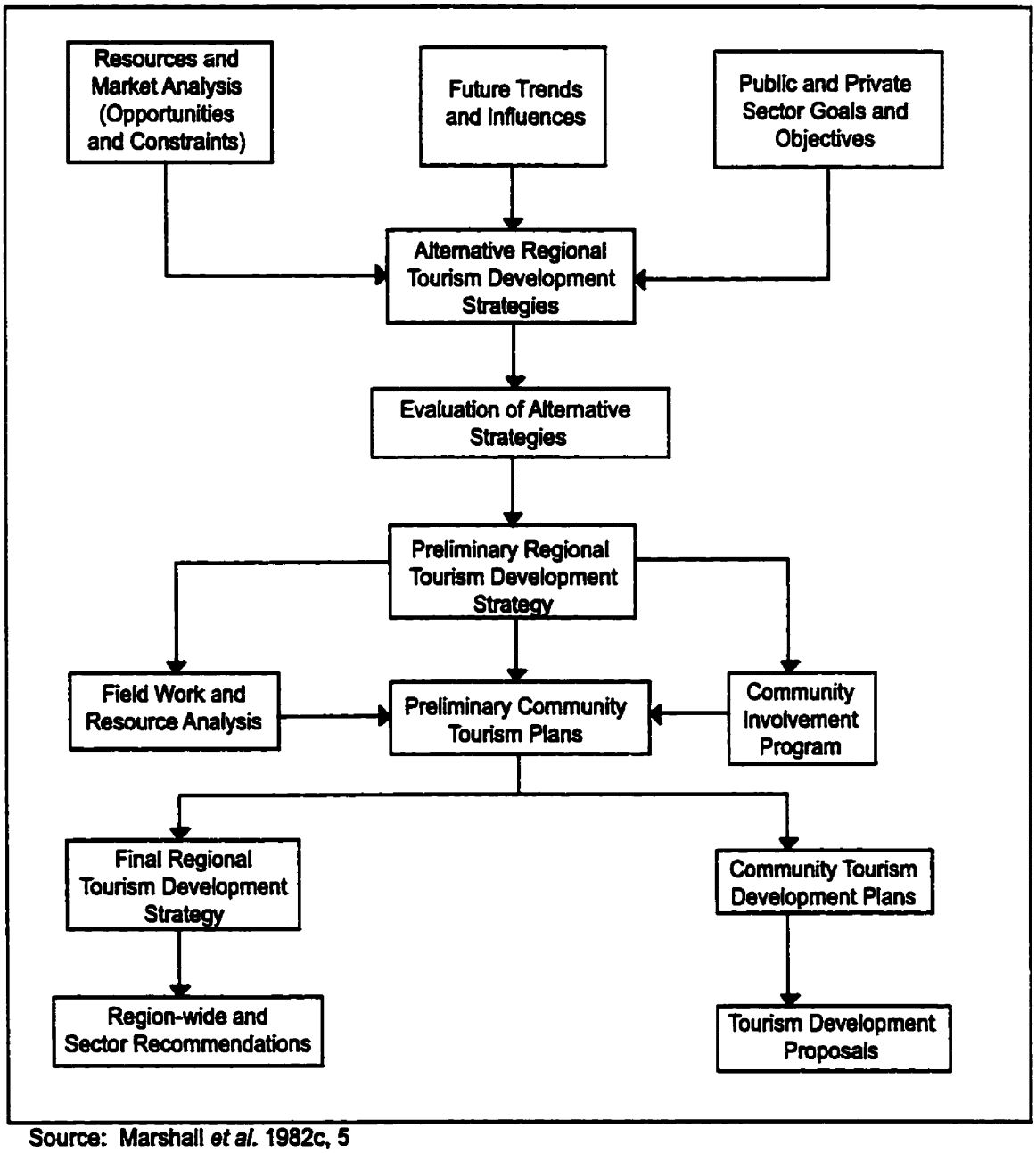
Public and private sector goals and objectives were considered in the strategy (Figure 5.2). A report entitled the *Technical Appendix* to the Baffin Regional Tourism Planning Project (Marshall *et al.* 1982d) lists all people who had input in this planning stage. They included representatives from the Federal Government, such as DIAND and Environment Canada; Territorial Government, such as ED&T Community Economic Development Officers and the Department of Renewable Resources; members of the Canadian Arctic Cooperatives Federation Limited; private entrepreneurs such as the owners of airlines operating in the NWT; and domestic and southern tour operators.

Table 5.1 Planning Principles for the Baffin Region Tourism Planning Project

1.	The widest possible range of opportunities will be considered for stimulating the tourism industry within social and environmental capacities.
2.	Tourism is to be primarily a private sector industry. The government will provide incentives to encourage and facilitate tourism development.
3.	The tourism industry is to operate under the free enterprise system. In the medium to longer term, businesses are to become self-supporting.
4.	The long term interests of the indigenous population is of paramount importance and, where desired, planning, development and management activities associated with tourism-related developments must minimize destruction of traditional lifestyles.
5.	The strategy must stress Inuit control over the rapidity, scale and direction of tourism-related developments throughout the Baffin Region.
6.	The strategy must be geared towards enhancing the capabilities of Inuit people to develop and manage tourism programs and facilities.
7.	Community based tourism is considered to be the most appropriate form of tourism in the northern environment.
8.	Except where otherwise decreed by the residents of respective communities, the strategy and plans should emphasize the development of non-extractive, non-consumptive attractions so as to minimize competition with the harvesting activities of the Inuit people.
9.	The residents must be provided with sufficient information to allow them to make informed decisions on tourism development.
10.	Preservation of the unique, fragile natural and archaeological resources of the study areas will be emphasized.
11.	Existing tourism developments are not considered immutable during the planning process.
12.	The tourism development strategy will be developed and managed under the direction of DIAND and the GNWT.
13.	Financial resources will not be a major factor in the initial selection of concept alternatives.
14.	The GNWT will discourage ad hoc tourism developments and will evaluate plans on the basis of how they fit into the tourism strategy.
15.	The intent is to plan for a phased development and implementation program that reflects and is integrated with the growth of Inuit capabilities.
16.	Plans will be more resource oriented than market oriented
17.	The regional strategy will strive to integrate its development with the services offered by adjacent regions
18.	Marketing and promotion programs will build a level of expectation in tourists that is in conformity with reality.
19.	The strategy will strive to optimize economic return to Inuit
20.	The priority for allocation of resources will be to those communities which are interested and have a positive future potential for growth.

Source: adapted from Marshall *et al.* 1982a, 23-26.

Figure 5.2 The Planning Process



Source: Marshall *et al.* 1982c, 5

The *Technical Appendix* also listed groups and individuals who were interviewed within each community. In general, organizations included the Hamlet Council, the Hunters and Trappers Association, and the Co-op Board. Notably, meetings were conducted in each centre with women's groups, such as ladies auxiliary, ladies sewing groups and craft centres. Further, there was representation of old and young people; consultants spoke with senior classes in schools as well as with elders. From a study of the names, it appears that interviews were spread throughout the community and were not limited to those from the most powerful elite families (Wenzel 1999, personal communication). Individuals listed include: Hunters, Teachers, Doctors, Carvers, Ministers, RCMP Officers, Community Leaders, Mayors, as well as people with no specified occupation.

Meeting with as many residents as possible was an attempt to "serve as an educational tool to stimulate interest and gain the full participation of native residents in the tourism industry" (Marshall *et al.* 1982a, 1). During the process, consultants came across some opposition to tourism, noting that in each community there was a faction that was openly hostile to it. "In some communities, this faction comprise(d) a majority of the Inuit population. Tourism development of any sort would be in conflict with these people as a matter of principle (Marshall *et al.* 1982a, 34). People in some places, eg. Clyde River, Pond Inlet and Pangnirtung, worried that should they want to, they might not being able to stop the flow of tourism once it began. It was suggested that concerns and conflict could be handled in three ways. First, public participation

and awareness programs would be conducted to ensure that residents understood the issues. Second, conflicts were to be mitigated through the creation of a Tourism Board or Co-ordinator in each community, responsible for resolving problems. Third, it was openly explained that tourism would not be forced on northern communities. Instead residents were given the ability to veto any development (Marshall *et al.* 1982a). This last point addressed the main concern that residents consistently expressed during the public participation program: the imperative need for community control over tourism growth.

Consideration was also given to future trends and influences (Figure 5.2). The consultants provided an analysis of the tourism industry prospects for both domestic and international travel to Canada and the NWT. Growth of the industry looked promising; a rapid increase in tourism to Canada was reported, as well as an increase in Canadian disposable income. It was also noted that tourists in the 1980s were becoming more selective, interested in unique travel experiences. The global nature of the industry was commented upon, and it was recognized that Baffin would be increasingly in competition with the other parts of the world for tourism markets. It was determined that a strategy would have to be flexible enough to respond to both short and long term market shifts (Marshall *et al.* 1982a).

