UNDERSTANDING THE COMMUNITY-LEVEL IMPACTS OF TOURISM DEVELOPMENT:

THE CASE OF POND INLET, NWT

by

Jacqueline Grekin

Department of Geography,
McGill University,
Montreal.

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Abstract

This thesis aims to provide a better understanding of the economic and socio-cultural impacts associated with small scale tourism development in the Inuit community of Pond Inlet, Baffin Island. A brief history and economic profile of the community illuminate the reasons underlying its adoption of tourism as a source of income and employment. I then proceed to review past attempts to understand the relationship between tourism and community development. Despite the merits of these studies, they are shown to have largely failed to supply a theoretical framework capable of explaining the underlying factors that influence the scale and nature of the resulting impacts. I then propose that recent theoretical developments, based on the 'flexible specialization' approach, may better assist our attempts to understand the dynamic relationship between tourism and the communities that host it.

The empirical section of the thesis is based on surveys of several key actors: residents, tourists, and the tourist industry. When combined with a simplified multiplier analysis, the findings indicate that the community's current tourism strategy is largely consistent with local economic objectives and that as a result residents support tourism development. Nevertheless, the results suggest certain weaknesses in the current approach to tourism development. They include: the potential for conflicts to develop between local hunters and wildlife watchers; a failure to link tourism to other sectors of the local economy; and difficulties reaching consumers in the context of a restructured travel industry increasingly dominated by computer technology. I then proceed to provide some policy and planning recommendations. This is followed by a brief evaluation of the theoretical approach adopted. I conclude by outlining some areas for future research.

Résumé

Cette thèse a pour objet d'apporter une meilleure compréhension des impacts économiques et socio-culturels associés à un développement touristique de petite envergure, dans la communauté inuit de Pond Inlet, l'île de Baffin. Un bref profil historique et économique de la communauté permet d'éclaircir les raisons qui ont suscité ses membres à adopter le tourisme comme source de revenu et d'emploi. Je procède par la suite à une revue des précédentes tentatives qui ont cherché à comprendre la relation entre le tourisme et le développement communautaire. Malgré leur grand mérite, ces études ne procurent pas une base théorique capable d'expliquer les facteurs qui influencent l'importance et la nature des impacts impliqués. Je soutiens donc que les théories récentes du développement, basé sur une approche de spécialisation flexible, accordent une meilleure base dans l'exploration de la relation dynamique entre le tourisme et la communauté qui le supporte.

La section empirique de la thèse est basée sur des entrevues avec quelques acteurs clefs: résidents, touristes, et l'industrie touristique. Lorsque simplifié en analyse multiple, les données indiquent que la présente stratégie touristique de la communauté est largement en accord avec les objectifs économiques locaux. Ce qui expliquerait le support des résidents au développement touristique. Cependant, les résultats suggèrent certaines faiblesses dans la présente approche du développement touristique. Elles incluent: les conflits potentiels entre les chasseurs locaux et les visiteurs qui viennent admirer la faune; l'incapacité d'apparier le tourisme à d'autres secteurs de l'économie locale; et les difficultés de rejoindre les consommateurs dans un contexte d'une restructuration de l'industrie touristique, de plus en plus dominée par la technologie informatique. Je poursuis alors en apportant des recommandations sur les lignes de conduites et les plans adoptés dans le développement touristique. Ce qui est suivi d'une brève évaluation de l'approche théorique employée. Je conclus enfin en soulignant quelques champs de recherches futures.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES

LIST OF FIGURES

Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1 Why Tourism?

Tourism is increasingly promoted by governments of underdeveloped regions/nations as an attractive source of employment, income and government revenue. This is certainly the case in small island states and isolated regions where the pursuit of traditional export-led or import substitution economic development strategies has been hindered by limited resource bases, a lack of skilled labour, distance from potential markets, and a small population base. Tourism is seen as a way to overcome these limitations as the 'customer' travels to the 'product', and seeks to use 'raw materials', namely natural features and distinctive local cultures, which are abundant. If properly planned, it is also regarded as being environmentally sustainable and encouraging inter-cultural understanding (Cleverdon 1979; Hamburg and Monteith 1988; Altman 1989; Wilkinson 1989; Milne 1992a).

Such thinking clearly underlies the decision by the Government of the Northwest Territories (GNWT) to encourage tourism development in Canada's arctic. The NWT's population of just 54 000 persons is spread over a vast area of approximately 3.5 million square kilometres. The islands at its eastern extremity, which comprise the Baffin region, are home to about 20% of this total (Figure 1.1). Most of the Baffin region's settlements have populations of less than 1000 persons, the majority of whom are Inuit (Bone 1992; NWT Bureau of Statistics 1992).

Levels of unemployment are high and continue to rise as growing numbers of young people enter the labour force (GNWT 1990b). The economy is characterized by very small secondary or manufacturing sectors due to its isolation, the expense of importing raw materials and the high cost of energy. While the communities receive freight by sea during the short summer season, the only regular means of transport is by air, making freight rates expensive. Employment in the public sector is the mainstay of the northern economy (GNWT 1989b; Bone 1992).

From the 1960's to the early 1980's, the NWT's potential for economic development was seen to be based on non-renewable resource extraction (GNWT 1990b).

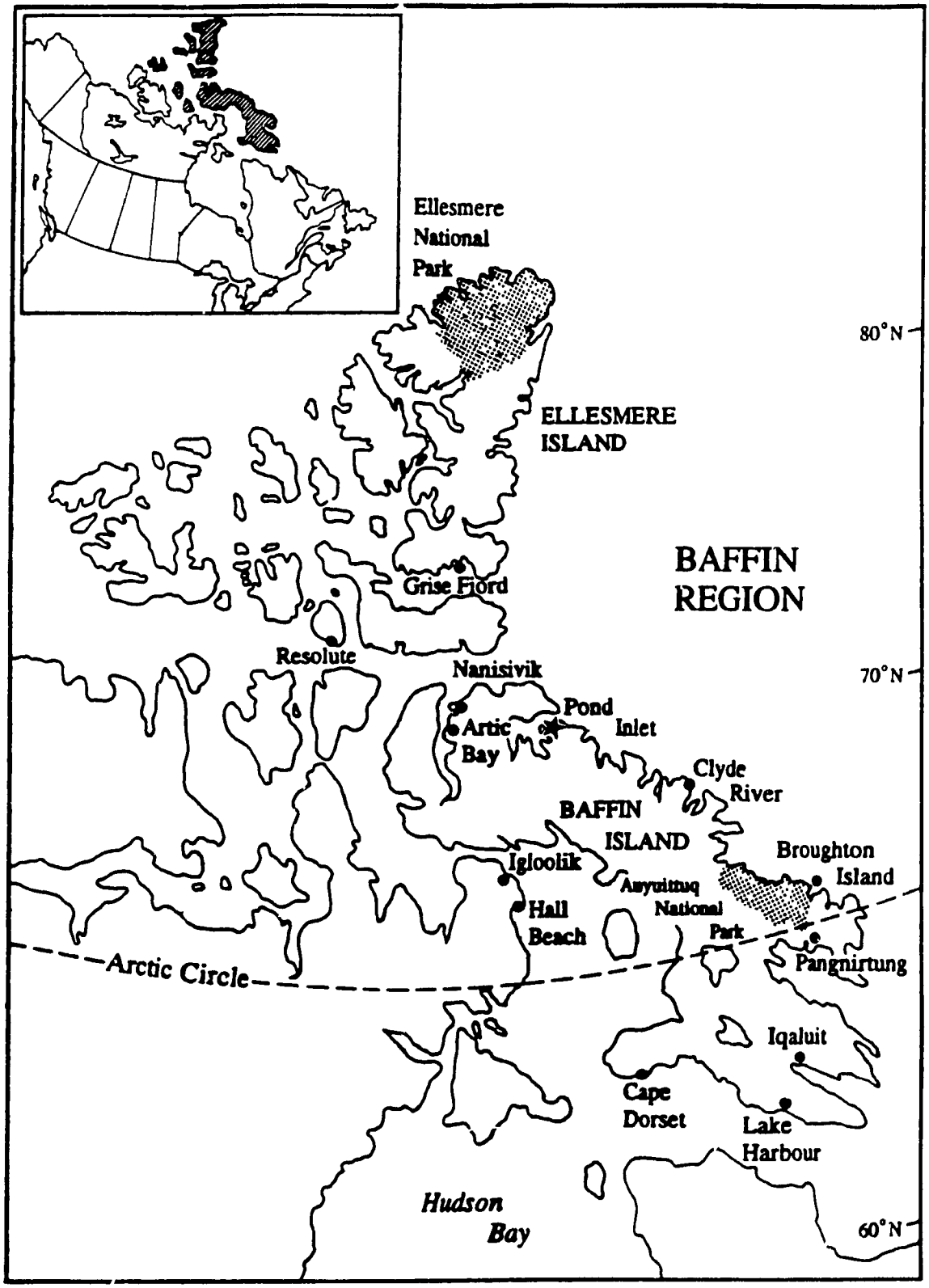

Figure 1.1: The Baffin Region, NWT.

However, it has since become apparent that the 'boom and bust' cycles associated with this sector make it an unstable economic option. Moreover, experience has shown that resource extraction rarely benefits Inuit in small communities, particularly since employment in the industry often necessitates physical, social and cultural dislocation. Furthermore, modern resource extraction techniques often demand skills that are not available in local labour markets (GNWT 1990b).

During the 1960s and 70s, Inuit in small communities derived most of their income through the sale of sealskins; by-products of the subsistence hunt which remains vital to the economic, social and cultural well-being of Inuit (Wenzel 1991). In Pond Inlet, for example, hunting provides residents with an estimated 289 kg per person of edible meat per year (Bloor 1987). However, hunting as well as the encroaching 'southern lifestyle', requires cash. The European Economic Community (EEC) ban on sealskins destroyed the market for sealskins, and with it, an important source of income. The date of the EEC ban, 1983, coincides with the formulation of the GNWT tourism policy (GNWT 1983).

The "Community Based Tourism" strategy, adopted in 1983, has sought to encourage a tourist industry that is compatible with the culture and aspirations of host communities. Development is intended to be environmentally sustainable, broadly distributed between communities, and designed to yield maximum possible economic benefits for residents, particularly those of small and medium sized communities (GNWT 1983; Hamburg and Monteith 1988; GNWT 1990a).

While 'consumptive' forms of tourism, such as sporthunting and sportfishing, have long been part of the region's tourist industry, the government favours non-consumptive tourism, such as soft adventure (hiking, kayaking), naturalist (wildlife viewing), and arts/cultural tours. Such tourism is considered less likely to compete with traditional Inuit land uses. The adventure tour category, in particular, outperformed all others in terms of numbers of tourists from 1988 to 1992 and the government regards adventure tourism as its target market (GNWT 1991a; 1992b). Adventure, nature and cultural tourism are commonly referred to collectively as 'ecotourism' (Ziffer 1989). While definitions of ecotourism vary, the following is commonly adopted in the

literature:

> Tourism that involves travelling to relatively undisturbed or uncontaminated natural areas with the specific object of studying, admiring, and enjoying the scenery and its wild plants and animals, as well as any existing cultural aspects (both past and present) found in these areas (Ceballos-Lascurain, cited in Ziffer 1989, 5).

Ecotourism also implies an ethic based on conservation of the environment and improving the welfare of local people (Ryel and Grasse 1991; Western 1993).

Ecotourism has, in fact, been endorsed by the Canadian Environmental Advisory Council:

> Ecotourism is a growing industry and highly desirable as an economic opportunity. It is an economically beneficial substitute for unsustainable land uses and a source of long-term economic prospects for communities largely bereft of other sources of income (Scace et al 1992, 22).

Such assumptions are increasingly leading underdeveloped regions/nations to adopt forms of ecotourism as part of their broader development plans (Cater 1993; Schlüter 1993). Included among them are other arctic communities in Alaska (Barrow sun 1992), Northern Quebec (Makivik News 1992), and Greenland (Christensen 1992).

At the same time, however, observers are questioning the assumption that ecotourism achieves its purported purpose (Butler 1992; Cater 1993). In the case of the Baffin region, it is less than clear whether the government's stated community objectives are being achieved. There is little detailed knowledge of the community-level economic and socio-cultural impacts associated with ecotourism. To complicate matters further, ecotourism is a broad term, encompassing three distinct though commonly overlapping areas of interest (nature, adventure, culture). While each of these interests no doubt coexists in most individuals, the relative degree of importance of each will be associated with different attitudes, behaviours, and consequently exert different impacts on the community (Grekin and Milne 1993). Without such knowledge it is difficult to assess the degree to which current policies are successful and to indicate where future efforts should be directed.

1.2 Study Objectives

This thesis will focus on the growth of community based tourism in Pond Inlet, N.W.T. (Figure 1.1) and whether it is currently meeting the government's economic and social objectives. In particular, the study aims to provide a better understanding of:

- the level and conditions of community support for tourism and to identify related hopes and concerns;
- the external pressures and actors (travel agents, tour operators) that influence tourist flows to the Baffin region and how the changing structure of the tourism industry may influence the destination's development;
- the characteristics of tourists travelling to the region, including their motivations and expenditure characteristics, with a view to assessing the economic and social/cultural impacts associated with different 'types' of tourists;
- tourism's current contribution to the local economy and to identify ways in which it can be optimized.

The thesis also aims, by correlating these often segregated data sets, to better understand the links between tourism and community economic development. An underlying theme here is that in order to assess the impacts associated with tourism it is necessary to look at forces and actors both within and beyond the community (Nash 1989; Pearce 1989).

This study also provides useful data to planners from various levels of government who are attempting to develop a tourist industry that maximizes local economic benefits while minimizing community social and cultural costs. Most importantly I aim to provide information that communities themselves can use in deciding on which forms of tourism, if any, should be developed.

1.3 Case Study: Pond Inlet

Pond Inlet, known as *Mittimatalik* to Inuit, is located on northern Baffin Island, on the shore of Eclipse Sound. At latitude 72° 44' and longitude 78° 00', it is one of

the most northerly communities in Canada. In 1991, Pond Inlet's population was 952, approximately 95 percent of whom are Inuit (Hamlet of Pond Inlet 1991). The Inuit, speakers of Inuktitut, are descended from the Thule, who are believed to have entered the region in the twelfth century A.D. (Mary-Rousselière 1984). Contact with Europeans commenced in the early nineteenth century, with frequent visits by Scottish whalers. By the 1920s, a permanent Canadian presence was established in the region with the arrival of the "big three": The Hudson's Bay company, the Royal Canadian Mounted Police, and Roman Catholic and Anglican missions. The building of a school and houses by the federal government encouraged Inuit to leave their camps for the settlement in the 1960s (Mary-Rousselière 1984; Matthiasson 1992).

Pond Inlet has an unemployment/under-employment rate of about 58%. Two thirds of its population is under 24 years of age. In 1987, 40% of families had incomes of $10 000 or less. The average income for permanent families was $21 634 - half the average Canadian figure. The disparity is even more dramatic when it is considered that the cost of living in Pond Inlet is 70% higher than that in Montreal (Huestis 1991; NWT Bureau of Statistics 1991).

The three levels of government (federal, territorial, municipal), provide the largest source of personal income in Pond Inlet. Just under 2% of the 1987 community income of $5.2 million is considered 'new wealth' (revenue derived from the sale of goods and services to people/businesses outside the NWT economy). The source of this wealth is in tourism, carving, and fur[1] (Huestis 1991). Since the collapse of the sealskin market, tourism has become proportionately more important to the economy Indeed, Pond Inlet's most experienced guide says he became a guide in 1978, when the price drop for sealskins was at its most dramatic (Wenzel 1991). Thus, although accounting for only a small proportion of total community income, tourism is one of the few available potential sources of new wealth. In fact the community economic planner has identified

[1] In 1987 tourism income is estimated at $25 000. There is no indication, however, what sources this refers to (i.e. guiding, hotel) Carving income is treated as a separate entry, amounting to $52 000.

tourism as:

> the single-most important industry in terms of injecting external funds into the local economy and circulating them longer in the form of income to and expenditures by residents of the community" (Bloor 1987, 38).