5.4 A Regional Strategy

Marshall Macklin Monaghan Ltd. crafted a broad strategy, suggesting the direction for ten years of tourism development (1982a). This included individual

community tourism plans for the initial one to five years of implementation. The overall emphasis of the strategy was:

> To stimulate the development of predominantly non-consumptive, community-centred tourism in an integrated network of tourism destination areas and destination communities that are linked together by air transportation corridors or boat tours. Development of tourism facilities , attractions and programs will take place along specific themes that will attempt to reflect the natural, cultural, and historic resources and lifestyles of the region. These will aim to attract specific specialty markets to provide structured, programmed opportunities that can be packaged for small group visitation. The bulk of the tourism development will be initiated by the public sector and managed and operated by the private sector. The individual community's decision regarding tourism development will ultimately decide the type and extent of tourism development that will take place in that community (Marshall et al. 1982a, 25).

The territorial approach was consistent with that undertaken in the Baffin. Trumper and Vaughan (interviews) indicated that the community views expressed during the public participation in the Baffin planning process, were instrumental in forming the territory-wide *Strategy for Community Based Tourism in the NWT*, presented by the government in the following year. Both strategies specified development of non-consumptive, community centred, packaged tours. The theme was to experience the natural, cultural and historic resources and lifestyles of the region.

The 1983 GNWT strategy was to direct tourism development in the territory for five years. It made recommendations to re-shape the image of the NWT as a tourist destination. Planners also hoped to expand the tourist season from July-September to year round. At the time, the NWT was thought by

tourists to be too cold, too far away, too expensive and offering mainly poor quality facilities.

The GNWT recognized that it had promoted tourism growth in the past but had not followed through with supporting programs or funds for infrastructure and manpower development. For each stated objective toward developing community based tourism, the strategy specified a series of programs. The objective for community control would be attained through programs set up to develop community tour packages. Increased employment for residents would be attained through tourism skills training programs, or career programs to be held in secondary schools. It was recommended that all NWT communities go through both a 'Planning Assistance Program' to ascertain their potential, and an 'Awareness of Tourism Program' to develop greater understanding of opportunities, costs and benefits potentially associated with tourism. Since these two programs had already been conducted during the previous two years in Baffin communities, it put the region ahead of the rest of the NWT in its preparation for tourism development (Hamburg interview #1).

In order to coordinate development, the strategy specified that the Travel Industry Association (TIA) at the territorial level and individual zone associations, such as the Baffin Tourism Association, at the regional level. Funding for programs, especially in the core areas mentioned above, would be mainly the government's responsibility. In a few cases, funding would be shared between the government and the travel zone association. This applied to programs such

as the 'Meetings and Conventions' program, which were based upon regional development aspirations.

5.4.1 Non-Consumptive versus Consumptive Tourism

The fact that both the regional and territorial strategies chose to promote non-consumptive packages is an interesting point, considering that consumptive forms of tourism earn significantly more per visitor. Figures for the Baffin Region in 1984, reveal that the average amount spent per sports hunter was $9,297, whereas the average amount spent per non-consumptive adventure traveller was $2,052 (ED&T 1984). Similarly, in 1988, 200 consumptive tourists brought $1,066,750 to the region, compared with $1,954,994 from 1600 non-consumptive tourists (ED&T 1988, Table 17, unpaginated). Thus the volume of non-consumptive tourists must be very high to approach the revenues earned from sports hunters.

The reason for choosing a non-consumptive tourism strategy was "to minimize social and environmental impacts..." (GNWT 1983, 11). This aim stems from the original planning principles (see Table 5.1) which were based on a policy of conservation. Beginning in 1972, GNWT policy favoured the balancing of industrial development with environmental protection. This was seen as the beginning of sustainable development in the NWT. Under the 'balanced economy policy', legislation of quotas and licenses were introduced as a means of resource management. (Resource Futures International 1992). It was recognized that polar bears, seals, musk-ox and caribou are part of the diet

of subsistence hunters, but have limited population carrying capacities. The tourism strategy stated that competition between locals and tourists for subsistence resources, eg. sports hunting, was to be avoided (GNWT 1983).

An apparent inconsistency in the strategy is that it calls for non-consumptive tourism, while specifying that development must be complementary to the traditional lifestyles of residents (GNWT 1983; Marshall *et al.* 1982a). Since many Inuit are typically out on the land hunting during the summer season, employment in non-consumptive summer tourism activities would likely hamper their involvement in the subsistence economy. This potential conflict with Inuit lifestyles is illustrated in the following exchange between host and guest in Pangnirtung:

> Tourist: The sign outside says the Elders' room is closed for the summer. Why would the Elders' room be canceled exactly when the tourists are here?
>
> Host: Because that is the only chance they have to go camping, to get out on the land with their families. The meet here all winter, but will make appointments in the summer to meet with visitors if they want story-telling. (Reimer & Dialla 1992, 71)

However, a strategy supporting non-consumptive tourism may be more representative of Inuit views than it first appears. During the planning process, the public participation program revealed that residents were concerned about how tourism development would interfere with their day-to-day activities such as hunting and fishing. Some thought that the people best suited to work in tourism would choose instead to be out camping on the land during the summer. People questioned the potential impact that a growing number of tourists would have on wildlife. Some residents opposed the sale of polar bear tags to sports hunters by

the HTA. Such expressions of concern appear to support non-consumptive tourism and were incorporated into individual community development plans.

In terms of the opportunity cost to hunters who might participate in tourism, some Inuit voiced the idea that involvement in the industry would be an individual choice. Many residents viewed tourist guiding and outfitting as another possible source of income alongside carving and hunting (Marshall *et al.* 1982b). Further, such activities were seen by planners as a good transition for Inuit from the subsistence to the wage economy because they could utilize their land and water skills and they would not need to be bilingual. From this perspective, tourism could be a complementary economic alternative rather than a replacement for subsistence hunting.

5.5 Implementation

The GNWT prescribed a strategy for tourism development on a territory-wide scale (1983), however, this section will examine implementation on the regional scale in Baffin. With reference to tourism in Canada's North, Johnston and Haider (1993) point out that:

> while culture and the natural environment are important parameters in defining a tourism product, the political, bureaucratic and management frameworks in a particular place influence significantly the success or failure of tourism. This institutional setting can aid community based initiatives by providing the means to ensure the continuance of local control and the internal development of the local and regional economy (1993, ix).

In the case of Baffin, there have been three stages in the development of community based tourism. The Marshall Macklin Monaghan Ltd. strategy began

with development in Pangnirtung. Then in 1988, Hamburg and Monteith produced a strategy with a slightly different approach and a three year implementation plan. Finally, the NWT underwent a political movement towards decentralization in the mid-1990s, which again shifted the approach to tourism development.

5.5.1 1982-1988

Marshall *et al.* produced a plan for an integrated system; each community was assigned a role within the strategy that determined its development (see Table 5.2). Roles were assigned based upon community resources, location, immediate and long term potential and the aspirations of residents (Marshall *et al.* 1982a).

Table 5.2 Role of Each Baffin Community in Tourism Development

Role	Communities	Reasoning
Regional Service Centre	Iqaluit	Main service centre for the tourist
Regional Gateway	Iqaluit Resolute Bay	Main entry points into the Baffin Region
Destination Area	Grise Fiord Pond Inlet Arctic Bay Pangnirtung Kimmirut	A distinct community, centred geographic area, containing one or more significant tourism opportunities
Destination Community	Igloolik Cape Dorset	Containing one or more tourism attractions
Stopover Community	Hall Beach	Offering day use facilities and services
Outfitting Centre	Resolute Bay Clyde River Broughton Island Sanikiluag	Offering outfitting services

Source: Marshall *et al.* 1982a, 18

Combined with this strategy was a hierarchy for development that assigned each community a level of priority. When asked why certain communities were chosen to be developed before others, both Monteith and Hamburg (interview #1) explained that such priority was mainly based upon community aspirations, which had been expressed to consultants during the planning process. Table 5.3 outlines how each Baffin community was assessed. The spreadsheet also details other factors that influenced the decision, such as the availability of resources, present capability, market potential, and linkage with other tourism attractions (Marshall *et al.* 1982c).

The overall priority rating of I for both Pangnirtung and Iqaluit, reflected the fact that Auyuittuq National Park provided the key tourist attraction for the region. Iqaluit was given early priority for development because it was the gateway for tourists arriving in the Baffin Region. Of all the Baffin communities, these centres were the closest to being ready for hosting tourists.

Clyde River was given the lowest level of priority (V) (Table 5.3). Residents' opinions, expressed during the planning process, provide some insight into the reasons for Clyde's low ranking. Overall, many had doubts about whether tourism development would be good for Clyde River. Most had not had previous contact with tourists and were unsure why tourists would want to visit. As the report explains:

Table 5.3 Assessment of Priorities for Tourism Development, Baffin Region Tourism Development Strategy

Community	Priority Based on Resources	Priority Reflecting Market Potential	Initial Community Response	Consultant's Perception of Eventual Response	Present Capability	Degree of Complementarity	Linkage Potential	Overall Priority (Community)
Iqaluit	medium	high	positive	positive	medium-high	high	high	I
Resolute Bay	medium	medium	lack of interest	neutral	low-medium	medium-high	medium-high	III
Pangnirtung	high	high	positive	positive	medium	high	high	I
Kimmirut	low	medium	positive	positive	low	high	high	II
Grise Fiord	high	high	positive	positive	low	medium	medium	II
Pond Inlet	medium	medium	neutral	neutral-positive	low-medium	medium	medium	III
Arctic Bay	low-medium	medium	positive	positive	low	medium	medium	III
Cape Dorset	high	high	positive	positive	low-medium	high	high	II
Igloolik	medium	medium	neutral-positive	neutral-positive	low	medium	medium	III
Hall Beach	low	low	positive	positive	low	low	medium	IV
Sanikiluag	low	low	neutral-negative	neutral	low	medium-high	low	V
Broughton Island	medium	low	neutral	positive	low	high	high	III
Clyde River	low	low	neutral-negative	neutral	low-medium	low-medium	medium	V

Source: Adapted from Marshall et al. 1982c., 19

> There is widespread suspicion about what tourists do in the North. Many believe that tourists are looking for and extracting minerals without telling the community. Some believe that tourists report what they see in the North to the government. Others are afraid that tourists are somehow associated with the news media, which has, in the past, been critical of Inuit hunting practices...A recent door to door survey showed that the majority of Clyde River residents are opposed to the sale of polar bear tags to sports hunters even for a substantial amount of money (Marshall *et al.* 1982b, Clyde River, Section 2.4 unpaginated).

The community plan stated that the most notable characteristic about Clyde River is that it was, and wished to remain, a very traditional community. Planners felt, however, that with a more extensive tourism awareness program, the residents of Clyde River might become more interested in tourism in the future.

In contrast, the residents of Kimmirut had not experienced much tourist activity before, but did not express concerns about tourism. The community felt that the friendly atmosphere of Kimmirut would be an asset to tourism development. In meetings with community groups, planners were told that people thought tourism would be a good way of providing employment for the community. Due to its proximity to Iqaluit, Kimmirut had the potential to offer packaged day trips and thus link with development in the larger centre. For these reasons, it was given a development priority rating of II.

After the Marshall *et al.* strategy came out in 1982, the Baffin Regional Council met again and decided to begin development in Pangnirtung (Monteith interview #1). This was the first year in a five year implementation program for the community. Once underway, it was thought that other Baffin communities would be able to learn and gain from the Pangnirtung experience.

The *Implementation Program* (Marshall *et al.* 1981c), outlined costs, responsibilities and construction schedules for a series of programs and projects. These included general community improvement such as upgraded hotel accommodation, as well as programs to develop boat tours and build industry awareness. Programs for training locals to take on new positions, such as community hosts and tour group outfitters, were recommended to help residents better understand the tourism industry and develop business management skills. However, it was recognized that for the first five years, while self sufficiency was building in the community, the government department of ED&T would continue to provide professional assistance in coordinating and facilitating growth. Program funding was split between the territorial and federal governments and the private sector.

The Tourism Committee became the Community Tourist Board, responsible for implementing the plan. Planners specified that the community, through the Tourist Board, should "take a strong administration, co-ordination, operating and promotional role in the delivery of tourism services" (Marshall *et al.* 1981c, 154). It was decided that this board would remain a sub-committee of the Hamlet Council to ensure its accountability to the public. Although Pangnirtung was classified (Table 5.3) as being positive about tourism development, the community were not united in this view. Consultants (Marshall *et al.* 1981c) note that although both the development strategy and implementation program had been endorsed by the community in a general way, there were still those people who were 'hostile' to tourism development. It was felt that this could build into

social conflict within the community if tourism grew quickly and impacted upon regular services, eg. mail, garbage, or utilities. These potential problems were to be mitigated by the Community Tourism Board, which although responsible for planning, was to remain mindful of community concerns.

Robbins (1992) recalls that between 1981 and 1988, many of the large projects outlined in the *Pangnirtung Implementation Plan* were completed. This included the Angmarlik Visitor Centre, Kekerten Historic Park, and a new hotel with 60% Inuit ownership. Wenzel and Milne (1990) explain how the Angmarlik Visitor Centre organized tourist activities. Those guides who were registered with the centre had the first opportunity to take tourists out. The system ensured that business from tourism was spread amongst all the guides and also provided a way for their performance to be monitored. Reimer and Dialla (1992) note that "turn-taking" worked well with Inuit guides who were not accustomed to competing among themselves.

> Competition will not help us in the long run. Some will not succeed. Think about the issue that bad feelings will be created between the outfitters. Competition will not work in Pangnirtung (Guide comment, quoted in Reimer & Dialla 1992, 41).

Outfitters and other small business people in the North were dependent upon government agencies for administrative support. For example, the area Economic Development Officer (EDO) helped guides to set rates for services. This was thought to be understandable because Inuit outfitters did not have the money, education or language skills to embark on starting up a business alone (Reimer & Dialla 1992). Through this period, the incipient tourism industry in

Pangnirtung continued to be ED&T's primary focus for tourism development (Monteith interview #1). This was reflected in figures presented by Reimer and Dialla (1992, 43) showing that Pangnirtung received a substantial portion of the total investments made by the regional government, especially in the years 1981-1984[1].

Regionally, the number of tourists to the Baffin Region had increased by 105% from 1982 to 1986 (GNWT 1986). The ED&T's 1986 *Economic Review* noted that tourism was responsible for injecting $10 million dollars annually into Baffin. However, the report noted that the tourism industry was still at a very early stage of development. During this period, the number of Inuit employed in the tourism industry work force rose. Many of these had graduated from the guiding courses offered by the government. The report also noted large leakages in the regional economy due to the need to pay southern imported labour, primarily for construction. Leakage problems occurred because of "continued policy and implementation problems within the GNWT, Federal and Crown levels of government" (GNWT 1986, 44). Yet the Territorial Government continued to focus on building native employment support through training and incentive programs, because it was felt that steady growth in the tourism industry would ultimately provide more employment for native northerners.

In the following year (1987), the Baffin Tourism Association (BTA) was formed as an arm of the Baffin Regional Council, to facilitate tourism development in communities. The BTA produced and distributed information

[1] The table is not included here as the writers caution that numbers are incomplete and can function only as estimates.

pamphlets explaining the purpose of having a Tourism Committee, as well as how to set one up. Both the BTA and Regional Tourism Officers (Hamburg and Monteith) were based in Iqaluit and offered their assistance as resource people to aid tourism development throughout the region. Colleen Dupuis (interview), the former General Manager/Executive Director of the BTA, explained that the main purpose of these strategies was to encourage small operators to get involved in tourism. A typical client would be a carver or hunter who had decided to take a few people out hunting a couple of times a season to supplement his cash income. To help such businesses start up, the association offered a listing in a national magazine that promoted tourism in the region, and provided a low priced insurance program for guides and outfitters. Additionally, the BTA created a central database of tourism businesses in each Baffin community, and supplied the information to potential tourists when they enquired about services.

5.5.2 1988-1994

To refocus tourism growth across the Baffin Region, Monteith and Hamburg, under ED&T in Iqaluit, produced a regional strategy in 1988. While it kept the core strategy as outlined by Marshall *et al.* (1982) the approach to community based tourism development differed in a number of ways. The government recognized that it now had two roles in the economy: a proactive development role and a reactive program delivery role. The key objectives were to expand development throughout the region and promote it.

> While in the past the department's emphasis has been to create the appropriate climate for residents to participate and become aware of tourism opportunities, the department in the Baffin Region will now move on to the next stage and focus its resources on product development and insuring quality products and services continue to be offered (ED&T 1988, Section 3.0, unpaginated).

This approach signaled a significant shift in the tourism development strategy from being resource-oriented towards becoming market-oriented.

The report recognized the large economic revenue brought to the region by sports hunters. Thus, promotion of such consumptive activities were included with non-consumptive tourism, under the general 'outdoor/adventure' category. Non-consumptive tourism still remained the central focus because it was seen to offer the most growth for the area. As Kemp-Kinnear (interview) commented, no matter how much it may be promoted, sports hunting is limited by quotas, which delineate the number of animals a community is able to hunt per season. Outfitting, whether for sports hunting or wilderness trekking, was described as being the heart of the Baffin tourism industry. From the perspective of serving the market, ED&T felt that the best way for tourists to experience the area was with an Inuk guide to provide historical and cultural interpretation.

Most of the funding was provided by the government, whose other key role was to act as a consultant in community development. The role of the tourism industry associations was to deliver the programs and facilitate cooperation among the tourism operators in the region. To achieve these objectives, improved communications and stronger links between territorial (TIA) and regional (BTA) associations were necessary. Community Boards and Councils were responsible for ensuring that development was in line with

resident aspirations. Finally, product development was to be mainly driven by the private sector; individuals were expected to "conceive, develop and deliver consistently excellent tourism products" (ED&T 1988, Section 5.8, unpaginated). Here, in the assignment of roles and responsibilities, the strategy shows that government planners saw tourism as an opportunity for Inuit to achieve self-determination.