It has also been viewed positively for its non-consumptive use of the land, encouragement of traditional skills, and potential for community control.

There are few businesses in the community. They include the Toonoonik Sahoonik co-operative (part of Arctic Co-operatives Ltd.), Northern Store (formerly the Hudson's Bay Company), a local construction and a cable company. Although formally a society rather than a business, the local Hunters and Trappers Association (HTA) has recently become a wholesale supplier of processed meat and fish. The co-op, employing 46 people year round and 36 seasonally, is clearly the largest business. It acts as an umbrella for many economic functions including a retail store, hotel and giftshop, outfitting service and airline reservations. It is owned by several hundred local residents who, as shareholders, receive an annual dividend. In 1993 this amounted to a community total of $225 000; making it one of the most successful co-ops in the NWT (Umphrey, personal communication).

While most tourism ventures in the community are operated by the co-op, a second, and much smaller outfitting service, Eclipse Sound Outfitting, was launched in 1990 by a long time non-Inuit resident. Outfitting was performed by individual guides until the late 1980's, when the guides began contracting their services to the co-op. All staff of these ventures are permanent residents.

Like many other Baffin communities, some sporthunting occurs in Pond Inlet. Four of the community's 19 polar bear tags were allocated to this activity in 1992. However, Pond Inlet has come to be known as a site for nature tourism. Its stunning view of the cragged mountain peaks and glaciers of Bylot Island, 25 km across Eclipse Sound, abundance of wildlife, including a high diversity of bird species, narwhal, polar bear and seals, and the appeal of Inuit culture make it, in the words of a tour operator, "one of the more exotic" arctic tourism destinations.

There are two main tourism seasons in Pond Inlet: during spring (mid-May to

Mid-July) tourists are transported across the ice by sled (*kamutik*) to the floe edge, northeast of the community, to view the congregation of wildlife. During open water season (mid-July to mid-September) tourists tour by boat. Cruise ships have also begun docking at Pond Inlet, allowing passengers a brief tour of the community. In recent years, however, late ice breakup has constrained the latter two options.

In 1988, Pond Inlet was the region's third most visited community after Iqaluit, the regional gate-way, and Pangnirtung (Acres 1988). It has the second highest package tour sales in the region after Resolute Bay/Ellesmere Island (GNWT 1989a; 1991b; 1992a). Like other communities, however, Pond Inlet has experienced a decrease in package tour sales in recent years. A recent high of 269 individuals visited the community in 1988. By 1992 this figure had fallen to 95[2]. While this may be attributable to recessionary impacts on demand, the regional supervisor of tourism development also notes that the Pond Inlet co-op lost clients due to rising prices and declining service during this period. He expects that current marketing efforts are likely to increase sales in the coming years (personal communication 1993).

In its regional tourism development efforts of the 1980s, the GNWT focused on the development of Pangnirtung's tourism infrastructure. Focus is currently shifting to the community of Lake Harbour, with the development of a nearby territorial park and connecting walking trail. Government attention is slated to shift to Pond Inlet by 1996-97 (Hamburg, 1992 personal communication). The timing corresponds with the expected date of establishment of a national park in north Baffin (Figure 1.2). The 22 200 km^2 site covers Bylot Island to the North of Pond Inlet, part of the Borden Peninsula to the northwest, and to the southwest, Oliver Sound and its vicinity (Government of Canada 1992). The park, as well as a community nature centre which is currently in the planning stage, is expected to stimulate tourism in the area (Bloor 1987; Environment Canada - Parks, 1987).

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[2] These figures do not include those tourists who visit the community independently While there are no formal counts available of independent tourists, the regional supervisor of tourism development estimates that 95% of Pond Inlet's tourists visit as part of package tours.

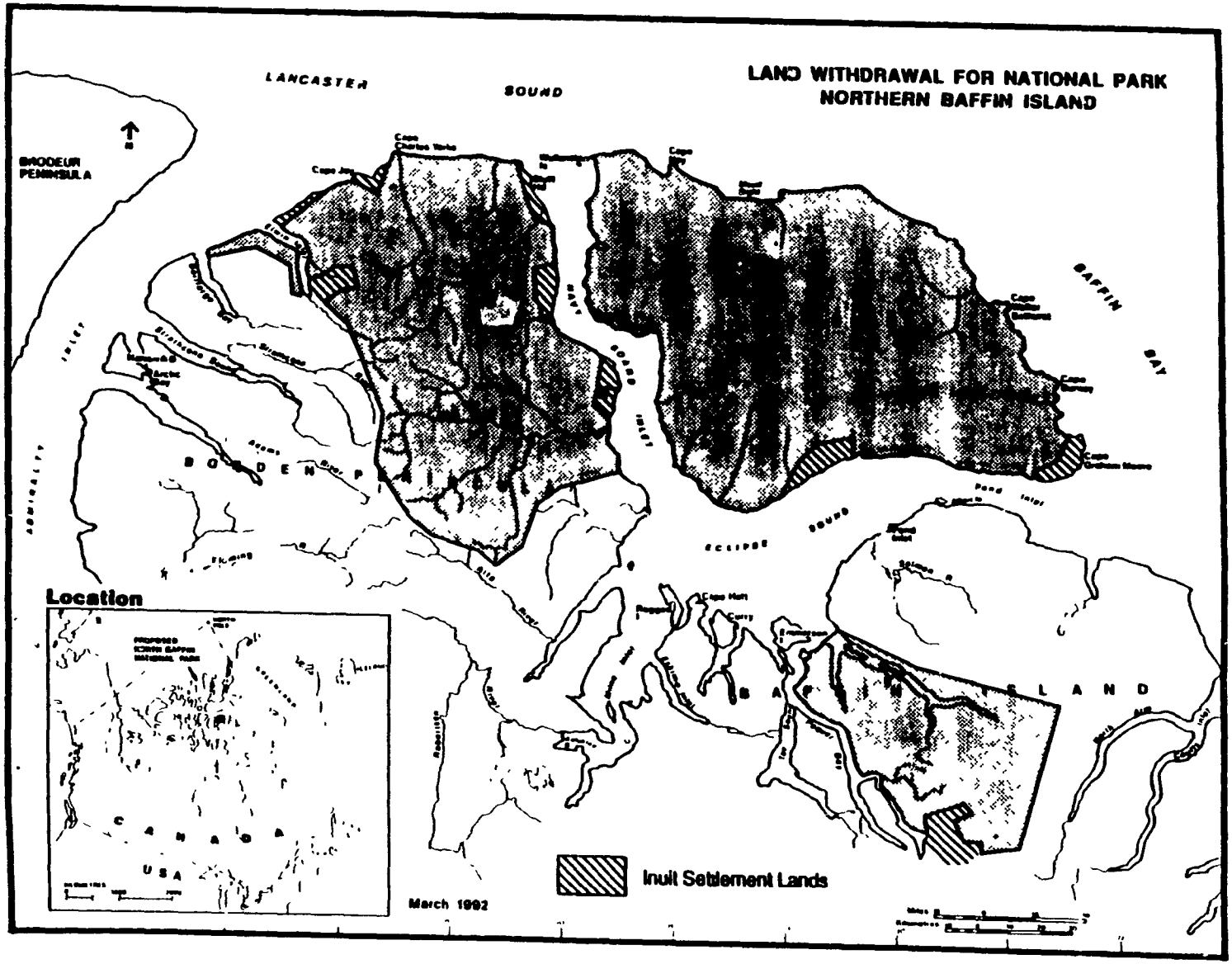

Figure 1.2: Proposed Area of National Park, Northern Baffin Island.

Source: Environment Canada, Parks.

1.4 Structure of the Thesis

The next chapter reviews relevant literature on the social and economic impacts of tourism in peripheral regions and nations. It then goes on to look at two common frameworks which have been employed to study tourism's impacts and their relationship to regional development. After assessing their contributions and weaknesses, a framework which allows a more holistic and less deterministic examination of tourism related impacts is proposed. It identifies the actors and some of the social and economic forces that influence tourism's impacts at the community/regional level

Chapter 3 presents the results of a study of resident attitudes toward tourism development in the hamlet of Pond Inlet. Its purpose is to find out whether there is community support for tourism and to identify resident hopes and concerns. This knowledge provides a baseline against which to measure the current and potential economic and cultural impacts associated with tourism development.

Chapter 4 examines the influence of external elements of the tourist industry on the flow of tourists to the Baffin region. The results of a survey of Montreal travel agents as information brokers for the region are presented. A survey of tour operators offering tours to the region reveals the ways in which the region is marketed to potential tourists. Some possible implications for the region are then discussed.

The influence of tourists on the social/cultural and economic strucure of the region is the subject of Chapter 5. The discussion begins with an examination of tourists' attitudes toward, and experience of, Inuit culture. It then turns to tourists' economic behaviour, examining spending patterns and how they vary according to various tourist characteristics.

Chapter 6 looks at tourism's economic impacts on Pond Inlet, employing a simplified multiplier analysis to assess tourism's contribution to the community, to point out which sectors are most profitable, and to identify ways in which local economic benefits could be optimized.

The major findings of the research are summarized in Chapter 7. In light of the findings, some appropriate policy measures are suggested. The thesis concludes by suggesting some potential areas for future research.

1.5 Methodology

This research forms part of a larger project funded by the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada (SSHRC). Research was also conducted in Lake Harbour, Pangnirtung, Clyde River and Cape Dorset under the auspices of this grant (Wenzel and Milne 1990; Milne and Wenzel 1991; Nickels et al. 1991; Milne et al. 1994a). Relevant examples from these studies are drawn upon where appropriate.

The data for this study was obtained by means of questionnaires and interviews directed at 6 actors that are seen to play a major role in influencing tourism's local economic and socio-cultural impacts. The actors and related methodological approaches are identified below.

1.5.1 The Resident Survey

The survey of Pond Inlet residents was completed during three and a half weeks in July 1992. Discussions were held with approximately 10% of the adult population of 437 (Hamlet of Pond Inlet 1991). Participants were selected on a door to door basis. Several were, however, approached initially by telephone. In most cases, only one adult from each selected household was interviewed. Respondents were equally divided between women and men. The sample includes two non-Inuit. An Inuktitut interpreter was present for all interviews. Some additional information was gathered on a brief return trip in August 1993.

Attitudinal surveys are a common method of assessing social and cultural impacts associated with tourism (Pearce 1989, 223). Rather than attempting an objective assessment of the social/ cultural impacts of tourism, residents' *perceptions* of the industry's impacts are examined.

Discussions were based around several core questions (Appendix A), but often built upon these in order to pursue relevant tangents. The list of questions was based on that employed in a similar study in the nearby community of Clyde River (Nickels et al. 1991). In a similar study, residents mentioned specific potential impacts more often when asked closed questions than when asked open-ended questions. This led the author to conclude that "many residents may well have little notion about the possible

consequences of tourism development (positive or negative) until presented with given constructs" (Keogh 1990, 455). This study utilized open-ended questions to avoid prompting respondents. In this way, a sense of the level of information available to people was permitted to emerge.

1.5.2 The Travel Agent Survey

Telephone inquiries were made of 160 agents, chosen randomly from the Montreal Yellowpages. Walk-in inquiries were conducted with a further 20. Those agencies that specialized in tours to particular countries were avoided. A small number of agents specializing in special interest, adventure type holidays were specifically included. The walk-in sample acted as a control group, to see if agents' response would differ in person from that over the telephone.

Agents who were telephoned were approached with one of two different questions. One hundred agents were asked "Can you suggest a travel destination in the arctic?" The purpose was to identify how prominently the Baffin region would feature among their recommendations as well as to determine which other destinations are being promoted.

A further 60 agents were asked for information on the Baffin region, as were the 20 agents visited in person. In this case I played the role of a potential traveller who knew where she wanted to travel but needed further details. The questions were designed to gain information about the tours and activities available in the region, the schedule and cost of flights, and the types of accommodation available. When asked about my motives for travel, it was specified that I was interested in attractive scenery, wildlife, and nature in general as well as experiencing a different culture (Milne and Grekin 1992).

1.5.3 The Tour Operator Survey

In order to obtain information on tour operators operating in the region, a survey was conducted of those currently offering trips to the Baffin region (Appendix B). Fifteen relevant firms, based in southern Canada and the U.S., were identified from government

sources and independent research. Questionnaires were mailed in November 1992. Interviews were requested of those located within close proximity to Montreal. Those not responding after several weeks were telephoned. Eleven of the 15 potential respondents either agreed to interviews or completed the questionnaire, a response rate of over 70%. Two in-bound operators, based in Iqaluit, were also interviewed in July 1992. Local outfitters based in other communities were not included. Where respondents only partially completed the questionnaire or where they chose not to participate in the study, basic information about their tours was gathered from their promotional material.

1.5.4 The Tourist Survey

This data was gathered by means of a questionnaire distributed to tourists departing the Baffin region from Iqaluit airport between June 16 and August 18, 1992 (Appendix C). While Iqaluit is the region's major air exit point, flights also depart the region from Resolute Bay. Tourists on these flights were not captured by this study. Questionnaires were handed to potential respondents initially by the author and subsequently by a research assistant[3].

Most respondents completed the questionnaire while waiting for a connecting flight. However, those with limited time between flights were handed a self-addressed envelope with which to return the questionnaire. Refusals were minimal. A subsequent season of tourist surveying was conducted in 1993 by means of a revised questionnaire (Appendix D). While the results are not analyzed for this study, three questions from the set are reported on in order to supplement information from the 1992 questionnaire.

Questionnaire design was adapted from previous studies administered on behalf of the GNWT (Acres 1988). It was intended to provide information on such topics as tourists' reasons for choosing the region as a destination, sources of travel information, degree of satisfaction with various aspects of their trip, and magnitude and pattern of expenditure. Data analysis was performed with both Quattro Pro and Systat computer programs.

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[3] T. Roll-Passmore - field notes cited where applicable

Those visiting friends/relatives and business travellers are not considered here. No sporthunters are represented as they generally visit the region both earlier and later in the season. Both tourists travelling independently and those travelling on package tours are represented. Results for the two groups are often presented separately in order to elucidate the interaction between motivations/behaviour and organizational factors.

The study produced a total of 161 questionnaires. As some respondents chose to complete one questionnaire on behalf of the travelling party, this represents 205 people (92 package and 113 independent tourists). It is difficult to determine what proportion of Baffin region tourists this represents as the GNWT's figures only capture those travelling on package tours. In 1992, 1027 tourists purchased packaged tours (GNWT 1992a). Previous tourist surveys reveal that approximately 29% of pleasure travellers to the region travel on package tours (Acres 1988). However, given that our sample represents package and independent tourists almost equally, this seems an underestimation. If correct, a reasonable estimate of the total number of tourists that year would be approximately 3500, and the survey's rate of representation would be about 6%. However, the fact that surveying was conducted for nearly every southern flight departure during most of the tourist season, in addition to the low refusal rate, mean that this figure could well be higher.

1.5.5 Local Business Interviews

Information related to community level economic impacts was based on interviews with managers of local tourism related businesses. Questions were focused on quantitative information (numbers of tourists, income, expenses) and qualitative information (strategy for finding tourists, content of tours, future plans, problems of tourism development). Economic data was also derived from the Pond Inlet co-op's 1991 financial statement. Some information from the resident survey was also used in this context. The Inuktitut interpreter hired for the resident survey, performed some additional interviews during September 1992.

1.5.6 Government interviews

Several government officials from the Department of Economic Development and Tourism (ED&T) of the GNWT were interviewed both in Iqaluit, the region's administrative centre, and in Pond Inlet. This information is used in a contextual manner throughout the thesis. A list of all individuals consulted appears in Appendix E.