Reliance on the private sector for product development was an attempt to discourage the "increasing dependence on government and the endless pot illusion" (ED&T 1988, Problem Indicators, unpaginated). To facilitate individual's tourism skills, educational programs such as co-operative training and on-the-job training were offered. This strategy was intended to address what ED&T referred to as "the proliferation of government programs which had made simple problems difficult to solve" (ED&T 1988, Problem Indicators, unpaginated).

In terms of promotion, the government expected to take on the expensive supportive functions of market research and market development. The internet was to be used as an additional source of marketing for the region. The need to project an accurate image to tourist markets was also highlighted.

Hamburg (interview #1) notes that the momentum behind tourism development lasted for 10 years. Both Monteith and Hamburg (interview #1) recall that period as one in which there was an integrated tourism plan. The BTA and the EDOs in each community worked together for a common goal. However, Hamburg (interview #1) makes the interesting point that at this period in the history of tourism development in the Baffin, the funding for infrastructure

peaked at the time when the funding for training was just starting. The delay meant that the development plan lost its continuity. Although the error was realized in the '80s, the inertia in government meant that it took some time for the problem to be resolved.

At this time, the interest within communities was beginning to fall off, and Monteith and Hamburg saw the need to conduct another tourism awareness program in 1994. Interviews were conducted with locally owned tourism companies and broadcast in Inuktitut on the radio. Rather than trying to raise expectations, Hamburg (interview #1) said that the aim was to explain to communities that development is a slow process requiring a lengthy commitment. What planners discovered through the process was that, to be able to stay in the industry, people needed to take part in a variety of other types of work during the tourist off-season. The short summer season often did not offer enough benefit to keep small entrepreneurs involved in tourism year after year. Hamburg (interview #1) explained:

> The population of the region is small, the number interested in tourism is smaller still, those who can balance the economics of a seasonal tourism business is smaller again, so it is difficult to keep those you invest training in - in the industry if results aren't seen fast enough.

This meant that, despite the increased availability of training programs, some people began to drift out of the sector and into other areas that offered secure, short term earning potential.

Kemp-Kinnear (interview) thought that an explanation for the turnover lay in the general perception that tourism is not considered a career, but something

one can do until a real job comes along. She suggested that this may change as standards and certification become widespread and the industry grows.

5.5.3 1994-1998

The political trend towards decentralization in the mid-1990s affected tourism development in many ways. Most importantly, ED&T, Energy, Mines and Petroleum Resources, and Renewable Resources merged to make Resources, Wildlife and Economic Development (RWED), which became responsible for tourism. Cutbacks came along with the amalgamation and RWED's tourism budget dropped by 47% (10.7 million to 5.7 million) (RT & Associates 1996).

A strategic planning workshop was convened in Iqaluit in 1996 to address the ways in which tourism would be affected in the forthcoming amalgamation of the three government departments (RT & Associates 1996). Robert Trudeau, the consultant chosen to chair the workshop, had formerly worked in Baffin's tourism development as the Regional Superintendent in the early '80s. The department's response, as developed in the workshop, was to "expand partnerships", which meant a transfer of tourism responsibility to the private sector. The BTA would be phased out and the new body, Nunavut Tourism, would become funded partially by RWED, Inuit Organizations, and the private sector. Its mandate would be to increase sales for operators by marketing and product development. The Nunavut Tourism board would include

representatives from all stakeholders, (government, Nunavut Tunngavik Inc.[2], and industry representatives).

At the same time as Nunavut Tourism was being formed, the position of Economic Development Officer (EDO) was re-structured into Community Economic Development Officer (CEDO). According to Monteith (interview #2) EDOs had formerly been representatives of the government in each community, a position which Hamburg, Monteith and Trumper had all held at one time. Now government funds went to individual hamlets to hire their own CEDOs. The new positions followed the 1996 GNWT policy of community empowerment and were meant to be financially beneficial to communities. Some EDOs became CEDOs and some were locally hired, but because of the shortage of trained labour in the North, the position was sometimes left empty. The role of RWED changed into one of support for CEDOs, handling licensing, training programs and workshops to help the community make their own decision on how to develop.

Monteith (interview #2) pointed out some of the consequences of this change. In effect, there were now three possible routes for tourism development to take, and the autonomous nature of the three agencies meant that all three could potentially be working in different directions. For example, the following projects were all scheduled for the summer of 1998. Hamburg (interview #1) indicated that RWED was working on developing parks in Clyde River and Cape Dorset. The CEDO conference in Iqaluit the year before had selected Clyde River and Pond Inlet as pilot project communities in which to focus new tourism

[2] Nunavut Tunngavik Inc. took over from Inuit Tapirisat of Canada in 1982. It became responsible for the Nunavut Claim and administered the land claim (Mitchell, 1996).

development. Nunavut Tourism was sponsoring a southern-operated tour agency to come North and train Inuit in sea kayaking and guiding (Logan interview). Although CEDOs were meant to provide the link between Nunavut Tourism and communities, the Development Coordinator did not work with the CEDOs, but directly with individual outfitters. Greg Logan (interview) explained that most CEDOs were not trained well enough and so individuals wanting to get involved with tourism worked directly with Nunavut Tourism instead. Ideally, in the future, CEDOs would replace Logan as the link between funding agencies and entrepreneurs. Dupuis (interview) took part in the CEDO conference in 1997, which included training seminars, business development workshops and discussions for the community representatives. Positions turned over quickly, however, and one year later, only two of the CEDO positions were held by the same people. This turnover is similar to the level which Hamburg observed occurring with guides and outfitters.

When asked about the lack of integration between the three bodies, the Deputy Minister for Sustainable Development, Katherine Trumper (interview), stated that the problem was not one of policy but of circumstance. She outlined three points that had lead to the current situation. First, due to government constraint, there were cutbacks at all levels. Seeing the potential impact that such cutbacks might have on Baffin's growing tourism industry, representatives from ED&T proposed that the private sector could handle responsibility for tourism development more effectively; the result was the creation of Nunavut Tourism. The third point was that the government was becoming involved in

community empowerment, which included devolving more management responsibility to locals. This resulted in the change from EDO to CEDO. However, since some of the positions were hired locally, a large difference in skill levels arose (Trumper interview). Nunavut Tourism wanted to work with people in communities who understood tourism the way the government staffed EDOs once had, but they were no longer there. As a result, Trumper said, Nunavut Tourism would have to begin working more with communities in product development.

Part of the objective behind shifting marketing functions to Nunavut Tourism was to develop a more consistent image of the North (Monteith interview #1). Prior to this, marketing was handled on a territorial level by the GNWT in Yellowknife, and regionally by the BTA and ED&T. Another good reason for regional-level marketing was that tourism in the Baffin Region differed significantly from the western regions of the NWT, which are accessible by highway. Cheri Kemp-Kinnear, formerly the Executive Director of Nunavut Tourism indicated (interview) that the NWT tourism marketing stance was the Arctic 'beyond belief but within reach'. This advertising angle highlighted natural and unusual features such as musk-ox, polar bears, ice bergs, mountains and glaciers. Kemp-Kinnear pointed out that many of those features were actually unique to the Eastern Arctic.

Now, Nunavut Tourism promotes the area from three angles; 'Arctic', 'Canadian', and 'Inuit Culture'. Cheri Kemp-Kinnear showed how each of these foci are represented throughout the organization's publication, *The Arctic*

Traveller. The earlier theme of attempting to provide tourists with a realistic impression of what to expect in the Arctic has continued. As well as promoting adventure travel and sports hunting, the publication has photos and explanations of communities, weather conditions, country foods and Inuit culture.

The inclusion of such information in promotional material also addresses Inuit concerns. The McGill Tourism Research Group (MTRG) reported that residents would prefer to receive tourists who have an interest in local culture and sometimes hunting (Milne *et al.* 1997). Surveys conducted in Baffin communities showed that Inuit had less interest in adventure travellers or 'green peace' tourists. They were seen as coming to the North to experience the natural environment, having little interest in interacting with communities or learning about the Inuit reliance on natural resources. Grekin (1994) notes that guides in Pond Inlet were instructed, by the outfitters who employed them, not to hunt while escorting tourists on the land. She suggests that this measure is taken more to protect tourists' delicate sensibilities than for their safety. Perhaps in response, Nunavut Tourism has included a pamphlet, called 'Our Daily Bread' with its information package. This booklet explains how seals and seal hunting are 'the lifeblood of Inuit subsistence livelihood'. Kemp-Kinnear indicated that this publication is intended to show tourists that hunting animals is still culturally important and provides food, clothing and other products.

On the product development side, Nunavut Tourism concentrates on packaging and promoting existing infrastructure (Kemp-Kinnear interview). This entails joining services such as boat tours and hotels into community packages

that can be offered to tourists. Nunavut Tourism bases future development plans on market research and the demand of target markets: "build it and they will come only works in a field of dreams, it doesn't work in reality" (Kemp-Kinnear interview). From Kemp-Kinnear's description, services seem to be more extensive than those provided by the BTA. This included helping an outfitting business start up; explaining the need for a business plan and how to get a license, providing access to funds, aiding with market research, producing brochures, and providing an insurance program for small operators.

Despite this available support, Dupuis (interview) commented that Nunavut Tourism is more focused on promoting big operators, rather than developing small ones. This could signal a 'follow the leader' approach to development; where potential small operators watch and learn and then hopefully enter the industry once it has been established in their area. It represents a divergence from the original strategy of promoting small scale, locally owned and community based businesses. Perhaps the new approach is the result of the change from a resource-oriented strategy to a market-oriented strategy. Trumper (interview) indicated that Nunavut Tourism must demonstrate that it has been instrumental in increasing jobs and incomes in order to continue receiving its funding. In pursuing its mandate to increase sales for operators, it is possible that Nunavut Tourism has chosen to focus on those areas which appear to be the most successful.

In summary, implementation of the regional strategy for tourism development has continued for eighteen years. It has been influenced by the

economic, cultural and political factors unique to the Baffin Region. Policy-makers Trumper and McRury (interviews) believe in long term vision. McRury said that the theory of community based tourism is a good one. His view of tourism is that it will continue to be very significant to northern economic development, however, it will remain a matter of education and a lot of work. Trumper commented that one must be patient as community empowerment is a 20 to 30 year developmental process.

5.6 Monitoring and Evaluation of the Strategy

As an early example of planning for sustainable development, it is interesting to evaluate the evolution of the strategy over the last eighteen years. The following were the key aims of the community based strategy.

- To encourage growth of the tourism industry
- To complement traditional lifestyles
- To spread benefits throughout all communities
- To increase local control of the tourism industry
- To increase local participation in the tourism industry

What follows is an evaluation of the strategy. Since the strategy contained social and economic goals, both industry indicators and resident views will be considered.

- **Growth of the tourism industry**

The tourism policy aimed at increasing benefits to the local economy has had mixed success. On a community scale, Robbins (1992) writes that tourism has become a significant part of Pangnirtung's economy. Both outfitters and carvers have benefited from an increase of tourists. Data from 1991 shows that outfitting

contributed approximately $100,000 to the formal and informal economy. Carvers and other artists earned $20,000 - $80,000 per season in direct sales to tourists. Robbins notes that this is important because 30% of households benefited from sales of art to tourists. However, "after ten years, the economic benefits were still relatively small and somewhat less than community expectations" (Robbins 1992, 135).

Residents in both Cape Dorset (Ward 1993) and Kimmirut (Woodley 1999) would like to see an increase in tourism, which they felt would bolster carving sales. In both communities, carving and tourism are the mainstays of the local economy. Encouragingly, Woodley (1999, 43) reports tourism growth in Kimmirut between 1993 and 1995, with a doubling of expenditures during that period. According to the EDO, though, much of the economic benefit continues to leak out of the community; airlines and southern outfitters are still the primary beneficiaries in the northern industry (Woodley 1999).

Regionally, economic benefit is harder to measure; numbers are incomplete and often data are not collected in a manner that is comparable over time. For example, it has been estimated that tourism contributed $30 million to the Nunavut economy in 1994 (Nunavut Tourism 1998). This appears to be an increase from $10 million injected into the Baffin economy in 1986 (GNWT 1986), but there is no breakdown of the figures for the Baffin Region, and it is problematic to compare Nunavut, Baffin and NWT statistics. In terms of employment, a GNWT report (1996) notes that for every dollar spent by tourists

in Nunavut, 51 cents goes to territorial gross domestic product from which 36 cents of labour income is created.

The Nunavut Business Directory (1999) is another source of information which lists all tourism/travel service businesses in the territory. According to their entries, out of 27 listings for Baffin tourism businesses, 10 are Inuit-owned (registered with NTI). Services offered include boat tours, outfitters, dogsledding, eco-tours, sports hunting and fishing, scuba diving, kayaking, cultural tours and tourism support services. However, the fact that none of these businesses is registered in Pangnirtung erodes confidence in how representative the list actually is.

Trumper (interview) said that there are indications that tourism is declining in Baffin. She indicated that this is surmised by observing an annual decrease in the number of registered licensed outfitters (Table 5.4), and by talking to industry stakeholders.

Table 5.4 Number of Registered Baffin Outfitters

1989	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995
38	33	28	31a	29	26	23

Source: Regional Trends 1989-1995, ED&T, GNWT Iqaluit.
a: 11 of these were in Pangnirtung, which consistently has the largest percentage

Outfitters are primarily dependent upon bookings from independent travellers. Package tour operators can negotiate for bulk fares with airlines, whereas individual outfitters are unable to because of insufficient traffic. RWED interprets the decreasing outfitter numbers as a good indication that independent travel is falling off.

When asked whether a cost/benefit analysis is used to measure how the community based strategy is working in the Baffin Region, Trumper and Zeiba (interviews) referred to indicators, such as the number of registered outfitters, but had no overall measurement of the strategy's success. Zeiba (interview) explained some of the factors that have inhibited the maintenance of tourism data, these include: the movement of tourism from ED&T to RWED, and the fact that tourism and parks are separate divisions within those departments. In terms of measuring costs, contributions and loans given out to individual tourism operators need to be considered, as well as funding received from various sources, such as the Economic Development Agreement and departmental contribution budgets. As the Chief Statistician for Nunavut, Hicks (personal communication 1999) concurred with this, explaining that standardized procedures for collecting such economic measurements are still being set up.

Nor can the industry be accurately measured from conducted community studies with residents. One limiting factor noted by Reimer and Dialla (1992) is that tourism often contributes to the informal economy which is hard to measure. For example, Inuit may benefit by periodically guiding a group, or from the sale of art to tourists, but this income is not always declared. Further, when collecting data about tourism involvement, the researchers found that Inuit did not always interpret their jobs as tourism-related. This was best illustrated by women working at a lodge in Pangnirtung who did not feel that they were part of, or that they benefited from the tourism industry (Reimer & Dialla 1992, 36).

Monitoring tourism growth may become easier in the future. Annual performance reviews are planned for Nunavut Tourism and the organization must demonstrate its progress with evidence of increased job opportunities (Trumper interview). Currently, exit surveys provide benchmark indicators of tourism growth, but such research is expensive, and so is only conducted periodically. With regard to tourism, government funds must be spread between capital projects, programs for business start-up and support, training and education, and market research.

Based on exit surveys, there is some data available for the ten year period between 1984-1995. Revenues from package tours in the Baffin Region were $2.5 million in 1995. This represents some recovery after a low period in the early '90s, but revenues have not returned to the high of $3 million earned between '87-'89 (GNWT 1996). Between '84-'95, the average cost of a package tour in the Baffin fell by 50%, possibly due to competition for a diminishing market. Some types of tours performed better than others; both naturalist and hunting tours increased while fishing and arts/cultural tours decreased. Despite reports of a large and undeveloped market potential for 'native tourism' (GNWT 1996), the data for package tours seem to mirror Trumper's comments on tourism decline.

It seems from the data that the makeup of the Baffin tourism market has changed. GNWT promotion efforts to attract eco and adventure travellers seem to have been successful. The following is a general profile of Baffin tourists:

- Over 50% come from Canada
- highly educated, 53% with university degree
- affluent: 80% with household income $40,000+
- 76% between 25-64 years old
- 64% are male

Source: Milne *et al.* 1997

It would be interesting to compare this profile with a detailed one from the 1970s, but these data are not available for the period prior to the strategy for non-consumptive tourism. However, the market differs significantly from what Seale (1992) described as once having been based on hunting and fishing lodges. By way of example, Mike (interview) has observed a shift toward fewer males, more families, and more older people. Further, tourists are now open and eager to learn about the culture. Being more educated, these travellers are not surprised or disgusted when observing the traditional lifestyle that involves hunting and blood (Mike interview). Milne *et al.* (1997, 2) note that these new tourists, now in the majority amongst travellers to the region, have many of the characteristics of 'ecotourists'. Their travel activities include adventure, nature and culture experiences. The GNWT (1996) tourist profile concurs with this. Between '88 and '95, fewer people were visiting the region for hunting and fishing. Instead, the largest motivations became culture/arts, camping/hiking, photography/nature observation. The relative numbers of tourists participating in each of these activities have fluctuated during the period, with no clear trend, except that activities related to the targeted learn/observe/experience market have risen overall.

While promotion has been successful in reorienting tourism towards an eco market, it has not been able to entirely overcome the limitations of Baffin's remote location. Trumper (interview) said "for every $200,000 more we spend on marketing, First Air raises their rates and just cuts out those people who would come here for $1800 but won't come for $2200." It seems that some factors remain beyond the control of GNWT planners.