Chapter 2: Tourism Impact Studies in Peripheral Regions: Towards a More Appropriate Theoretical Framework

2.1 Introduction

I begin with a brief review of the literature on the economic and socio-cultural impacts of tourism in peripheral regions. After noting the contributions and limitations of this work, two attempts to contextualize these impacts in terms of the political and historical processes determining them are examined. The application of dependency theory and the product life cycle to tourism studies is then analyzed, revealing that despite their undoubted merits these theoretical approaches lack a certain degree of explanatory power. I then analyze a small but growing body of tourism theory based on the 'flexible specialisation' and 'regulation school' approaches. By viewing the development of tourism from within this framework, the impacts of tourism development can be seen to be contingent on the responses of the destination region/nation to broader processes of societal and economic change.

2.2 Previous Tourism Impact Studies

While tourism has, for the last few decades, been the development option of choice for many underdeveloped and, increasingly, deindustrialized regions, it has become apparent that in many ways, tourism is no different from any other industry. Optimizing its local economic benefits requires many of the same basic inputs as many secondary industries: formally skilled labour supply, local capital, and an established industrial base.

Because these inputs are often in short supply in developing regions, where much literature has been based, tourist industries often come to be characterized by high degrees of foreign ownership, employment of foreigners in the highest paying jobs, and high imports of goods and services to supply the industry (Bryden 1973; Cleverdon 1979; Milne 1992a). This results in high levels of monetary 'leakage' from their economies.

At the same time, tourism has been promoted as an industry which brings positive socio-cultural benefits to local residents and tourists. It is often asserted that inter-

cultural contacts which occur through tourism encourage understanding between peoples who would otherwise have no means for informal contact (Mathieson and Wall 1982; D'Amore 1987). Several surveys of residents in tourist destinations have reinforced this view (Bélisle and Hoy 1980; Sheldon and Var 1984).

Yet this assertion has been challenged by numerous studies indicating that tourism negatively affects the quality of life of residents in tourist destinations. Overcrowding, vandalism, drug abuse, and the erosion of indigenous social norms and values are just some of the factors cited as leading to local antagonism (Pizam 1978; Keogh 1982; Sheldon and Var 1984; Greenwood 1989; MacCannell 1992).

While literature on the impacts of tourism in arctic regions is rare, one sucy studyfound a substantial degree of antagonism towards tourism among Alaskan Eskimos in Nome and Kotzebue (Smith 1989). Residents resented tourists' lack of respect for them, illustrated by the transformation of their daily activities into a display which was constantly interrupted by questions and photographs.

It is often noted that it is the scale and type of tourism which determines its economic and social impacts (Singh et al 1989; Milne 1990c). Several studies have demonstrated that tourism associated with small, locally owned businesses generates more local income and employment per unit of tourist expenditure than larger externally owned businesses. Small scale tourist enterprises rely more heavily on local supplies and labour, whereas their larger counterparts tend to import them (Bélisle 1980; Rodenberg 1980; Milne 1987c; 1990c). Such enterprises are linked to 'alternative' tourism, as distinguished from 'mass' tourism which is generally associated with large scale 'inclusive' tourist facilities that do not encourage spending outside the hotel confines. Locally owned enterprises also situate control of the industry in the hands of local people.

Similarly, it is noted that negative attitudes among locals rise with increasing levels of tourism development and with loss of local control over its development (Pizam 1978; Chib 1980; Allen et al 1988). The literature suggests that the degree to which local individuals are able to take an active role in tourism development, by way of ownership, skilled employment and decision making is inversely related to the level of

antagonism they feel towards visitors (Bastin 1981; Keogh 1982; Macnaught 1982; D'Amore 1983; Wilkinson 1989) and directly related to the level of economic and social benefits they receive (Britton 1982; Milne 1987b).

Such studies may be credited with having exposed some of the negative aspects of tourism, countering earlier studies which sing the praises of the industry as the answer to regional development problems. They have, however, been of limited use in helping us to understand the broader processes that can influence tourism's impacts. They are largely descriptive accounts, which do not emphasize how the type and scale of tourism characterising a destination is directly linked to broader processes occurring both within and beyond the region. In simple terms, these studies largely fail to consider the historical and political processes which determine the way in which tourism develops and how the industry interacts with regions and communities (Britton 1982; Lea 1988; Pearce 1989).

2.2.1 Dependency Theory

The need to consider how the broader structure of the tourism industry affects its specific regional/local development potential has been recognized for some time. In order to explore this theme, several writers have employed a political economy approach, applying dependency theory to the study of tourism impacts, either explicitly (Britton 1982; 1983) or implicitly (Perez 1975; Turner and Ash 1975; Hills and Lundgren 1977).

Although there are many different strands of dependency theory (Chilcote 1974), all share the view that the underdevelopment of some nations is the result of their systematic exploitation by developed nations (Dos Santos 1970; Frank 1972). This process of 'underdevelopment' occurs through the introduction of an export economy, initially of agricultural and mineral products, which restricts the development of a self-sufficient internal economy. Foreign investors, with the collaboration of corrupt local government and bourgeoisie, dictate the direction of production to serve their interests, to the neglect of local needs. Profits are drained out of the 'peripheral' state, whose inhabitants are left in a state of backwardness. Although this theory was intended to explain relationships between nations, it has also been applied to the relationship between

developed and underdeveloped regions within a nation-state (Pretes 1988).

Dependency theorists tend to regard the tourism industry as yet another exploitative export industry.

> [W]e are dealing with a form of economic exploitation little different from that of previous decades. If past generations created oil producing, mining, or rubber growing enclaves, ours has produced tourist resorts which are, in many cases, just as irrelevant to the long-term development of the countries concerned (Turner and Ash 1975, 249).

Such a situation is seen to arise when governments of underdeveloped nations turn to multinational companies to provide necessary capital to finance large scale international style hotels and provide trained personnel. Similarly, companies which are foreign located and owned, such as tour operators, travel agents and airlines "control and benefit from tourist expenditures" (Britton 1983, 5) through their direct dealings with tourists. This leads to a great deal of tourist expenditure never even reaching the tourism destination, a loss of local control over the overall pace and direction of development, and hence local resentment (Chib 1980; Britton 1983).

This view assumes that government policy will be directed towards attracting metropolitan investment, regardless of whether or not it benefits the population at large.

> '[D]ependency' involves the subordination of national economic autonomy to meet the interests of foreign pressure groups and privileged local classes rather than those development priorities arising from a broader political consensus (Britton 1982, 334).

Local government is seen to provide a sympathetic environment for foreign investment through lax licensing procedures, market driven labour and marketing regulations, and infrastructural development funded by tax or aid dollars.

Dependency theorists have also addressed the social and cultural impacts of tourism. Erisman (1983) contends that "cultural dependency" occurs when the attitudes, beliefs, and values of the society in peripheral destination regions become conditioned by those of tourists from metropolitan regions. The hosts are expected to adapt their way of life to the needs of tourists (Nash 1989). While some aspects of this approach can be positive, such as crack downs on crime and clean up campaigns, efforts aimed at

protecting travellers' sensibilities may eventually intrude on well established and accepted local ways of life (Perez 1975). Wood (1984) describes how national governments actively market particular parts of cultural heritage for tourists while suppressing those that it deems unappealing.

This view may be credited as having exposed some of the political and structural factors leading to tourism's often less than ideal economic benefits and as such represents an advance on previous studies which saw tourism as the unequivocal answer to the problems of underdevelopment (Bond and Ladman 1980). It also goes some way toward accounting for the sometimes hostile attitudes that arise in tourist destinations (Bastin 1984).

The dependency approach does, however, suffer from two key weaknesses. The theory is often accused of being "obsessed by the global level, and the world system" (Corbridge 1986; 43), therefore ignoring the possibility that what occurs within an underdeveloped nation/region may be just as important as those influences that originate outside its boundaries (Chilcote 1974; Storper 1990; Lipietz 1993). In other words,

> at no point is it allowed that both development and underdevelopment in the Third World may be partly the responsibility of the Third World's own structures and agencies (Corbridge 1986, 20).

While Britton (1982) is clearly correct in his assertion that metropolitan based enterprises (travel agents, tour operators, airlines, etc.) influence the success of peripheral tourist destinations and syphon some economic benefits from them, it can be argued that this view tends to overstate their influence. It fails to acknowledge the possibility that local governments, industries and individuals can exert some degree of control over their own destinies (Poon 1988b; Ioannides 1992). Thus,

> locally-affected people are not shaped passively by outside forces but react as well, at times even changing the conditions of the larger system (Preister 1989, 20).

Preister views the development outcome as a *"negotiated process"* between local groups or individuals and structural forces.

While Bastin (1984) acknowledges that a state of dependency has emerged in

some regions, notably the Caribbean, he contends that such cases may serve as lessons for other regions so that "similar pitfalls [may be] avoided" (ibid., 79) through informed government policy and planning. According to Bastin, the applicability of the dependency model depends on the scale, and consequent type, of tourist development which are themselves products of local tourism policy. For small island states, the model sets in as the numbers of tourists increases and local developers, unable to finance additional hotel room capacity, turn to external funding sources, thereby decreasing local control over the industry. The embrace of mass tourism necessitates further dependence on external agents and operators to market the destination. Bastin advises that governments consider "the correct mix of accommodation" to increase numbers while avoiding mass tourism.

Nor is the involvement of metropolitan based tour operators necessarily an inappropriate policy for governments of underdeveloped regions. The destination may gain from a variety of relationships with metropolitan firms, ranging from direct foreign ownership, through to joint ventures and cooperative agreements.

> The alternative types of contractual arrangement are associated with different costs and benefits to the developing country, and may be more or less appropriate to the needs of countries with different degrees of 'development' of the local tourism industry, different social and political contexts and different policy objectives (Sinclair et al 1992, 47).

These regions must, however, be aware of the potential advantages and disadvantages associated with these relationships.

The dependency view also fails to acknowledge the possibility that government policy may in fact be explicitly aimed at benefitting local people. In the case in the Baffin region, the guiding principles of the "Community Based Tourism" policy are that

> tourism development must be consistent with the abilities and aspirations of the host communities, and must not result in unacceptable cultural, social and natural environmental impacts. (...) [I]t should be designed to yield maximum possible economic benefits for residents of the Baffin Region (Hamburg and Monteith 1988, Section 3.1,

no pagination).

It is, of course, by no means certain that such a policy will be successful, but such statements clearly represent a statement of intent on the part of the public sector.

A further shortcoming of the dependency approach is its failure to devote sufficient attention to the competitive strategies adopted by metropolitan based enterprises, seeing them as working toward consistent outcomes rather than as products of particular times and economic circumstances. Thus advocates of Regulation theory, described below, maintain that the weakness of dependency theory is its determinism and essentialism, thus:

> [I]t paid little attention to the concrete conditions of capitalist accumulation either in the centre or in the periphery. It therefore could not visualize that transformations in the logic of accumulation in the centre would modify the nature of centre-periphery relations (Lipietz 1987, 2).

Dependency theorists suggest "that only a single development path exists" (Pearce 1992, 19), rather than acknowledging that mass tourism is "only one segment of international tourism in developing countries" (Opperman 1993, 540). Were consumers to demand other types of tourism besides mass tourism, and hence, tour operators to compete on another basis apart from how cheaply they can offer standardized holiday packages, the community level impacts of tourism could well be different from those predicted by the models. Thus Zurick (1992) maintains that while the dependency model may be appropriate for conventional tourism development, it is less so for understanding alternative types such as adventure tourism.

> The monopolistic control by multinationals of international tourism becomes less significant for adventure travel where the geographic extension of the tourist periphery is extremely dynamic, fractional by nature, and heavily dependent upon small numbers of tourists constantly seeking new destinations (Zurick 1992, 619).

2.2.2 Tourist Area Cycle of Evolution

Butler's (1980) influential model of the tourist area cycle of evolution, (TACE),

describes the stages a destination experiences as it becomes increasingly dependant on mass tourism. Unlike the dependency model, it does not explore the ideology behind this development, but it does view core-periphery conflict as an inevitable outcome.

Based on the Product Life-Cycle (PLC) model (Vernon 1966), the TACE envisages destination areas receiving a small number of visitors initially, due to lack of publicity, access and facilities (Figure 2.1). As these preconditions are fulfilled, destinations receive more tourists until the point where their carrying capacity is reached or exceeded, thereby destroying their attractions and causing a decline in visitor numbers and hence in revenues.

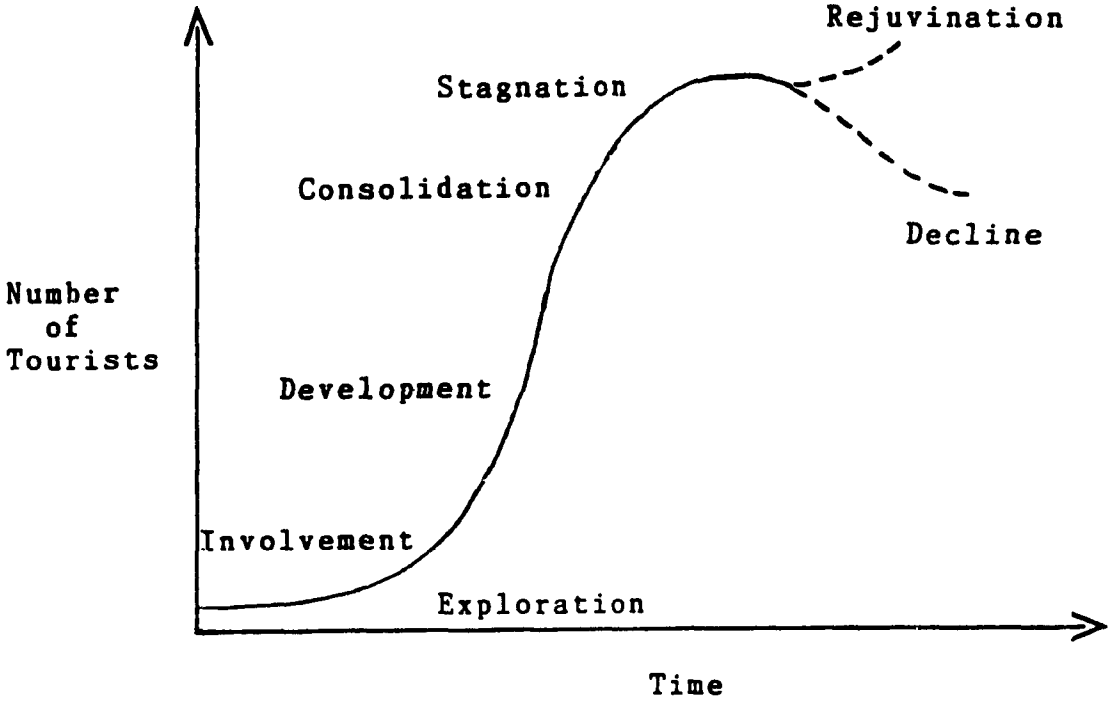

Figure 2.1: The Tourist Area Cycle of Evolution

Source: Butler 1980.

Control and source of capital, and hence benefit, is envisaged as evolving from local to exogenous actors, thereby setting up the core-periphery conflict. Local involvement in providing tourist facilities is expected to be highest early on in the process, in the "exploration" and "involvement" stages, whereafter it declines as demand increases beyond local capacity for decision-making and capital input. In these stages contact with local residents is high, and may, in fact account for some of the region's attractiveness.

If the region proves popular, it will proceed to the "development" and "consolidation" stages. Local involvement and control of development dwindle as more elaborate modern facilities, provided by external developers, are required for the growing numbers of tourists. Carrying capacity is reached during the "stagnation" stage. From there, a number of possible trajectories may emerge, ranging from decline to rejuvination, depending on the policies of local planners.

The corresponding evolution of local attitudes to tourism has been examined by Doxey (1975). Attitudes are envisaged as deteriorating, with increasing levels of tourism and changing industry structure, from a state of euphoria to antagonism.

The popularity of the model may be accounted for by the fact that it recognizes that tourism's economic, social and environmental impacts evolve over time as a result of the changing volume and type of tourism and the types of facilities that spring up to serve them. It also helps to identify key actors responsible for each stage of tourism development at a particular destination (Ioannides 1992). Many studies have sought to follow the development of specific destinations in an effort to test the model (Hovinen 1981; Cooper and Jackson 1989).