- **Complementary to traditional lifestyles**

Another key tourism policy aim was to provide employment opportunities that would complement the lifestyles of residents. In this regard, Trumper observed the first years of tourism growth in Pangnirtung. Hunters who used to get $45 per sealskin could make up to $300/day as tourism outfitters. However, even after the sealskin market bottomed out in 1983, there was no mass migration to work in tourism (Trumper interview). While there was an increase in applications for guiding licenses among Pangnirtung residents, it did not represent a significant portion of the population. As Trumper stated: "a lot of guys continued to hunt, that's what they wanted to do still" (interview). From this, it appears that opportunities in tourism did not take people away from subsistence hunting, they acted as an income supplement.

Ten years later, Reimer and Dialla (1992) reported that many Inuit families were involved in both the formal and informal economies. Activities such as carving were seen as being complementary to hunting as they earn immediate cash and do not tie a person down to a work schedule. The researchers

observed that 28% of Pangnirtung households were involved in tourism-related income which mostly belonged to the informal economy. However, Inuit felt that tourism activities should attempt to achieve a better fit with the traditional economy. In contrast, by introducing outfitter licensing and insurance programs, ED&T was seen as encouraging a structured industry, modeled upon the South.

> Almost everything has changed. There are more outfitters competing and a lot more rules to follow. But I always expected the government would step in and make a lot of rules (a Pangnirtung outfitter quoted in Reimer & Dialla 1992, 36)

Pangnirtung residents suggested that tourism could contribute more to Inuit households if activities were more focused in communities. Still, Reimer and Dialla noted that few exploited tourist demand for such in-town activities.

With regard to how tourism development complements Inuit lifestyles, Grekin (1994) makes the observation that hunting was concealed from tourists in Pond Inlet because locals felt that tourists would not appreciate or respect it. She saw this as evidence that some forms of tourism development are not compatible with local culture.

From an outfitter's perspective, one guide said that the structure of the industry does not fit the needs of some. She gave an example of the kind of support a small operator needs when starting up. Her Inuk colleague is unilingual and would like to begin guiding tourists. He has no business background and would like to do only the field work, leaving the rest to Nunavut Tourism. This would be similar to the arrangement that outfitters in Pangnirtung

had with the Visitor Centre, which matched incoming tourists with available guides. At this time, however, the services provided by Nunavut Tourism are more oriented to helping set up individual, autonomous businesses.

One guide also suggested that outfitter training would be more appropriate coming from other local outfitters than from the course currently being offered at Arctic College. She felt that consensus based development would work well in the small communities in Nunavut. To begin, a regional meeting of Baffin operators was suggested. This idea is appealing as it promotes cooperation within the industry rather than competition. It is also development that seems to better complement Inuit lifestyles, by considering their cultural and business requirements. In terms of promoting development that fits in with residents, it seems that Nunavut Tourism takes a 'hands off' approach. Kemp-Kinnear's (interview) perspective is that it is up to the community to decide whether they want tourism and how they want to build their industry. After that, Nunavut Tourism can provide support and will market the services and attractions that are created.

- **Benefits Spread throughout all Communities**

Policy called for the benefits of the industry to be spread across the Baffin Region, but tourism still appears to be concentrated in some communities. Pangnirtung, in particular, has benefited from many years of government attention and funding, which makes some wonder when the 'Pang Pilot' study will end. This is not a new question, Reimer and Dialla (1992) observed that

after the first 10 years, residents and government officials were questioning when the community would be able to command its own tourist industry. One of the problems, stated by both groups of stakeholders, is the apparent lack of local drive.

> Perhaps because of this view, several non-Inuit business people tended to bypass local Committees and Councils when they needed to get a job done. They preferred to lobby directly to government personnel - the people with authority...Some of these business people were openly disturbed by the view - held by tourists - that Pangnirtung was owned and operated by outsiders. (Reimer & Dialla 1992, 20).

Further, there is the sense that the high level of government assistance over the years has created dependence on government rather than supported Inuit self-determination (Reimer & Dialla 1992). Kemp-Kinnear (interview) thinks that the solution for Pangnirtung lies in coordinating services into locally-packaged tours so that the community becomes more coordinated in its approach and can better service its tourists.

In concentrating on Pangnirtung for so long, government influenced the course of development and may have reinforced regional imbalances. Wenzel and Milne (1990) asked respondents in the public and private sectors to estimate who the likely winners and losers would be in future tourism development in the Baffin Region. Table 5.5 shows that there is a perception that tourism growth will spread unevenly.

Table 5.5 Winners and Losers in Baffin Region Tourism Development

High Potential	Medium Potential	Low Potential
Pangnirtung		
Pond Inlet		
Iqaluit		
	Cape Dorset	
	Kimmirut	
	Clyde River	
	Arctic Bay	
	Broughton Island	
	Grise Fiord	
	Igloolik	
		Hall Beach
		Sanikiluaq

Source: Wenzel & Milne 1990, 9.

This perspective is interesting because it represents a fairly consistent view from stakeholders (tourist industry, government) who were sampled across three centres in the region with differing levels of development; Iqaluit, Pangnirtung and Clyde River.

The following comments from a workshop entitled a Special Committee on the Northern Economy in Clyde River (1989) provide some insight into a community that became more positive about tourism, but has still had little tourism development. The community member who spoke indicated that the tourism sector seemed to be beneficial to some Baffin communities, but that in the High Arctic, more government assistance is required in promotion. At that time, residents were interested in hosting more tourists, but found travelling south to promote themselves too expensive. Tourism was also thought to be a hard business to establish because of high expenses and a short season. The following commentary, made by a resident of Clyde River, shows the perceived lack of government support:

> When a person establishes outfitters or guides or a tourism business sometimes it is only two months of the year that they can have their business running. Even if I go on and on about this I am sure that the politicians will not listen very much (Special Committee Workshop 1989, 5).

There is a sense in Clyde River that government support does not extend to all communities equally.

- **Increase local control of the tourism industry**

Robbins writes that "one of the biggest hurdles in community based tourism development in remote communities is the ability to bridge the gap in matching the product with the target markets" (1992, 136). Part of this can be ameliorated by ensuring that tourists have an accurate image of the place and realistic expectations. Here, as suggested by the MTRG (Milne *et al.* 1997), the internet has become a useful tool for promotion in the North. The local internet service provider, *Nunanet*, features links to local businesses. Nunavut Tourism has an extensive website (http://www.nunatour.com) with promotional information and photos. A locally produced travel guidebook, *The Nunavut Handbook*, is posted on the web (http://www.arctictravel.com) and provides virtual tours and reviews of communities, their services and attractions. The collection of essays from Inuit and non-Inuit writers gives potential tourists an understanding of what to expect. This ranges from information on clothing, to alcohol restrictions in communities,

as well as stories on northern life, culture, music, traditional games, hunting and animals.

Discussing local input in marketing leads to the issue of local control in development, a central theme in the tourism strategy. The planning process seemed to follow the tenets necessary to build sustainable community based development. Planners spoke with people of all ages in each community, including women, teenagers and elders. Further, they did not rely only upon speaking with people who called into the radio show or who approached them, but also set up meetings with community groups and did presentations for them eg. senior school classes. Also positive were the avenues, set up in advance, for conflict resolution within communities. In Clyde River, Nickels *et al.* (1991) provide evidence that residents seemed to be prepared to trust and follow such a structure:

> Once the community knows what to expect (from tourism), the Tourism Committee will know how to preserve our own culture...for example, how to build a sealskin tent display would teach tourists as well as reinforce our own culture (Clyde resident quoted in Nickels *et al.* 1991, 11).
>
> Many felt that the Tourism Committee should set guidelines on the numbers of tourists that enter Clyde at one time (Nickels *et al.* 1991, 14).

However, Reimer and Dialla (1992) show that in Pangnirtung, this relationship changed over 10 years of development. The Tourism Committee had a heavy turnover, and experienced a loss of leadership by 1990. At that time, its level of activity decreased to the point where some residents were unsure if the Committee still existed (Reimer & Dialla 1992).

More recently, Logan (interview) pointed out that the continuity for community driven development in Pangnirtung has been lost, and the community does not have a CEDO now. Each Hamlet Council is provided with the funds to hire a CEDO. If communities do not take advantage of such bodies to represent and coordinate community interests, then it appears that local control and the local voice in development will decrease.

This issue of local control could also be a case of differing perceptions. The degree of control expected and given seemed to shift from the planning to the development process. The Marshall *et al.* 1982 report explained that communities would be given control to veto development. The GNWT 1983 strategy said that community based tourism is a term which means a tourism industry focused on a specific community. The intent of the industry is to focus the economic benefits and opportunities from tourism into the community (GNWT 1983, 14). Later, ED&T (1988) said that the intention of community based tourism is to allow communities to use the tourism industry as a means of self-determination, and economic independence. Reimer & Dialla (1992) show that from the resident's perspective, this was not what happened. They quote a Pangnirtung Tourism Committee member in 1992: "I used to think of (community based) to mean the community really involved and making the decisions. However, it has not worked out that way. It was just involvement, not decision-making" (1992, 11). A conflicting view came from consultants Marshall *et al.* (1981c) who commented that they felt the Pangnirtung Tourism Committee should have taken a more active role throughout the study. The difference here

could be that initially, levels of community control were high in the planning stages, but this may have fallen off in the actual development process.