Despite its strengths, the TACE shares many of the problems which characterise dependency theory. Several observers have noted that the scenario envisaged by the TACE is not inevitable, but instead depends on the type of tourism that develops, itself a product of local policy and planning. According to this view, impacts

> depend on the extent to which the local authorities are capable of participating in the regional decision-making process, and of enforcing their own interests (Keller 1987, 25).

Some observers have noted that local authorities may opt to restrict external investment at the development stage, thus maintaining control (Keller 1987; Jarviluoma 1992; Zurick 1992). Weaver (1991) contends that in Dominica, which promotes itself as a nature or alternative tourism destination, mass tourism is unlikely ever to develop. This is due, in part, to local government policy which encourages an increase in accommodation only if it is small-scale and locally owned.

The assumption that antagonism is the necessary result of increasing levels of tourism development has also been questioned (Mathieson and Wall 1982; Pearce 1989; Ryan 1991b). Like dependency theory, the TACE implies that locals will passively stand by and watch negative impacts develop rather then attempting to influence the course of development (Haywood 1986; Ryan 1991b). Both frameworks fail to consider the possibility that by empowering locals to have input into development plans, the deteriorating cycle of evolution might be minimized or avoided (Drake 1991; Keogh 1990).

The original PLC model has also been accused of being essentialist, ignoring changes in technology, markets and macroeconomic relations, the existence of diverse types of industries, and the strategic options and competitive struggles that exist in an industry's development. As Storper (1985, 269-70) notes:

> [T]he parameters of industry behaviour that product cycle theorists assume to be empirically constant are historically contingent.

Hence, where markets are uncertain, unstable or unstandardized, the mass consumption of standardized products, which the model assumes, is improbable.

Taylor (1986, 759) similarly criticizes the original model for its neglect of "the possibility that the market might drive production rather than production driving the market". If the preceding observations are applied to Butler's TACE, they imply that were the market for mass tourism to be less than universal, so too would the applicability of the resort cycle model. While Butler (1980) does note that not all destinations will move through all the stages he describes, he does not explicitly acknowledge the potential strength of market forces.

This criticism is taken up by Debbage, who notes that the model fails to examine the dynamics of destinations "in the context of corporate strategy and competitive economic behaviour" (Debbage 1990, 514). Thus resorts that are dominated by a small number of major suppliers in an oligopoly, may be vulnerable to the ill effects incurred by this strategy.

> For these resorts, the emphasis will be on competitive stability and market share, at the expense of innovation and diversification. The end result may be an acute vulnerability to external economic conditions, competition and innovation at other resorts (Debbage 1990, 525).

Under these conditions, a downward turn in the resort cycle would indeed take place. Alternatively, we might ask about the impacts of tourism when a region is served exclusively by small suppliers.

A similar shortcoming is noted by Haywood (1986). Among his several concerns is the fact that the TACE does not look deeply enough into the many economic, social and political factors which influence the shape of the cycle of evolution. Forces such as the bargaining power of the tourist industry, government policies, tourists' demands, concerned publics, and competition from other tourist destinations, all have considerable impact on the development of a tourist area and hence must be examined in order to develop appropriate policy and planning.

Perhaps the most critical shortcoming of both the dependency approach and the TACE, is their "failure to formulate alternative prescriptions for tourism development into developing countries" (Oppermann 1993). Neither prescribes any way of avoiding the outcomes predicted. The fact remains that tourism represents one of the few viable alternatives for economic development for many underdeveloped regions suffering from isolation and limited resource bases.

2.3 Toward a More Appropriate Study Framework: The Application of Regulation Theory or the Flexible Specialization Approach

The previous discussion highlighted two principle weaknesses in past attempts to

understand tourism's local economic and social impacts in peripheral destinations: (i) a failure to recognize the significant influence of broader processes of capitalist accumulation on local development and; (ii) a failure to attribute to local governments and planners the ability to influence local destinies.

In order to understand processes of regional development, we must first gain some understanding of the wider processes of capitalist accumulation that influence all economic activity (Massey 1978; Scott 1988; Britton 1991). That is not to say, however, that the locality is, or need be, the passive recipient of this force.

> [N]ot only (is) the character of a particular place a product of its position in relation to wider forces (the more general social and economic restructuring, for instance), but also (...) that character in turn stamp(s) its own imprint *on* those wider processes. There (is) *mutual* interaction (Massey 1991, 271).

Many argue that an understanding of these processes is provided by the flexible specialization approach (Piore and Sabel 1984; Scott 1988), which is, in turn, closely related to the French Regulation School (Aglietta 1979; Lipietz 1987). While these so-called 'post-Fordist' frameworks have been applied almost exclusively to the manufacturing sector (Gertler 1988; Schoenberger 1988; Sayer 1989), their applicability to the service sector is increasingly being addressed (Marshall and Wood 1992; Milne et al. 1994b).

Proponents of the Regulation approach argue that capitalism is an unstable, contradictory system which must restructure itself so as to temporarily resolve its periodic crises, with each period of restructuring implying different regional economic impacts (Harvey 1989; Scott and Storper 1992; Tickell and Peck 1992). It views advanced capitalist economies as being characterized by

> a series of distinct historical stages that differ in production organisation, patterns of consumption, and forms of state regulation, showing the ways in which each phase shapes and transforms place (Marshall and Wood 1992, 1261).

Advocates of this position maintain that a 'regime' of mass production and consumption, known as 'Fordism', which was dominant from the 1920s to the early

1970s, has been yielding to a more 'flexible' and dynamic pattern of production and consumption, variously categorized as a regime of 'post-Fordism', 'flexible accumulation' or 'flexible specialisation' (Piore and Sabel 1984; Scott 1988; Harvey 1989; Schoenberger 1988; Scott and Storper 1992).

Increasing international competition, technological innovation, uncertain markets, and the destabilization and fragmentation of consumer demand are among the forces which are said to have led to a decline of the advantages previously sought through the Fordist mode of production. Fordist industrial structure, characterized by the mass production of homogenized products by large vertically integrated companies relying on capital intensive, rigidly dedicated machinery to achieve economies of scale and price-based competition, is thought to be increasingly unable to adapt to these changing conditions (Milne 1991).

The emerging production paradigm is based on achieving flexibility, both internally and externally. Internally, firms must be able to produce a greater variety of specialized products and to change product configurations rapidly in response to variations in market taste. This often involves the use of machinery programmable with computer technologies. Externally, it is associated with vertical and horizontal disintegration and the emergence of downsized specialised firms often organized into spatially proximate networks (Cooke 1988; Scott 1988; Teague 1990; Scott and Storper 1992). The contention that smaller specialist firms would be best able to achieve flexibility (Piore and Sabel 1984; Scott 1988; Curran and Blackburn 1991) has, however, increasingly been questioned. Some commentators point out that large firms, aided by their superior financial resources and market power, are also achieving flexibility by breaking into niche markets (Amin 1989; Sayer 1989; Hirst and Zeitlin 1991; Martinelli and Schoenberger 1991; Gertler 1992).

Much work in the field of geography has sought to assess the spatial effects, in terms of regional development, of this emerging production regime. Changing labour needs and relations between firms are thought to bring about different locational requirements, and hence it is speculated that it will open opportunities for underdeveloped regions to become sites of 'new industrial spaces' (Scott 1988; Storper

1990; Scott and Storper 1992).

A small number of observers have asked whether such developments are occurring in the tourist industry, and if so, what might be the regional economic impacts associated with them (Poon 1988a; 1989; 1990; Urry 1990; Debbage 1992; Milne 1992c). While transactions in the tourism sector are largely based on *information* about *services*, rather than the more tangible supplies and products characteristic of manufacturing, there are, nevertheless, certain similarities (Poon 1988a).

Poon, the most widely published in this area, contends that the tourist industry is indeed characterized by a transition to a new production and consumption paradigm and that this represents a golden opportunity for those regions/firms which are able to adapt themselves accordingly. According to Poon, 'old tourism', particularly the 'sun sand and sea' package holiday, was 'mass, standardized, and rigidly packaged', akin to, and contemporary with, the mass produced consumer durables characteristic of Fordism (Poon 1989). As with many Fordist manufacturers, the tour operators who assemble flights and blocks of hotel rooms into package tours, have competed primarily on price, and relied for their profits on achieving economies of scale. This has meant selling huge quantities of 'homogenous' products to many consumers (Sheldon 1988).

Poon sees the emergence of a new tourism "best practise", based on flexible specialization (Figure 2.2).

> The economics of new tourism is very different from the old - profitability no longer rests solely on economies of scale and the exploitation of mass undifferentiated markets. Economies of scope, systems gains, segmented markets, designed and customized holidays are becoming more and more important for profitability and competitiveness in tourism (Poon 1989, 93).

She stresses the competitive requirement for tourism ventures in underdeveloped regions to adopt such an approach.

The flexible specialization approach is a step forward from past approaches in that it stresses the need to understand broader processes of capitalist accumulation, and factors of supply and demand, in order to understand the pressures facing developing regions. While dependency theory and the TACE did contribute to an understanding of

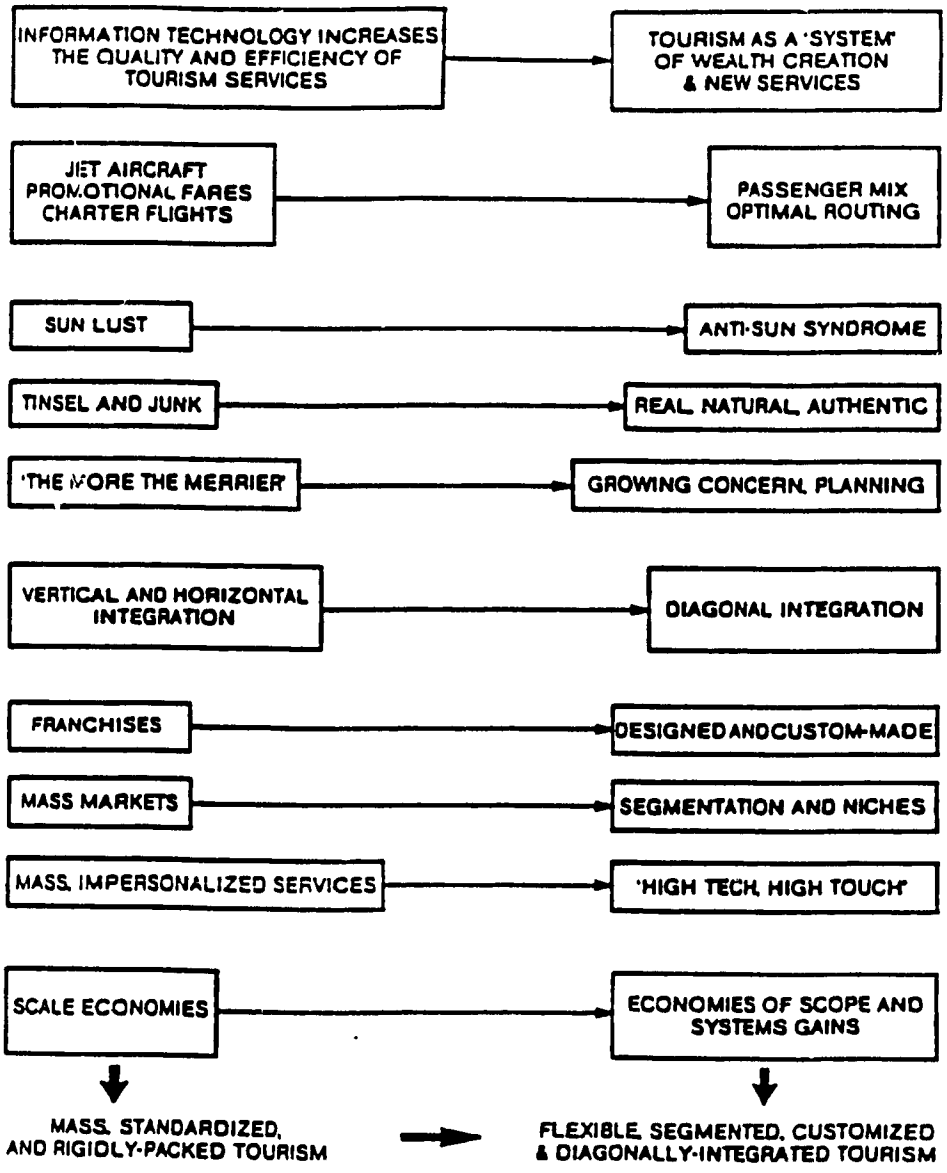

Figure 2.2: The Emergence of a New Tourism 'Best Practise'

Source: Poon 1989.

these processes, they regarded tourism development as a process working toward constant outcomes rather than dependant on historically contingent economic and social conditions (Storper 1985; Lipietz 1987).

Another strength of this approach is its rejection of the fatalism inherent in the frameworks described earlier, which regarded the destination region as a 'victim' of external forces. In Poon's (1989) conceptualisation, this period of industrial restructuring is an opportunity for less developed regions to achieve some degree of self-determination by adopting strategies required by the new regime of capitalist accumulation.

However, in this strength is also a weakness. As Storper cautions,

> The development of flexible production represents both a danger and an opportunity for regional policy in industrializing nations. (...) [T]he process of adaptation is neither cheap nor easy (Storper 1990, 437-438).

Poon's optimism about the ability of small firms (associated with less developed countries/regions) to succeed in this new competitive environment is indeed warranted in some respects. However, she fails to take into account the considerable barriers they will face as they attempt to conform to the requirements of the emerging regime of accumulation.

Another weakness of this approach is the tendency of its advocates to dichotomize tourism into "old" versus "new" variants (Milne 1992c), a criticism which has been levelled at the original application of the theory to the manufacturing sector (Gertler 1988; Sayer 1989). Firstly, "old" or mass tourism, characterized by the ubiquitous 'sun, sand and sea' based package tours, was in fact only ever dominant among Germans and Britons - it has never been the dominant mode of travel among, for example, North Americans (Economist 1986; WTO 1990).

Secondly, much as mass production has been noted to "still flourish" (Sayer 1989) in the industries where it was prevalent, so too does mass tourism. Its convenience, price, and travel style remain attractive to many consumers, making it a probable mainstay in the tourism industry (Butler 1990; Economist 1991).

Notwithstanding these criticisms, it would be difficult to deny the emergence of a shift in public consciousness toward tourism. Witness, for example, the growing use

of the terms "alternative", "responsible", "sustainable" "adventure", "quality", "green", "nature", "eco", "post" tourism (Harrison 1990; Lindberg 1991; Gluckman 1992). And as Schoenberger (1989) has noted in reference to the manufacturing sector, perhaps the direction of change in the system as a whole is more important than the total suppression of (supposed) previous practises.

A further weakness is a lack of empirical data on the nature of consumer demand and industry structure and their consequent role in determining the regional development potential of tourism. The chapters which follow will contribute some of this data. The remainder of this chapter provides a fuller discussion of the implications of this new regime of accumulation for 'new' destination regions. The discussion focuses on two features of this emerging paradigm which have particular relevance to my study: a) consumer demand and b) industrial organization.

2.3.1 Changing Consumer Demand

As noted above, it is widely reported that the relative stability and homogeneity of 'Fordist' consumption has been replaced by "much greater differentiation of purchasing patterns by different market segments (and) greater volatility of consumer preferences" (Urry 1990, 14). This trend is argued by some to be associated with the rise of postmodern culture (Harvey 1989; Teague 1990; Urry 1990; Glennie and Thrift 1992). To be competitive in this new environment, producers must differentiate their products so as to cater to a changing variety of niche markets and to keep up with evolving fashions (Sayer 1989; Marketing 1990).

This observation has also been made in the context of tourism. The literature widely asserts that consumers are looking for alternatives to the standardized 'sun, sand and sea' packaged holiday, increasingly opting for 'quality' travel to destinations 'off the beaten track' that are able to cater to specialized tastes for adventure, nature, and culture (Lickorish 1987; Martin and Mason 1987; McDougall 1990; Urry 1990; WTO 1990; Field 1991). In fact Poon contends that

> Tourists no longer have single, standardized and rigidly packaged wants. They never had them. They were simply forced by the economics of mass-production, to consume standardized and rigidly packaged holidays en masse (Poon 1989, 94).

Direct figures detailing the growth of special interest travel are not readily available. One indication is that a directory of specialist tour operators in the U.K. has seen its number of listings increase from 98 in 1991 to 148 in 1992 (Ogilvie and Dickinson 1992).

Poon (1989) contends that the segmented nature of consumer demand represents an opportunity for those regions and firms which can offer different products to different niche markets or whose specialized product fits into a new segment. For her study region (the Caribbean), largely a site of mass tourism, this may indeed be a wise marketing choice. But for other regions which have never had much tourism, constrained by relative inaccessibility, expense of goods and services, climate and short season, and lack of profile amongst potential tourists and industry, the market may be more *specialized* than *flexible*. The same might be said of small tour operators catering to specialized market segments. They may be vulnerable to the volatile nature of consumer preferences: their particular niche may be in fashion today and out tomorrow. As noted above, large firms and more developed tourist destinations, which may be able to offer many specialized products to many types of tourist by changing their competitive strategies, may have the advantage.

Nevertheless, those regions/firms that cater to particular niches, such as ecotourism, appear to face an opportunity-filled immediate future. MacCannell posits that

> [T]he central drive of postmodern tourism is to discover places that seem to exist outside of history: unspoiled nature and savagery (MacCannell 1992, 26).

Research into changing consumer demand in tourism is rare (but see Vincent et al. 1993) due to what Urry (1990, 13) characterizes as a "'productivist' bias" in the literature. The research that has been conducted suggests that ecotourists place more value on experiencing local cultures, local crafts and foods, nature, and physical activity, than do general Canadian travellers (Eagles 1992). Similar orientations appear to be

diffusing to the general travelling public. Understanding the culture of, and getting to know the people who live in, the holiday destination are values that have apparently become more important in the last five years (Harris 1992).

As a group, ecotourists tend to be highly educated and to have high levels of disposable income. Further, a recent study indicated that those travellers who said natural areas were their "main reason" for selecting their destination spent more money per day than those who said nature was "not important" (Boo 1990). The way in which they spend their money is also different. This group is

> less demanding in terms of lodging than other types of tourists and thus do[es] not need accommodation, food, or night life that meet luxurious standards. The nature traveller seems more willing to accept and appreciate local conditions, customs, and foods (Boo quoted in Eagles 1992, 40).

To the degree that this is true, this type of tourism appears to offer the possibility for more local linkages into local economies. It has been suggested that ecotourists travel with an ethic of responsibility toward local ecosystems and cultures, striving not only to avoid negatively impacting them, but also to contribute toward their preservation (Ryel and Grasse 1991).

However, there are also indications that the growing interest in local cultures may be disruptive. This is not a new observation (Greenwood 1989). Yet, what may be new is the emphasis on 'authenticity': viewing cultural groups in their 'natural' or 'traditional' state. MacCannell takes a harsh view of this trend, noting that it brings about a tendency to 'museumize' ethnic groups so that "deviation from the touristic cultural ideal" becomes a matter for inter- and intra-cultural conflict (MacCannell 1992, 179). In this case, the trend in consumer demand may forebode certain cultural costs which are different, but no less disruptive, than those associated with mass tourism.

For the most part, however, the nature of changing consumer demand appears to bode well for 'new' tourism destinations which cater to the emerging interest in nature and indigenous cultures. The economic and socio-cultural impacts of tourism in these destinations may be more positive than those in destinations catering to traditional forms

of 'mass' tourism.

2.3.2 Industry Restructuring and New Technologies

While the natural endowments of regions such as the Baffin appear to provide it with an opportunity to benefit from market trends, having the right product is not sufficient. The ability to tap into this market, making the industry and consumers aware of the region's product, is essential (Milne 1992C; Pohlmann and Milne 1993).

For isolated countries/regions and small firms attempting to successfully compete under the new competitive pressures, Poon (1989; 1990) advocates the adoption of strategies based on the flexible specialisation approach. The Baffin region is currently served almost exclusively by small specialized tour operators, located in 'southern' Canada and the U.S., and small sized local hotels and guiding businesses. It is the southern based tour operators in particular, who are largely relied upon to find and bring tourists. The ability of these firms to utilize the strategies for success prescribed by Poon, will therefore significantly influence the destination region.

There are several reasons to question the ability of these firms to adopt the strategies Poon prescribes. The flexible technology adopted by some manufacturing industries has its parallel in the diffusion of a system of new information technologies in the tourist industry. Among the most important are computerized reservation systems (CRS), utilized by virtually all North American travel agencies to find and book flights, hotels, tours and other services around the world and assemble customized packages (Poon 1988a; Beaver 1992). Poon (1988a) maintains that without links to such international marketing and distribution networks, many tourism related services cannot be sold.

The high cost of becoming represented on a CRS makes it an unrealistic option for small companies. While this observation has been made with regard to flexible technologies utilized in the manufacturing sector (Sayer 1989; Martinelli and Schoenberger 1991), it has seemingly been overlooked by Poon (1990). This leads some observers to point out that far from representing an opportunity for small companies and/or regions, the increasing adoption of flexible technology is cause for concern (Milne

1992c).

> On the one hand, the large airlines and tour operators have been able to penetrate global markets through the effective manipulation of (...) CRSs. At the other end of the spectrum lies a sector of small-scale local suppliers with little or no access to sophisticated technology. This industry group is thus unable to make an impact on their own local or national markets, let alone on the global scene (Vlitos-Rowe 1992, 86).

To date, however, the distribution network of tour operators is less computerized than other tourist services. A Canadian study conducted in 1988 estimated that just 10 percent of package tours are booked by computer compared with 82 percent of air bookings and 39 percent of hotel reservations (Canadian Travel Courier 1988). A more recent survey of travel agents in the U.S. revealed the same proportion of package tours being booked through CRS (Godwin 1992). However, it is not difficult to foresee a time when this "revolution in the way tourism services are (...) reserved" (Beaver 1992, 15) will permeate this sector, thus reinforcing the dichotomy between large and small tour operators. Further, the growth of access to CRS through personal computers will make linking onto these systems a very important means for small tour operators to reach individual consumers (Pohlmann and Milne 1993).

A second limitation for small firms and isolated regions lies in the structure of the tourist industry itself. The industry remains characterized by horizontal and vertical integration and, increasingly, the trend toward "flexible integration" through strategic alliances (Cooke 1988; Milne 1992c; Scott and Storper 1992). Horizontal integration involves major chains, as well as many smaller independently owned travel agencies, becoming "affiliated to each other through administrative companies who negotiate with suppliers on behalf of their members" (EIU 1993, 88). In a 1991 U.S. travel agent survey, 41% of respondents claimed to be members of consortiums, up from 37% in 1987 (Field 1992). Affiliates often establish strategic trading alliances with tour operators, offering tours from a selected few, from whom agents will have the strength to negotiate larger commissions (De Smet 1990; Southerst 1986; Simier 1990). On their own, small firms would not have the market power to pursue such a strategy (Dilts and

Prough 1989).

> The growth of ownership concentration and the development of increasingly sophisticated alliances are creating a global competitive environment that is increasingly hostile to mid-sized or smaller independent operators (Milne 1992b, 7).

One possible outcome of this industrial structure is that the largest, most visible travel agency chains/consortiums are less likely to offer products of lesser known tour operators. The consumer would thus be presented with a limited range of trip and destination opportunities (Radburn and Goodall 1990). Indeed, independent travel agencies have been shown to have a wider range of choices (new destinations, special interest tours) available to match the individual customer's wishes than does the multiple chain (Buck 1988). Surprisingly, however, travel agents belonging to consortiums claim that a small proportion of their revenue "is derived from products sold through preferred suppliers made available by the consortium" (Field 1992, 122).

Nevertheless, over 80% of U.S. travel agents claim to confine their tour bookings to operators on a preferred list (Blum 1992). Travel agents have conservative tendencies and are reputedly reluctant to offer products of less well known tour operators (Falon 1988). One travel company president states that "a lot of agents would rather book a cruise than take a chance on adventure travel with an untried company. The single hardest task in this business is gaining the trust of the retail travel agents" (quoted in Field 1991).

Thus, the emerging structure of the tourist industry holds potentially negative implications for a region such as the Baffin. It suggests that a 'new' tourist destination that caters to small-scale special interest travel may have difficulties making itself known to members of the tourist industry and travelling public.

In the chapters that follow, I will attempt to trace the implications of both industry structure and consumer behaviour for the Pond Inlet tourist industry and the community that relies upon it. Before doing so, however, I turn to look at the community's attitudes toward tourism, an essential component of any attempt to understand the economic and socio-cultural impacts of the industry and prescribe meaningful policy measures.

Chapter 3: Local Attitudes to Tourism - Pond Inlet, NWT

3.1 Introduction

It is increasingly recognized that for tourism development to be economically and socially sustainable, the needs and concerns of residents of tourist destinations must be taken into consideration during the planning phases. Better still is an approach that empowers locals to participate in planning activities (Haywood 1988; Keogh 1990; Drake 1991). By doing so, not only does the community avoid decisions which could lead to local discord, but ultimately it serves to create a healthier tourist industry. Where negative attitudes towards tourism do develop, they

> reduce the attractiveness of the destination area to the tourist, which conversely affects the income potential and employment opportunities in the local tourism industry (Pizam 1978, 8).

There is a need, therefore, to understand local concerns and attitudes. In so doing, I will be assessing the degree to which 'community-based' tourism is achieving one of its most fundamental objectives: compatibility with the cultures and aspirations of host communities.

3.2 Previous Indications of Pond Inlet Residents' Attitudes to Tourism

The first documented indication of attitudes toward tourism in Baffin communities is contained in "Community Tourism Development Plan(s)", prepared for each community in the region (Marshall Macklin Monaghan 1982). These reports include a public involvement initiative which involved informing local groups and individuals on what tourism is about and soliciting their feelings on the industry. The authors of the Pond Inlet report conclude that there was some concern "about possible negative effects that tourism might have on the community" (Ibid., 2-6). Although the nature of these effects is mostly unspecified, they note a common feeling that tourism should be closely controlled by the community.

Since then, some indication that residents of Pond Inlet hold favourable attitudes toward the tourist industry has emerged. Summaries of negotiations between the

Canadian Parks Service (CPS) and the Pond Inlet Hamlet Council reveal that as of the mid-1980s the latter regarded tourism as being more stable, more locally controllable, and hence more favourable than, for example, non-renewable resource extraction industries (Gamble 1986).

The CPS and the Pond Inlet Hamlet Council have been involved in discussions on the possibility of establishing a National Park in North Baffin since 1979. The Council was initially interested in the proposal as a means of protecting the Lancaster Sound area from petroleum extraction projects. Consultations on the proposal continued sporadically until 1986 when the Council asked CPS to resume them as they associated an increase of tourism and tourism related employment with the creation of a national park (Gamble 1990b; Gamble 1993 Personal Communication).

In a community economic survey of 103 Pond Inlet households, conducted in 1986, 84% of the participants considered tourism to be a "good thing" for the community (Bloor 1987). Tourism was not considered good by 10%, and the remaining 6% offered no response. A majority of those responding in the affirmative cited economic benefits. Many believed that tourism would promote cross-cultural understanding between 'southerners' and Inuit (Ibid, 41). There was a fear, however, among over one third of respondents that an influx of many visitors would cause a variety of (unidentified) social problems.

3.3 Current Attitudes to Tourism Development

According to the Senior Administrative officer of the Hamlet of Pond Inlet, the council has always been in favour of tourism. Like other communities, a Tourism Committee was established in 1989 in order to oversee the development of tourism and it is mainly through the committee that locals can get involved in its development. It has had input from both outfitting companies, elders and other interested individuals. There is a sense, however, that the committee has not taken an active role in determining the nature of tourism development. It has not met regularly. This is perhaps due to lack of interest, or the fact that attention has been focused on other issues. The Tourism Committee and the Economic Development Committee, with which it is closely

associated, are currently involved with the planning of the nature centre (Personal Communication 1992; Southam 1993). The local Parks Committee has been active in the planning of the boundaries of the proposed National Park since the mid-1980s.

3.3.1 Contact with Tourists

In order to establish whether they had some degree of exposure to tourists, participants in the resident survey were asked whether they had ever seen tourists around town or on the land. Thirty-two of the 35 individuals responding to this question (91%) replied in the affirmative. One man, a well known carver, has sold his carvings directly to tourists. Two elder women have told stories and displayed their skin clothing to Japanese tourists in a recently built traditional style sod house. Several men had their contact through casual 'assistant-guiding' employment. Others had simply seen them around town, often disembarking cruiseships. The majority of those having had contact with tourists spoke positively of the experience.

3.3.2 Positive Aspects of Tourism

When asked if they were in favour of tourism in their community, 41 of the 42 residents (98%) replied in the affirmative. This figure compares favourably with results in other Baffin communities. In Clyde River, Nickels et al. (1991) found that 92% of those interviewed were in favour of tourism, largely for its anticipated economic benefits. Similarly, 95% of residents of Cape Dorset revealed a general support for tourism (Milne et al. 1994a). An 85% support level was found in Pangnirtung, a community which has seen moderate levels of tourism over the last decade (Reimer 1989).

Respondents were then asked what positive impacts tourism brings to the community. As explained earlier, question wording was originally kept as general as possible but each category listed in Table 3.1 was eventually suggested as a prompt. There were 51 responses as 10 individuals provided multiple responses.

Table 3.1: Nature of Benefits Associated with Tourism

Nature of Benefit	Number of Mentions (N=51)	Percentage of Respondents (N=41)
Economic	35	87.5
Social/Cultural	15	37.5
Environmental	1	2.5

Not surprisingly, almost 90% of the respondents felt that economic benefits would result from tourism development. Again, this figure is similar to results in obtained in Clyde River (94%) (Nickels et al. 1991) but significantly higher than those from Cape Dorset where 63% stressed income and employment benefits (Milne et al. 1994a).

Those respondents who felt that tourism brought economic benefits were asked who they thought stood to benefit most from tourism. Guides were mentioned most often (13 times), followed by those who carved and made handicrafts (11), the community in general (6), and the two local outfitting companies (5). Clearly, most respondents felt that economic benefits accrue mainly to particular groups of residents, guides and craftspeople, rather than to the community as a whole. Despite the fact that the hotel, gift shop and main outfitting operations are co-operatively owned by the community, most did not acknowlidge that all members will gain.

Almost 40% of the respondents envisaged social or cultural benefits from tourism (Table 3.1). A much higher proportion of respondents in Clyde River (72%) thought tourism would facilitate cultural exchange between tourists and locals and encourage cultural revitalization within the community (Nickels et al. 1991). This discrepancy may be partly due to the fact that the latter study approached this subject by means of a closed question, asking directly if the respondent envisaged cultural benefits from tourism. As noted above, the Pond Inlet study employed a more general questioning technique. Under 10% of Cape Dorset residents associated cultural benefits with tourism (Milne et al. 1994a).

The 15 residents who mentioned cultural benefits were almost equally divided

between men (7) and women (8). In terms of age distribution, it is more frequently younger men, in their 20's and 30's, and older women, in their 60's and 70's, who mentioned social or cultural benefits. The sample is, however, too small to provide any significant evidence for the relationship between respondent characteristics and the identification of this type of benefit.

The type of cultural benefits mentioned include the provision of a means of communication and understanding between Inuit and non Inuit; a way of reducing racism and prejudice; a means of teaching about Inuit culture and learning about non-Inuit; a source of new friends and visitors; and a means of encouraging Inuit pride in land and culture.