According to Reimer and Dialla (1992), as development in the community grew, people in Pangnirtung felt they had less and less control. Robbins agrees that one failure in Pangnirtung was that 'community based' did not necessarily mean community control, but rather community involvement in GNWT plans for economic development through tourism (1992, 135). Despite this, he notes, many residents continued to support growth of the industry based upon the idea that it would benefit the community overall.

The earliest explanations of the community based concept came during the initial tourism awareness program, conducted by consultants across the region. Residents formed their views and expectations for tourism development then. The 1983 strategy used a slightly different meaning, but this would not have been seen by residents, and so their views would not have followed the evolution of government's understanding of the term. Addison (1996) agrees that community involvement, rather than community based planning, is what occurred in Baffin, but she takes the positive view that this is still an important step towards self-determination. Kemp-Kinnear (interview) said that community based tourism development only works if it is market driven and community supported. With this view, the support of residents for the tourism industry is required to ensure that business is successful; part of the package is that tourists are made to feel welcome when they arrive.

- **Increase local participation in the tourism industry**

Looking at Baffin's tourism stakeholders, many of those in government have been there since the early planning stages. These include: Trumper, McRury, Trudeau, Monteith and Hamburg. While there has been continuity in government officers, there has been a high turnover within the industry, from guides and outfitters to CEDOs and Tourism Committees. Many reasons have been suggested. Robbins (1992) points out that growth was not as fast as residents expected. Monteith (interview #1) said that a slow start-up led people to move on to other sectors. Reimer & Dialla (1992) noted that attendance at Committee meetings was a problem and that the organization ceased to be instrumental in tourism development. Hamburg (interview #1) thought that it was the fact the tourism development had lost its momentum. In terms of follow-through, Nunavut Tourism officials indicated that RWED tourism training and marketing programs were ineffective (Trumper interview). It was felt that they were not flexible enough, nor particularly well suited to the industry.

A resident in Pangnirtung agreed with this, saying that tourism is not going the way it was planned because the government was too slow with the delivery of its training programs. As a result, the industry is not benefiting local people the most (Reimer & Dialla 1992, 49). Tarbotton (1995) noted the poor Inuit participation rate in the Iqaluit tourism industry. Inuit had difficulty gaining employment in non-native run organizations because of negative perceptions about their work habits. Inuit were seen as being unskilled, not dependable, or lazy (Tarbotton 1995). Further on this problem, an outfitter based in Iqaluit, does

not think that the government provides sufficient support to small, local operators. There is the impression that RWED seems to favour outfitters from outside Nunavut, by giving them priority in licensing. Perhaps this is due to the shift in policy from being resource and people oriented to becoming market oriented .

In summary, the government continues to promote tourism development as beneficial for building the local economy, but turnover amongst residents is high. The tourism studies conducted in Baffin communities under the MTRG (Grekin 1994; Nickels 1992; Tarbotton 1995; Ward 1993; Woodley 1999) show that Inuit generally express positive feelings about tourism growth in their areas. However, it may be that residents are not as focused upon tourism growth as government planners. In 1993, Ward found that many residents of Cape Dorset were unaware that the government was promoting tourism in their community. When asked about tourism, Clyde residents were generally positive, but some saw it as an unavoidable part of life (Nickels *et al.* 1991). Further, Nickels (1992) found limited tourism awareness amongst residents, and cautioned that their support for tourism could be due to their limited knowledge of the industry and its potential impacts. When formally interviewing people in Kimmirut, Woodley (1999) heard positive attitudes about tourism, but observed a subtle change during informal discussions. At these times, some mentioned a need for restraint in tourism development within their community. The degree of tourism awareness that exists within communities and the differences in the way in which they expressed their attitudes, may signal a need for a deeper level of research.

Chapter 6 Conclusions

The case study presented in this thesis provides an illustration of an attempt to develop more sustainable tourism. The focus on community based tourism began in the Baffin Region in the late 1970s. The aim of the thesis was to provide a basis for understanding the causes and consequences of GNWT tourism policy and decisions. This was accomplished by taking an historical approach to analyzing the past 20 years of tourism planning and strategy implementation. The following chapter reviews the thesis objectives and related findings. The final section provides recommendations for consideration in future Baffin tourism development.

Chapters Three and Four of the thesis were concerned with the development of the tourism planning period of the 1970s and uncovered the underlying policy motivations behind Baffin's community based tourism strategy. A combination of economic, social and political factors formed the reasoning for the strategy. The NWT economy was dependent upon government funding and non-renewable resource extraction industries. Inuit participation in the wage economy was low and there were few employment opportunities in small communities. Early NWT tourism studies (Butler 1975; Mieczkowski 1973) agreed that tourism could provide a link for Inuit between the traditional and wage economies. It was thought that by involving all stakeholders in planning, the industry could be developed to complement hunting lifestyles.

Both Federal and Territorial government planners thought tourism would diversify the NWT economy and thereby reduce the destabilizing effect of world price fluctuations for raw materials exported to the south. However, it was discovered that the northern tourism industry is also dependent upon outside forces that shape international travel tastes and prices. The region's location further limits its market potential. Geographically, it is remote and accessible only by air. Air travel to the North is expensive and airlines continually increase their prices. Despite government marketing efforts to expand the season, tourism is mostly limited to the months of June to September. The Arctic winter reality of harsh weather and a lack of sunlight are hard to overcome.

The early 1980s policy for a community based approach to tourism development was an innovative strategy for its time. It was a response to two issues. First, the region's majority aboriginal population were economically marginalized, both within Canada, and the NWT. Second, the importance of Inuit rights to self-determination became widely recognized after the 1977 Berger Inquiry.

The key GNWT aims for community based development were that it be founded upon public participation, bring economic benefits to residents, and should be spread throughout the communities. Chapter Five provided the basis for comparing such policy aims against the actual planning processes and stages of implementation.

The Marshall *et al.* (1982) planning project successfully incorporated public participation into its extensive planning process, community tourism

awareness programs, and the original hierarchy for community development. However, once the government took over the strategy and implementation phases of the project, the concept 'community based' evolved and was downgraded to community involvement.

Tourism development has not spread evenly across the Baffin Region. Recently, representatives from RWED and the CEDO conference indicated that planning in communities such as Clyde River, Cape Dorset and Pond Inlet will increase. Still, Pangnirtung, the site of the pilot project in 1981, continues to be the focus. Perhaps the differences that occurred between communities are partially due to the hierarchy for tourism development developed by Marshall *et al* (see Table 5.3). When originally visited by consultants in 1982, Clyde River residents were suspicious and not supportive of tourism development. A decade later, the community expressed an interest in tourism, but it had missed the early resource-oriented stage in development. Now under the market-oriented approach that began in 1988, some Clyde residents do not feel they have enough government support to get their industry off the ground. Rather than provide economic balance between communities, it seems tourism development has reinforced regional imbalances.

The type of tourists visiting the Baffin have changed under the community based strategy. The emphasis on targeting more ecotourists interested in adventure, culture, and nature travel has been successful. The result is an older, well-educated market with a high household income. Compared to the 1970s when the majority were sports hunters and fishermen flying in to non-Inuit

owned lodges, ecotourists are seen as a move toward more sustainable tourism. Sports hunting continues to be part of the Baffin tourism package, but it is now promoted in combination with a cultural dimension. Although Nunavut Tourism does not see this as a growth market due to hunting quotas, this type of tourism is in line with community aspirations. Local Inuit would prefer to receive tourists who have an interest in both culture and hunting (Milne *et al* 1997).

In terms of industry growth, the strategy has met with mixed success. Some indicators, such as a paper published by Nunavut Tourism (1998), seem to show a growing industry. However, a few in government believe that tourism is in decline. The fact that the area is still a developing region means that accurate data is difficult to find. Since the responsibility for tourism has shifted between government departments, data sets are not comparable. There is some evidence of continued economic leakages out of the territory (Woodley 1999). Tour group numbers to the Baffin fluctuate, but experienced their peak in the late 1980s. This peak period was a time when Monteith and Hamburg recall having an integrated industry. In latter years, under a more decentralized strategy, the falling number of registered outfitters is thought to have been a response to a decline in independent tourism arrivals.

While the public sector remains optimistic about future long term tourism development, the turnover in the industry is currently high. A few in government feel that growth is not fast enough to keep small operators solvent. Conversely, some residents feel that government is not providing enough support for what is a very seasonal, small scale economic activity.