3.3.3 Negative Aspects of Tourism

When respondents were asked if they envisaged any negative impacts as a result of tourism development in their community, 52% said no (Table 3.2). Four of these respondents added that this is, or would be, the case if the council approved of the tourists coming or made particular plans to avoid problems. Five respondents suspected that there could be negative impacts but felt unable to identify what they might be. This reluctance to attribute any negative impacts to tourism may indicate that tourism is currently well managed or, following Doxey (1975), that it is operating on too small a scale for any of the negative impacts which are often associated with it to have been encountered. It may also reflect residents' lack of knowledge and lack of access to information about tourism's possible negative impacts.

Almost 17% of respondents (2 men and 5 women), expressed a fear about what tourists might think of the Inuit, and then pass on to others upon their return. These respondents often made reference to tourists' distaste for the animal remains visible in the community. There is a fear that such scenes might be misinterpreted by tourists as a wastage of animals. One respondent felt that tourists seek out such perceived negative sights for their photographs. An elder commented that while she likes tourists, she hears that they spread "rumours" when they go south.

> The tourists see dead seals on the shore and they think we waste them - they're for the dogs to feed on...It's cleaned up afterwards...They shouldn't judge if they don't know.

Table 3.2: Nature of Negative Impacts Associated with Tourism by Pond Inlet Residents

Nature of Negative Impacts	Number of Mentions N=46	Percentage of respondents N=42[a]
No negative impacts	22	52.4
Don't know	5	11.9
Negative image of Inuit to result	7	16.7
Freedom to hunt threatened (Greenpeace)	5	11.9
Outside influences brought in (alcohol, drugs, diseases, influences on teenagers)	3	7.1
Litter on our land; interfere with wildlife; conflict with our hunters	3	7.1
Non-Inuit may come and take jobs of Inuit	1	2.4

[a]Percentage will not equal 100 due to multiple responses.

This idea was shared by several respondents, one of whom was afraid that the way of life in general would be negatively portrayed on the tourists' return home. Her fear is that perhaps some tourists are prejudiced against Inuit which might make them look for negative images.

The second way that this issue emerged was a distrust of animal rights activists, a view not surprising in light of their role in campaigning for the 1983 EEC ban on sealskins (Wenzel 1991). Five locals, all male, indicated that "Greenpeace" tourists (as individuals with animal rights sympathies are referred to) were unwelcome as they

have the potential to jeopardize their freedom to hunt. Considered together, the categories "Image of Inuit" and "Freedom to hunt threatened" were mentioned by 12 people or 28.6% (one individual mentioned is noted in both categories). Clearly, these fears are the legacy of the sealskin ban, which proved to Inuit that public attitudes toward their relationship to wildlife have the potential to exert profound impacts on their lives (Wenzel 1991).

Inuit attitudes toward animal rights activists have evolved during the course of the anti-sealing protest and during the period since the ban. In the early years of the protest Inuit attributed the conflict to "misunderstanding and lack of information, not malevolent intent" (Wenzel 1991, 148). Since the ban, however, the sense of injustice has grown. In 1988, 5 years after the ban, a 65 year old guide from Pond Inlet did not associate the disappearance of the market for sealskins with the animal rights movement and thus was reluctant to regard its advocates as enemies.

> 'I hear that it was an organization called Greenpeace. But who they are still puzzles me. Many people here (in Pond Inlet) say they are our enemy. But I don't know. I have never seen one' (guide quoted in Struzik 1988, 31).

By 1992, this guide had acquired four more years of experience with *Qallunaat* (non-Inuit) visitors and a very definite opinion of "Greenpeace" tourists. While he claims to like tourists and to enjoy the opportunity to communicate with them while out on the land, he dislikes "Greenpeace" tourists as "they slowly want to stop (us) hunting". A local high school teacher commented that when outfitters take tourists out on the land, they are worried that they might be from Greenpeace, that it "may be my ticket to not being able to hunt any more". He added that in other communities some locals refuse to take tourists out as they are afraid of Greenpeace members in disguise.

This feeling that tourists are sensitive to wildlife and not interested in, or are critical of, the relationship between Inuit and wildlife has engendered some suspicion and uneasiness. This has, in the past, led to the refusal of guiding services and permission to film for those suspected of being "Greenpeace" tourists.

It has also led to the adoption of a policy of concealing hunting activity from tourists. In spring, both hunters and tourists head for the same destination: the floe edge

off the southeast coast of Bylot Island, an area where open water meets frozen sea ice. This is the most important hunting area for the residents of Pond Inlet, particularly in the spring, when narwhal, seals, and polar bears are hunted. It is also the best place for tourists to view these animals. Thus it is possible that tourists may witness locals "shooting the very wildlife [they] hope to see" (Harrison 1990, 9).

Guides are instructed by the outfitters who employ them not to hunt while escorting tourists on the land. In fact the co-op recently barred one man from guiding for a period of five years for violating this rule (Umphrey, personal communication 1993). Nor are guides permitted to take tourists to the part of the floe edge where other men are hunting. One might think that the latter rule is to protect tourists' safety. In reality, it probably has more to do with protecting delicate sensibilities than bodies.

According to co-op management, this policy merely reflects good business practise. He believes that people on wildlife tours do not want to see their species of interest killed. Thus, unless tour groups specifically request to see hunting, exposure is avoided. This is also a means of avoiding negative publicity associated with seeing seal blood on the ice. Management does not see this as leading to conflict, explaining that due to the length of the floe edge, no contact need occur. Management concedes, however, that there is potential for conflict if tourist numbers increase substantially. This is seen as a remote eventuality which will be addressed when it occurs.

Most tour operators who were consulted on this issue denied that exposure to hunting is problematic. They feel that their clients are educated enough to understand the significance of hunting and that while they may be shocked by what they see, with some preparation and explanation, clients are respectful and appreciate it as part of Inuit culture. The one major exception is an operator who conducts wildlife tours in Pond Inlet. He feels that his clients are not in favour of hunting. On tour, efforts are made to avoid exposure to hunting scenes by shifting to parts of the floe edge where hunting is not occurring. Although he claims that seal hunting is not a concern, the hunting of narwhal is "hard to hide", being visible for 20 miles. He feels that since his tours are in the area for one 5 day period in spring, locals do not have to hunt in their presence and can hunt at any other time. However, this same operator has plans to bring up to

300 Japanese tourists on such tours. The rationale that locals can hunt at any other time thus becomes contentious.

It has been noted, by co-op management and several individuals, that hunting activities are not currently being interrupted, as it is the tour groups who take pains to avoid the hunters, rather than the reverse. Several comments from non-guiding hunters do, however, indicate that they too are making some sacrifices for the sake of tourists. One man explained that "hunters try not to hunt when tourists are around. It might offend them, hurt their feelings". Another states "'when I'm out hunting and I see tourists, I go the other way because I know they don't want to see what I'm doing'" (resident quoted in Southam 1993, 3).

There are indications that this situation is indeed a cause of some concern. In a meeting of the Parks Committee, (August 9, 1993), one individual stated that possible conflicts between hunters and tourist groups presents the only drawback to what is otherwise a welcomed source of income. A fear was expressed that as more tourists arrive, there could be conflicts between men who want to hunt, and tourists who object to hunting. Several individuals pointed out that guides have a vested interest in conforming to the sensibilities of tourists but for others, it may be an inconvenience. Educating tourists so that they are aware of the important role of hunting in Inuit life is seen as a potential way to avoid future conflicts. There is hope that the community nature centre will provide for this need. Some interest was expressed in taking tourists out to see hunting so that they will learn about Inuit culture.

A young guide with 9 years of experience responds to his fears of animal rights activists by trying to educate tourists about the Inuit way of life.

> If tourists said it was brutal to kill an animal, I would try to explain. It's like being on a farm up here (except that) we don't grow broccoli - we wait for wild animals to grow, then we go after them.

The ability of most older guides to directly address the issue in this fashion is hampered by the fact that most are not fluent in English. One tour operator has commented that on his trips there is no discussion with the guides about their culture.

The concern about animal rights activists did not reveal itself as prominently in

either the Clyde River or the Cape Dorset study (Nickels et al. 1991; Milne et al. 1994). In fact the Regional Supervisor of Parks and Visitor Services, who is aware of several incidents in Pond Inlet involving suspicions of particular groups of visitors, is not aware of the issue ever having arisen in other communities. Cape Dorset's Economic Development Officer (EDO) feels that this has not been an issue there as the focus of its tourist industry is arts/culture rather than wildlife.

However, a town guide in Cape Dorset revealed that there is, in fact, some degree of suspicion about tourists' motives that arises when tourists are perceived to be asking too many questions about the local use of meat. The guide expressed a feeling that such individuals are not welcomed. While this particular concern was not specifically reported by Reimer and Dialla (1992), they do note that residents of Pangnirtung are similarly concerned about the image tourists receive of their culture and their community.

Nor is this type of cultural conflict unknown in other arctic regions. Residents of whale hunting communities in northern Norway regard the emergence of whale-watching tourism "with clear anti-whaling incentives" as the latest attempt, after the 1982 moratorium on commercial whaling, "to attack their culture and deprive them of their livelihood" (Ris 1993, 157). It has become "a matter of *either* watching whales *or* hunting them" (ibid., 162).

3.3.4 Perceived Attractions For Tourists

There are additional indications that residents would prefer that their way of life were understood and respected rather than hidden from view. When locals were asked what they felt tourists should see and/or learn when they come to Pond Inlet, 60% thought that they should have some exposure to Inuit culture (Table 3.3). Respondents referred to traditional elements of culture, including skills and artifacts. Two of these respondents were, however, emphatic that tourists should learn more about how Inuit live today. A further 20% specified that they themselves would like the opportunity to meet and communicate with tourists. The land and the wildlife were mentioned by 39% of those surveyed.

Table 3.3: Perceived Attractions for Tourists

What Tourists Should See/Learn	Percentage of Respondents (N=43)[a]
Inuit Culture	60
Land/Wildlife	39.5
Visit, meet, communicate with Inuit	20.1
Hunting/Fishing	9.3
Town	4.6
Inuktitut	4.6

[a] Percentage will not equal 100 due to multiple responses.

The relatively low percentage of those suggesting Land/ Wildlife compared to Inuit Culture may be explained by the possibility that some respondents are suggesting options that they do not perceive to be prominently featured at present; many are likely aware that most tour groups arrive in Pond Inlet with the main objective of going on the land to see wildlife. For example, the former hotel manager, a young Inuk, stated with some obvious remorse that tourists "don't come to learn about Inuit people - they just come to see the wildlife".

The substantial mention of Inuit culture suggests that Pond Inlet residents see a need for their culture to be understood and perhaps, a perception that this does not appear to be happening at present. A similar finding was reported in Pangnirtung, where Inuit considered communication with tourists an important means of engendering respect for their culture (Reimer 1989).

> A remote Inuit community will naturally favour an approach to tourism that is likely to engender greater understanding and appreciation of Inuit traditions and values, rather than an approach that ignores or threatens those values (Seale 1992, 3).

Most of the 7 local guides interviewed noted that tourists are in fact interested in Inuit culture. Several noted an interest in the foods that Inuit eat. In fact, one guide estimated that 40% of tourists he has guided wanted to taste seal meat. Several others felt that this

interest is good for Inuit culture due to the fact that tourist and guide learn from each other. Four of the 7 guides stated that at least some tourists are interested in seeing how Inuit hunt.

Several Pond Inlet residents made explicit reference to this need. An elder pointed out that

> It would be better if tourists didn't have any racism. They shouldn't judge if they don't know. I would like tourists to learn about Inuit culture. When Inuit go south we eat their food. We want *Qallunaat* to do the same when they come here.

Her husband added that he would like to have a means of communication with tourists. If he were introduced to them he would welcome them to town. Similarly, a younger woman pointed out that when in the south she follows the ways of southerners, and that tourists should do the same when in Pond: they should learn the Inuit ways. Another young man expressed a loss of patience for adventure and naturalist tourists who aren't interested, or are too shy to stay in town and meet residents. "I'm getting sick of them because they never look around town. All they want is the land". He told of having offered to take tourists on a town tour the previous summer, but having no takers.

3.3.5 Restrictions on Tourists

Residents were also asked whether they felt that there were any places where tourists should not be permitted to go or any activities that they should not be permitted to engage in. Twenty of the 35 respondents felt that there should be no restrictions, although several did add some caveats. Five said that the hamlet council should be notified prior to any tourist arrival so that potential problems can be avoided. Four others did not know how to respond. Restrictions mentioned include: not hunting or interfering with wildlife; showing respect for local concerns and rules; and avoiding the floe edge and other hunting areas if the individual is offended by hunting.

Information from other sources reveals that this 'laisser faire' attitude is not as widespread as these findings suggest. A recent study produced in connection with plans

for the local nature centre reveals a common feeling that tourists should indeed be "controlled" by guides both while on the land and while in the community (Southam 1993).

Furthermore, in a Pond Inlet Parks Committee meeting (April 1990), committee members expressed a reluctance to include in the park boundary certain coastal areas where locals camp during spring and summer hunting trips. Among the regions eventually excluded is Cape Graham Moore (Button Point), on the southeastern point of Bylot Island, the site of spring floe edge hunting and wildlife viewing tours. Members associated increased interference from tourists with the inclusion of this area in the park boundary. "The people of Pond Inlet should have their camping without any tourist bothering (them)" (Pond Inlet Parks Committee 1990). Committee members

> emphasized that their main concern is to ensure that the local people will be able to continue free and peaceful enjoyment of these areas for hunting and camping. They do not want to be bothered by tourists and they do not want to have to be concerned about any possible restrictions on their freedom to continue their use of these areas" (Gamble 1990a, 4).

The chairman of the Pond Inlet Parks Committee confirmed this information, stating that locals do not want to be bothered by tourists coming to their camp and asking questions. The committee wants to avoid conflicts between hunters and tourists and for this reason is telling guides not to allow tourists to see hunting.

An additional explanation for the withdrawal of some of these lands is that sporthunting, particularly the polar bear hunt based at Button Point, would not be permitted within a national park. Thus according to this explanation, the withdrawal was intended to facilitate, rather than avoid, a particular form of tourism (Gamble 1989). This was not, however, seen as a major issue as polar bear hunting is conducted on sea ice which is not included in national park boundaries (Gamble 1993, personal communication).

These concerns notwithstanding, the issue of local control does not appear to figure as prominently in this study as it did in the Clyde River study, where "local involvement in the planning and control of the tourist industry [was] of paramount

importance" (Nickels et al. 1991, 166). A previous study conducted in Pond Inlet (Marshall et al. 1982) did in fact identify this issue as a common concern. However, as respondents were not directly questioned on this issue, it is unclear whether this feeling remains.

3.4 Summary

The results of the community survey reveal almost unanimous support for tourism. Not surprisingly, this is most often explained by tourism's anticipated economic benefits, particularly for guides and those who carve or make other handicrafts. On the negative side, a concern emerged regarding the possibility that tourists will leave with a negative impression or misunderstanding of Inuit, as did the related possibility that tourists could affect their freedom to hunt.

Some residents also expect tourism to provide cultural benefits as tourists learn about their way of life. This is clearly important to Inuit as the legacy of the EEC sealskin ban taught a bitter lesson about the power that negative or misinformed views can exert on their lives. A common theme that emerges is the desire on the part of Pond Inlet residents to make tourists understand their way of life rather than to have to alter it for their sake. This indicates some degree of resistance to the assertions of the cultural dependency model, outlined in Chapter 2. It is important then, to ask whether tourists share this interest in local cultures, and if so, whether the opportunity to satisfy this interest is adequately provided. These questions are addressed in Chapter 5.

Chapter 4: Attracting the Ecotourist

4.1 Introduction

This chapter explores the role that the travel agents and tour operators play as information brokers for the Baffin region. It begins by looking into the sources of information commonly used by tourists. The results of a study of the role of Montreal travel agents as information brokers for the Baffin region are then presented. It is then asked how tour operators offering Baffin packages go about selling their products. Some implications of these findings are then discussed.