The plan of ED&T was to provide programs for training and setting up businesses. The expected outcome was that growth of the tourism industry would enable Inuit self-determination. However, the abundance of such programs led to dependence on government in the pilot community of Pangnirtung. Haywood *et al.* (1993, 36), clearly outline one deficiency in the GNWT approach as:

> ...a focus on strategy formulation rather than strategy execution - tourism strategy formulation ignores the need to generate commitment from people to implement or to accomplish a strategy.

This situation contradicts the ideal concept of community based development, which should be driven from the inside.

One may question to what degree the motivation for tourism development has been a community based idea. From the late 1970s when it was recommended by academics and adopted by government, tourism appears to have been an outside initiative. Initially, tourism planning to manage the increase in tourists to Pangnirtung was vital. Similarly, the regional planning process was consultative and plans were based upon community aspirations. Still, residents admitted to feeling they were not in control of the latter stages of development that resulted from the strategy.

Studying Pangnirtung, some commented (Reimer & Dialla 1992; Robbins 1992) that rather than being community based, the industry represented community involvement in GNWT plans for economic development through tourism. The structure of the industry may not have been appropriate for the region or its people. Compared to the expected long term employment

opportunities, planners have observed a lack of motivation, drive, and leadership in setting up and operating tourism businesses. This may simply be evidence of Inuit having a different commitment to the wage economy. What was reported in the Nanisivik Mine, where part-time workers arrived and were trained, but left for good after a few weeks, also occurs in the tourism sector. The problem has not changed. Full time work does not complement subsistence hunting. With reference to tourism, Inuit may be interested in periodically taking a few groups out on the land on a tour. However, such participation in tourism work may only continue until enough money has been earned to buy a piece of hunting equipment.

The tourism industry may be developing in a way that is not complementary to Inuit culture. Initially in Pangnirtung, guides worked co-operatively and their services were coordinated by the Visitor Centre. However, it was the vision of ED&T that competition would eventually become prevalent. Similarly, Nunavut Tourism currently supports development of autonomous private enterprises. This economic structure may not be sustainable in the long term, when applied to Inuit culture that is based upon working for collective benefit.

In a parallel situation, Graham (1990) notes that the structures for aboriginal self-government were meant to lead to self-determination. However, the systems were imposed from above, ignoring traditional forms of leadership selection and decision-making. Wenzel (1991, 183) sees tourism in the Baffin Region as an imported solution - an externally developed strategy produced by

non-Inuit imagination. He writes that even the best ideas, proposed from the outside, produce little more than change. This may provide some insight into key issues, including, for example, why people are more inclined to call RWED or Nunavut Tourism for advice than visit their local CEDO, why the position of CEDO turns over so quickly within communities; and why tourism grew and is now declining.

6.1 Recommendations

There are two essential factors in aboriginal tourism, local control and development that complements traditional lifestyles. In Nunavut, growing community empowerment from political devolution means that locals will eventually be in control of economic development. However, as Trumper and McRury said, community empowerment is a 20-30 year process.

Within communities, control can be increased either by working with the system the way it is now, or by creating a new position or process. For the present system to work more effectively, CEDOs must begin to fulfill their roles in community development. It seems necessary to go back to a key element of the concept of sustainable development: less leadership from government, and an increased reliance upon people to come up with their own strategies.

This concept carries over to training programs offered by government. Some (Haywood *et al.* 1993; Hinch 1995) have noted that programs are not matched to the needs or learning styles of the recipients. If, for example, training programs require people to leave home to study in another community, this will

be a barrier to participation as some Inuit are loathe to leave their families. This mirrors one outfitter's suggestion that local Inuk guides could provide the best training for each other. The most successful and relevant training programs may be ones initiated from within communities.

In the area of image creation, communities and businesses can exert some control over the way they are portrayed through establishing their own websites on the internet. The regional service provider, Nunanet, offers website support services. Organizations such as Nunavut Tourism and the Nunavut Business Directory could augment this service by providing improved web links to communities and individual businesses. Locally produced promotion will allow for the targeting of specific customers, eg. tours with a cultural focus that involve hunting.

In developing tourism, the government must face the realities of an Inuit work force that has to choose between subsistence hunting, tourism, and other economic sectors. Hunting will remain culturally important for the majority of Inuit, and financially necessary for many. A policy for development that complements traditional lifestyles means recognition of the role of tourism in Inuit lives. For example, carving is seen as being complementary to subsistence hunting. Characteristics that Pangnirtung residents found attractive about this activity were the immediate access to cash income, and the lack of a schedule, which meant being able to pick up the work when they were not out hunting.

In light of this, perhaps Nunavut Tourism could offer another form of service. As one outfitter noted, the organization could work well as a centralized

body to support individual Inuk guides who don't want to start a business or work regularly. Guides could drop in and register when they are available to work. This would foster more co-operation instead of competition between individual outfitters. The availability of unscheduled, drop-in work would fit well with the variable amounts of time required for hunting. Such a central organizing authority could be discussed at a meeting of Baffin outfitters, as suggested by one guide.

The period of implementation examined in this thesis is long. Community aspirations and industry factors, such as target markets, can all change in 20 years. There is a need for regular collection of tourism statistics to provide a means of industry measurement. This can be expensive, but it is necessary to determine how much funding of the tourism sector is feasible. This kind of on-going monitoring can indicate which areas are progressing, so that plans can be adjusted over time. In terms of measuring Inuit participation in the industry, as long as tourism continues to be part of the informal economy, it is unlikely that statistics will be entirely accurate. However, this is an area where bodies such as the newly formed Nunavut Statistics and NTI can work together to combine their data.

As Logan pointed out (interview), the high turnover in the industry means that the data collected in community tourism baseline studies becomes old quickly. Still, there is a need for continued research into community aspirations to keep tourism plans flexible and responsive. This data is an essential

counterpart to the tourism market analysis already carried out by Nunavut Tourism and the Department of Sustainable Development (formerly RWED).

With reference to methodology, such as community tourism surveys, a more qualitative approach would render a deeper level of data. Often, small group discussions can uncover unconscious motivators for behaviour that people do not realize, or readily admit to in a survey. The dynamic initiated by a discussion with two friends or a group of hunters, for example, leads people to talk more openly. In her recent study, Woodley (1999) noticed a difference in the subtle attitudes expressed under informal circumstances in Kimmirut. Such qualitative research would be well suited to uncovering resident views on tourism. Also, while they provide a semi-controlled research situation, focus group discussions are much less structured than one-on-one interviews and therefore may be better suited to small Inuit communities.

The usefulness of studying Baffin's community based tourism as a model for sustainable development lies in the analysis of its planning stages. If the concept of community control rather than involvement had been more fully developed, it is more likely that the industry would have been shaped and built from the inside. This would have resulted in a stronger commitment from those in the industry. Through the process of decentralizing, the GNWT has given more power and responsibility back to individual communities, but continues to control and modify the structure of the industry. For tourism to attract and retain employees, it will have to be based upon a more unstructured form of community led growth. Increasing local influence over the industry will deliver the original

ED&T goal: that tourism support Inuit self-determination. This is likely to naturally occur over the coming years as Nunavut evolves and community empowerment builds.

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B) Research Interviews

Dupuis, C. August 5, 1998. Interview with Colleen Dupuis, former General Manager, Baffin Tourism Association, now Baffin Chamber of Commerce.

Hamburg, R. July 21, 1998. Interview #1 with Rick Hamburg, former Regional Tourism Officer, Iqaluit, now retired Parks and Tourism Officer, Nunavut/GNWT.

Hamburg, R. August 7, 1998. Interview #2 with Rick Hamburg, former Regional Tourism Officer, Iqaluit, now retired Parks and Tourism Officer, Nunavut/GNWT.

Kemp-Kinnear, C. July 28, 1998. Interview with Cheri Kemp-Kinnear, former Executive Director, Nunavut Tourism.

Logan, G. August 4, 1998. Interview with Greg Logan, Regional Tourism Development Coordinator, Nunavut Tourism.

McRury, K. July 27, 1998. Interview with Ken McRury, former Regional Director, Baffin Region, GNWT.

Mike, M. August 7, 1998. Interview with Meeka Mike, Manager, Qimuk Adventure Tours, Iqaluit.

Monteith, D. July 14, 1998. Interview #1 with David Monteith, former Area Economic Development Officer for Pond Inlet, now Assistant Director, Parks and Tourism, Department of Sustainable Development, Nunavut.

Monteith, D. July 30, 1998. Interview #2 with David Monteith, former Area Economic Development Officer for Pond Inlet, now Assistant Director, Parks and Tourism, Department of Sustainable Development, Nunavut.

Trumper, K. August 5, 1998. Interview with Katherine Trumper, former Area Economic Development Officer, Pangnirtung, currently Deputy Minister, Sustainable Development, Nunavut.

Vaughan, A. July 21, 1998. Email interview with Alan Vaughan, former Head, Long Range Planning, Yellowknife, wrote the 1983 NWT Community-Based Tourism Strategy, now consultant, Yellowknife, NWT.

Zeiba, R. July 22, 1998. Email interview with Richard Zeiba, Statistician, RWED, Yellowknife, GNWT.