It is first useful to identify the various actors involved in providing and marketing tourist related services. A schematic representation of the alternative ways that a customer can arrange a nature travel trip to regions such as the Baffin is provided in Figure 4.1. Arrangements may be made by individual customers directly with **providers of local services** (4.1 - A) such as hotels and guide services. In the Baffin guiding services are provided either by individual guides or organizations through which guides are contracted, such as co-operatives or, for sporthunting trips, HTAs.

There are often intermediaries between local providers and individual consumers **Inbound tour operators**, situated in urban areas of the tourism region, may provide local contacts with the on-site service providers (B). In the Baffin, there are a handful of Iqaluit based companies which organize in this way. More often, however, tourists purchase package tours through **outbound tour operators**, situated in tourist market regions, who make arrangements with the on-site hotels and outfitters and make transport arrangements from market region to destination, often with a guide (C). They conduct much of the marketing necessary to draw clients, aided by their cultural and physical proximity to customers and superior financial resources. Providers of local services in Pond Inlet, for example, rely on these tour operators to market their product. Alternatively, **travel agents** may act as intermediaries between tour operators and customers (D) or make direct bookings with providers of local services (E).

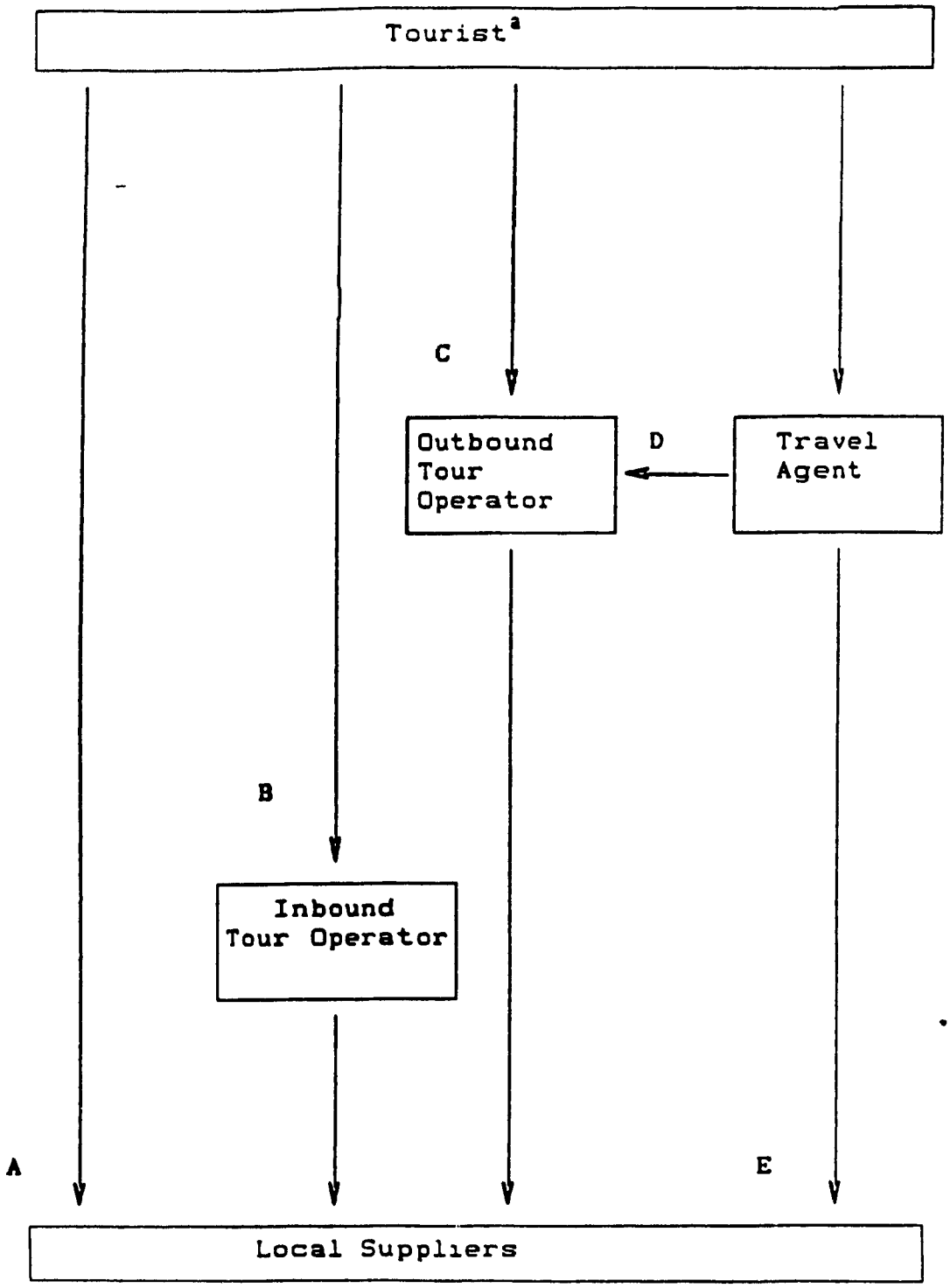

Figure 4.1: Transactional Chains Linking Tourist with Destination

Sources: Adapted from Buckley 1987; Ziffer 1989.

Notes: [a] Transportation is purchased in the area of origin either directly by the tourist, through a travel agent or outbound tour operator.

Because of the limited financial resources of local services, and its own admittedly minimal marketing budget, the GNWT considers the latter two actors as the primary means of marketing the Baffin region (Hamburg and Monteith 1988) Accordingly, the focus of its marketing strategy is on familiarization (fam) and media tours, aimed at attracting southern tour operators to feature the region; $24 000 is slated for tour operator fam tours for 1993/94 - the largest proportion of its marketing budget of $79 000 (GNWT 1993). Having interested tour operators in featuring the region, they are then intended to carry out the majority of the region's marketing functions.

The GNWT has emphasized the importance of increasing the awareness of travel agents and tour operators:

> An increase in the number of tourists in the Northwest Territories is dependent on making it easier for interested consumers to book a northern holiday, from anywhere in the world. Potential tourists won't make their northern vacation dreams a reality unless their travel agent or tour company has the necessary information, contacts and interest to sell our products (ibid, 19).

It is important then, to ask how the private sector is faring as marketing agents. This is the purpose of this chapter.

4.2 Sources of Information used by Tourists

Travel agents are the primary professional travel intermediary linking travellers with suppliers of travel services (Bitner and Booms 1982). One of their roles is that of travel counsellor, whereby they elicit clients' motives for travel and recommend the most appropriate type of vacation and destination. In a survey of Quebec travel agents, 60% described their role as counsellor rather than salesperson. A further 26% considered themselves as both and just 14% described themselves as salespeople only (Bulletin Voyages 1992). As such, agents exert a powerful influence upon when, where and how people travel and consequently, the amount of business received by a particular airline, hotel or region.

The degree of reliance on the advice of travel agents has been shown to vary by distance travelled, mode of travel, particular service required, and nature of intended

destination. Those travelling long distances and travelling by air are likely to seek the assistance of travel agents (Woodside and Ronkainein 1980; Gitelson and Crompton 1983). Those booking package tours are also likely to seek their assistance. A recent study of the habits of frequent travellers in the U.S. revealed that 90 percent of those who had booked a package tour in the last twelve months, had used the services of a travel agent to do so, a higher rate than for any other travel service (Harris 1992). Similar results are revealed by a survey of U.S. travel agents (Travel Weekly 1992).

When a tourist destination is less well known, travel agents have been shown to "play a pivotal role in the tourism distribution channel" (Snepenger et al 1990, 16). A survey of "destination-naive" visitors to Alaska indicated that over 69% of those surveyed had consulted travel agents. They were the sole source of information for 44% of respondents. One quarter of the respondents used them in combination with one or more other sources, while nearly one third used source(s) other than travel agents. Other sources consulted include tour brochures and/or guidebooks (37%), friends or relatives (23.8%) and the state tourism division (17.1%).

Travel agents do not play as prominent a role for tourists to the Baffin region. In a previous survey of visitors to the region just 8.5% of respondents indicated that travel agents had supplied them with most of their information about travelling in the arctic. Instead, respondents received most information from friends (33%), the print media (11%) and the Baffin Tourism Association (10.6%) (Acres 1988). Clearly, Alaska is better known among members of the tourist industry.

The 1993 tourist survey conducted as part of the broader SSHRC project revealed similar results The three most important sources of information for package tourists were, in order of importance, tour operators, newspapers/ magazines, followed by travel agents and friends/relatives, which tied in third place. Among independent tourists, friends and relatives were named most often, followed by Travel Arctic (the NWT travel bureau), and newspapers/magazines. Other sources noted include books, personal experience, Parks Canada, and travel guide books.

These results indicate that word of mouth remains an important source of information about the Baffin, particularly amongst independent tourists. It appears that

package tourists get more information from tour operators than travel agents, suggesting that they bypass the latter and book directly with the former. Clearly, however, travel agents are less important to both groups than might have been expected.

4.3 Travel Agents as Information Brokers: The Baffin Region

The results of the travel agent survey suggest one likely reason for the relative lack of importance attributed to travel agents. Of the 100 travel agents who were asked to suggest a travel destination in the arctic, only 6% suggested the Baffin region as their first or sole recommendation (Table 4.1). A further 10% responded with NWT without mentioning the Baffin region specifically . The region fared slightly better as an alternative or second recommendation, with both the Baffin and the NWT as a whole being mentioned 13 times.

Table 4.1: Travel Agents' Suggested Arctic Travel Destinations (1991)

Destination	Number of First/Sole Recommendations	Total Number of Times Destination was Mentioned[a]
Alaska	38	47
NWT[b]	10	13
Baffin Island	6	13
Yukon Territory	1	13
Northern Quebec/Labrador	5	11
Greenland/Iceland	4	5
Scandinavia	1	3
Other[c]	2	15
--[d]	35	--

Notes:

[a] Will not total 100 owing to multiple responses

[b] No specific mention of the Baffin region Includes those who mailed the Canadian Holidays brochure without specifying either Baffin or the other NWT destinations included in it

[c] Includes several subarctic and non-arctic areas as well as Antarctica

[d] No suggestion offered - includes those who did not pursue the inquiry returning my call

Clearly, the Baffin region receives less 'promotion' from agents than a variety of other arctic destinations. It might be considered to be the logical arctic destination from Montreal, all things being equal, as it is situated directly north and is thus the closest destination in the arctic circle. Also, Montreal is on a direct flight route to Iqaluit and Resolute Bay. However, recommendations to the NWT/Baffin region placed a distant second in frequency to Alaska.

Cruises to Alaska were the most frequently recommended option, with 38% of agents suggesting them as a first choice. This figure rises to 47% if alternative options are included. Agents have a strong information base on Alaskan cruises and the state in general. Most stressed the beautiful scenery, impressive service, and good organization for tourists. There may be other reasons for the heavy emphasis on cruises. Because cruise packages usually include flights, transfers, meals and entertainment, the agent's role as provider of information is reduced and the sale can be made with the minimum of effort (Del Rosso 1988).

Apart from the prominence of Alaska in the minds of travel agents, there is also a lack of knowledge on arctic destinations. Over one third of the agents were unable to offer any information on the arctic or were not interested in pursuing the inquiry. Most agents said that they had never arranged a trip to the arctic. Two agents suggested that the region would not be a popular destination from Quebec. Although one would not elaborate, the other explained that it is due to the fact that the spoken language in the region is English rather than French. Nevertheless, it is important to note that Quebec remains the Baffin region's second most important market (19.5% of arrivals) after Ontario (40.5%) (Acres 1988).

Nearly two-thirds of the agents asked for specific information about the Baffin region were unable, or unwilling, to provide any information (Table 4.2). Only 35% could supply even the most basic information, 80% of whom returned the call once or more after having searched for the information. Although just four agents admitted that they had no idea where the Baffin region is, much of the misinformation, and lack of information, indicates that the actual figure is much higher.

Table 4.2: Travel Agents' Ability to Provide Information on the Baffin Region

Level of Response	No information	Some Information
Immediate	65% (39)	6.6% (4)
1 return call	--	21.7% (13)
2+ return calls	--	6.6% (4)

Details of flights to Iqaluit, the regional gateway, were the most common type of information supplied (Table 4.3). Those who supplied it were, however, in the minority despite the fact that agents have this information available on computerized reservation systems. One agent said that there were definitely no planes going there while others suggested driving, taking a ferry, or going by train. This information is, of course, inaccurate. Hotel information was offered by five agents and consisted of supplying the names and rates of three hotels in Iqaluit. No hotels in any other community were mentioned, nor was any alternative type of accommodation, such as camping.

Table 4.3: Nature of Information on the Baffin Region Supplied by Travel Agents

Nature of information	Number of times it was supplied	Percentage of agents that supplied it
Tours	8	13.3%
Flights	17	28.3%
Accommodation	5	8 3%
Attractions/Side trips	6	10%
Further details[a]	4	6 7%
Brochures	2	3.3%
Referred to government tourism board	6	10%
Suggested alternative destination	4	6 7%

Note: [a] weather, best time to go

Most knew nothing about, or said there were no tours to, the Baffin. The most well known tour was that offered by Canadian Holidays, featuring packages to Pangnirtung and Pond Inlet. Two others spoke of tours but sent or quoted brochures detailing tours to Banff, Alberta. An interesting question arises as to the type of travel agents that were able to provide information on package tours. For example, independent agencies are expected to offer a wider range of holiday opportunities than members of large chains or consortiums, not being bound to particular suppliers, (Chapter 2).

The most frequently mentioned community in the region was Iqaluit. This is understandable since it is the region's largest centre, and the gateway to other communities. Some agents said that as it is the largest town, Iqaluit was the best destination, or even "the only place to go". In the cases where the travel agent had information on tours, side trips or attractions, Pangnirtung was suggested most often (10 times) while the nearby Auyuittuq National Park was mentioned on five occasions. Next in frequency was Pond Inlet, due mainly to its inclusion in the Canadian Holidays package tour to Baffin Island.

Several agents commented on the region's infrastructural preparedness for tourists, an issue which has been noted by several sources (Anderson 1991). One agent recommended the Baffin region as it possesses an infrastructure necessary for the neophyte arctic tourist. Another, however, felt that Greenland or Iceland has better development/backup services than the Baffin, while yet another said that the Baffin region had no tourist facilities at all.

Information regarding attractions and activities was limited. One agent felt that the further north one goes, the better it is and included Pond Inlet among three most interesting villages. He cautioned, however, that while many people would find nothing to do in the region other types of tourist would find just being there "a revelation". Most, however, were of the opinion that there is not much to do there besides hunt and that one would have had enough of the place after three or four days. Among those with any information, there was a general consensus that the attractions of the region are land based, including hunting, fishing, birdwatching, and hiking.

There was little tangible difference in results when agents were approached in person. The majority, 65%, claimed to have no information on the Baffin region. Just 20% offered flight information. The most common approach, taken by 55% of agents, was to make a call or a referral to a government tourism board. Interestingly, just 10% of agents telephoned took this approach. Perhaps this was due to a reluctance on the part of some agents to allow a potential client walk away empty handed. Two agents offered the Canadian Holidays brochure and another had it on the shelf but neglected to refer to it.

It is clear that the Baffin region has largely failed to make an impression, either positive or negative, with Montreal travel agents. Most were unable or unwilling to provide information about the Baffin region. The number would likely have been even lower had Canadian Holidays, the country's largest tour operator, not included some Baffin tours in its 1991 "Canada" brochure. This supports observations made by the GNWT, which noted that it has a low profile as a tourist destination and has failed to develop solid connections with, nor even a distinct reputation in the minds of, consumers or members of the travel trade (GNWT 1990a). It has been estimated, for example, that the NWT is capturing just 17% of potential North American market for pleasure travel (TIA of the NWT 1988). It is likely that the lack of knowledge of travel agents is at least partially responsible.

While it is not possible to isolate which factors are responsible for agents' low level of knowledge about package tours to the region, the limited marketing budget of the GNWT, a fraction of that of Alaska, must be held at least partially responsible. Whatever the cause, it is clear that tour operators have poor connections with travel agents. When one considers that 1991 saw 23 companies offering 69 different tour packages to the region (GNWT 1991b), the extent of the information gap is clear. While it may be argued that agents are not important sources of information for Baffin tourists (Acres 1988) this is hardly surprising given the limited amount of accurate travel data that they are able to provide. The question remains as to how the use of travel agents by potential tourists would change if the former were able to provide accurate details about the region.

It is clear that 'naive' tourists who contact agents for information on arctic destinations are likely to be pushed toward Alaska. Those who enquire specifically about the Baffin region will not be adequately informed. This state of affairs will obviously reduce the ability of the GNWT to meet its targets for expanding the flow of visitors to the region.

4.4 Tour Operators as Information Brokers

Previous studies have indicated that small specialist adventure and nature tour operators in both North America and the U.K. do not rely heavily on travel agents to sell their tours (Ziffer 1989; Ogilvie and Dickinson 1992). Studies of adventure travel in Canada make a similar observation, pointing out, however, that the travel trade is not entirely responsible for this situation.

> Most operators(...)ignore and dismiss the importance of the travel trade because they currently receive so little business from this source. On the other hand, the travel trade has until recently been provided very little information about Canadian adventure products (Ethos Consulting 1990, 105).

Nevertheless, travel agents reportedly refer approximately 20 - 25% of the bookings of U.S.-based nature/adventure tour operators (Ingram and Durst 1987; Hunt 1991).

As expected, there was a low usage of travel agents amongst most operators. Ten of fourteen respondents who supplied information regarding their marketing methods, claim that they sell over 80% of their trips directly to the consumer. Repeat customers, and referrals were noted as important sources of clientele. Respondents claim that travel agents sell too broad a range of products to be effective at selling specialized products and that they lack information on the region.

In addition to selling directly to the public, some tour operators sell through international wholesalers. The sole respondent who sells most through agents, targets only specialized adventure agents. One tour operator is increasingly targeting groups such as conference participants, art gallery members, and environmental associations, rather than individuals. A trend toward increasing demand for customized tours for small

groups and individuals was noted by several tour operators.

Other studies of the marketing methods of tour operators, particularly those offering eco- or nature tours, indicate a high reliance on target marketing. Advertisements in special-interest magazines, brochures and direct mail are highly relied on, as are tourism trade shows, newspaper advertisements, provincial directories and word of mouth (Ingram and Durst 1987; Ethos Consulting 1990; Ryel and Grasse 1991).

Similarly, most respondents to the questionnaire/ interview feel that their market is very specialized and so demands targeting their marketing efforts. Direct mail is a popular method of doing so. There is also much use of advertisements in special interest magazines: arts magazines for art tours, hunting magazines for hunting trips, nature/outdoor magazines for nature/outdoor tours. One respondent also uses newspaper ads. All respondents have produced some sort of brochure. Virtually all are listed in the annual territorial directory "Explorers' Guide". Those who sell to other wholesalers and travel agents attend travel trade shows. Several also use slide shows. Only one operator had listed her product on a CRS for a two year period which produced no requests. She believes that her product is too specialized for generalized CRSs.

Indications are that some of these companies are experiencing difficulties reaching intended markets. Surveys of Canadian tour operators specializing in adventure tours have revealed that they percieved marketing and publicity to be one of their biggest constraints to growth (Ethos Consulting 1988; 1990). Respondents in a survey of U.S. based nature operators considered marketing problems the second major growth contraint after negative images of destinations (Ingram and Durst 1987).

Clearly individual sales are proving to be difficult to make hence the move by several operators to selling to various special interest groups or international tour operators rather than to individuals. There is also an indication that at least as big a problem as attracting people, is selling them. One operator complained "I question whether it's worth the effort to convince people to go. Baffin has the most inquiries but the fewest number of conversions". The region's high prices were considered responsible.

The implications are that the market for Baffin tours is very specialized and would

The implications are that the market for Baffin tours is very specialized and would seem likely to remain that way as the companies which package them are not penetrating the mainstream travel trade. Referring to the UK, but with equal relevance for Canada:

> This supply fragmentation presents problems for the potential consumer (...). Unless he or she has access to the relevant specialist media, the choice of holiday will be fairly restricted (Ogilvie and Dickinson 1992, 49-50).

Retaining a small, special interest market may in fact be a positive situation. The region is vulnerable environmentally, culturally, economically and does not appear to favour mass tourism.

However, it must be remembered that the region is competing in a global market with other special interest destinations who may have better links with the tourist trade, particularly through CRS.

> Action has to be taken to protect customers in an environment in which there are others with the technology base to take them away (Jones 1993, 10).

While the nature of the Baffin makes it unlikely to fully penetrate the mainstream travel market, by increasing the awareness of travel agents the region may be able to the reach growing numbers of the mainstream travelling public who appear to be looking for something different (see Chapter 2). The current state of affairs implies that the region is losing potential customers. While the rapidity of technological developments in travel retailing make the future difficult to predict, travel suppliers in relatively unknown regions, and the firms representing them, will undoubtedly face increasing pressure to adopt a minimum level of technology for marketing, distribution and industry linkages (Poon 1988a; Pohlmann and Milne 1993).

Chapter 5: The Role of the Tourist

5.1 Introduction

The motivations and behaviour of tourists are, in large part, responsible for the eventual social/cultural and economic impacts that tourism has on a host community. This chapter begins with an examination of what tourists want from a trip to the Baffin and how satisfied they were with their experience. Attention is focused on tourists' attitudes toward Inuit culture. Tourists' spending patterns are then outlined. Finally, these two factors are related by asking how particular tourist characteristics/motivations relate to spending patterns.

5.2 Respondent Characteristics

The 1993 questionnaire[1] revealed that tourists to the Baffin region come primarily from relatively high income households: almost half have annual household incomes of over $60 000; over one quarter have incomes of over $100 000. Respondents are also highly educated: 59% of respondents are university graduates. A further 20% are college graduates. The age of the respondents varies. Most independent tourists (42%) are aged between 26 and 35. Package tourists are generally older, with 43% over 65. However, this is due to the fact that almost one third of the latter group was composed of members of an elderhostel tour. The majority of respondents are Canadian (46%), with visitors from the U.S. making up a further 42%. The remainder are primarily from the U.K. or other European countries. Nearly one half of the Canadians are from Ontario while just over a quarter are Quebecers.

5.3 Tourist Motivations and Levels of Satisfaction

As Chapter 3 illustrated, many residents of Pond Inlet hope that tourists will learn

[1]The 1993 survey was used for analysis of this question as the 1992 survey mistakenly did not provide an adequate number of response options in the higher income categories

about Inuit culture rather than criticize it. It is important to ask, then, whether tourists are in fact interested in doing so, whether they have had the opportunity to do so, and what impressions of Inuit they leave with.

It is often claimed that tourists are not interested in intense intercultural encounters.

> [T]ourists are less interested in such encounters than they themselves pretend. They are on vacation, which is, by definition supposed to be free from problems. Coming to grips with the problems of a developing country is in itself difficult and thus interferes with the desired pleasures of the vacation (Nettekoven 1979, 136).

These observations, however, apply to mass tourism. As Mathieson and Wall point out, "information on the nature of contacts for forms of tourism other than the mass type is not readily available" (1982, 164). As we saw in Chapter 2, consumers are reputed to be increasingly interested in the educational aspect of tourism (Urry 1990), particularly where it applies to contact with residents of the destination (Harris 1992). This is also signalled by the growth of ecotourism.

5.3.1 Interest in Inuit Culture

The survey questionnaire asked tourists to rate on a scale of 1 (not important) to 7 (extremely important) a variety of possible motives for travelling to the Baffin. For ease of analysis the scale was recategorized into three groups: Unimportant (1-2), Moderately Important (3-5), or Extremely Important (6-7). Relative frequencies of each variable rating extremely important were then ranked (Tables 5.1 and 5.2). The category "Environment/Scenery" was considered the most important attraction to the region by both package and independent tourists. The category "Wilderness" was rated second amongst independent tourists whereas "Inuit People/Cultural Experience" was the second choice for package tourists. "Wildlife" and "Wilderness" were highly rated amongst both groups. "Hike/Camp" featured more important to independent travellers, reflecting a desire for a more land based experience than a culture based one. Thus, while the experience and viewing of nature is highly rated amongst both groups, culture

Table 5.1: Independent Tourists: Motivating Factors

Factor	Number of Responses	Rating %			Rank
		Not Important	Moderately Important	Very Important	
Environment/Scenery	84	----	11.76	88 23	1
Wilderness	82	1.20	13 21	85 54	2
Wildlife	83	8 33	32 14	59 53	5
Inuit people/ Cultural experience	80	3 70	37 03	59.26	4
Peace & Quiet	74	17 33	37.33	45 34	7
Events/festivals	76	72 72	22 08	5 2	11
Photo Opportunity	77	21.79	28.2	50 0	6
A&C[a] Shopping	78	37.97	41.77	20 25	9
History	79	23.75	55.00	21 25	8
Hike/Camp	80	9.88	18.52	72 0	3
Sportfish	74	73 34	20.00	6.67	10
Sporthunt	74	94.59	4.20	1 35	12

[a] Arts and crafts

Table 5.2: Package Tourists: Motivating Factors[a]

Factor	Number of Responses	Rating %			Rank
		Not Important	Moderately Important	Very Important	
Environment/Scenery	68	----	16.17	83.82	1
Wilderness	65	1 54	32 30	66.15	3
Wildlife	63	1.59	39.68	58.73	4
Inuit people/ Cultural experience	64	1.56	15.62	82.81	2
Peace & Quiet	60	30.00	26.67	43.33	5
Events/festivals	56	64.28	23.21	12.5	10
Photo Opportunity	63	22.22	34.92	42.86	7
A&C Shopping	59	25.42	49.14	25.42	9
History	63	14.28	46.04	39.68	8
Hike/Camp	58	32.75	46.04	39.68	6
Sportfish	59	83.05	13.55	3.38	11
Sporthunt	58	98.27	1.72	1.72	12

[a] Other motivations provided by independent and package tourists include "wildflowers birds, animals", "kayaking" "exploring for personal experience - a dream comes true" "Auyuittuq Park" "climbing" "24 hours of day/seeing midnight sun" "experience the arctic ecosystem", "survival trip", "to study the area", "overall interest in visiting different parts of my country" "to visit Canadian arctic a longtime ambition", "geography", "education", "easy access to Greenland"

is also an extremely important drawing point, particularly amongst package tourists.

Several other small-scale surveys of tourist motivation for travel to the Baffin region have confirmed a high degree of interest in the local culture amongst tourists, and potential tourists, to the region. The GNWT has conducted surveys of readers of Arctic Circle Magazine who request visitor information. The majority of respondents considered "Culture/history" as their primary interest. This choice was followed closely in frequency by "hiking/camping", "photography", "National Parks" and "arts and crafts" (GNWT 1991b). A similar survey of recipients of a regional tourist brochure yielded somewhat different results, reflecting perhaps a different readership from the above publication. In this case, "National Parks" was chosen most often, followed by

"photography", and "Culture/history", which tied with "hiking/camping" in third place (GNWT 1991b). A study of tourists to Pangnirtung similarly revealed a high level of curiosity about the social, cultural, economic and political issues facing Inuit today and a lack of satisfaction with the opportunity to sample country foods, to meet carvers, or to have any contact with residents (Reimer 1989; Reimer and Dialla 1992).

A cross-tabulation of several respondent characteristics, such as age, gender, and education level, with interest in Inuit culture produced no statistically significant relationship. There was, however, a relationship between type of travel and interest in Inuit culture which was statistically significant at .05 (Table 5.3). Package tourists were found to be more interested in Inuit culture than tourists travelling independently It may be that they have chosen to travel on a package in part because of this interest and a perception that it is difficult to have exposure to local culture when one travels on one's own.

Table 5.3: Relationship between Type of Travel and Interest in Culture.

Type of Travel	Interest in Inuit People/ Cultural Experience		
	Unimportant	Somewhat Important	Extremely Important
Package N=64	1.56 %	15.62 %	82 81 %
Independent N=81	3.70 %	37 04	59 26 %

These results would appear to confirm the assertion that tourists, particularly ecotourists, are increasingly interested in the culture of the region they visit. However, it is important to note that the definition of a cultural experience varies according to each individual. Some may want to have contact with residents, others may want to see demonstrations of traditional dress and skills, others may be content simply to see a people whom they regard as exotic. For example, one tourist suggested that locals dress up in traditional garments to greet tourists as many tourists were "disappointed that (the community) was so modern".

5.3.2 Level of Satisfaction with Opportunity for Cultural Experience

Tables 5.4 & 5.5 reveal that respondents were relatively unsatisfied with the 'opportunity for cultural interaction', which was rated amongst the least satisfying aspects of the trip for both tourists travelling independently and on package tours. Chi-square tests revealed no statistically significant relationship between degree of satisfaction and type of travel, gender, age, nor education level of respondent. There was, however, a weak level of statistical significance (P=.15) in the relationship between interest in Inuit culture and satisfaction with the opportunity for cultural interaction, suggesting that those who are highly motivated are able to make contact.

Interestingly, 'friendliness of people' was rated the most satisfying element by both groups, with over 90% of each rating it extremely highly. This suggests that it is somewhat difficult to transform the appearance of friendliness into meaningful contact.

Several individuals who went to Baffin with a tour operator specializing in canoe trips, were critical of the company's failure to include elements of Inuit culture in the tour. This indicates that Inuit culture is also of interest to some adventure tourists. One individual expressed this dissatisfaction in response to the questionnaire's final question regarding ways in which the trip could have been improved.

> I would have enjoyed (...) the opportunity to see Inuit dance and other cultural and historic ceremonies. Not enough emphasis on cultural information.

Another would have appreciated having

> a local Innuit (sic) with our group to explain natural/cultural areas, environmental concerns.

Similarly, another independent traveller was "very dissatisfied with the cultural experience":

> I would have liked to hear some Inuit throat singing, to learn more about how they hunt, and use the seal products, etc , but the opportunities never arose. I would have loved to meet the elders, and hear their stories, but again, short of barging into their meetings, how do you meet them? (...) the educational programs aren't in place The ones that are, are too expensive.

Table 5.4: Independent Tourists: Satisfaction Levels

Factor	Number of Responses	Rating %			Rank
		Not Satisfied	Moderately Satisfied	Very Satisfied	
Airline connections	82	4 88	32 92	62 19	5
Quality of Accommodation	56	10 72	30 36	58 93	8
Cost Accommodation	57	21 05	42 10	36 84	11
Quality of Food	62	9 67	56.45	33 87	12
Cost of Food	66	30.30	51 52	18 18	13
Availability of information	71	7 04	33 80	59 15	7
Friendliness of people	76	----	9 20	90 79	1
Guide service	42	2.38	19 05	78 57	3
Natural Attractions	69	----	10 15	89 85	2
Env'l quality	75	10 66	29 33	60 00	6
Availability of A&C	68	5 88	45 58	48 53	9
Quality of A&C	67	2 98	28 35	68 66	4
Opportunity for cultural interaction	69	8 70	47 82	43 48	10

Table 5 5 Package Tourists Satisfaction Levels

Factor	Number of Responses	Rating %			Rank
		Not Satisfied	Moderately Satisfied	Very Satisfied	
Airline connections	65	1 54	24.61	73.84	5
Quality Accommodation	67	1 49	47.76	50.75	11
Cost Accommodation	61	16.40	34.43	49 17	12
Quality of Food	63	1.59	38 09	60.32	9
Cost of Food	49	14.28	42.85	42.85	13
Availability of information	64	1 56	21.87	76.56	3
Friendliness of people	65	----	7.69	92 31	1
Guide service	49	2.04	16.32	81 63	2
Natural Attractions	56	1.78	24.99	73.22	6
Env'l quality	59	3.38	32.10	64.40	8
Availability of A&C	65	----	24.62	75 38	4
Quality of A&C	59	1.69	28.81	69 49	7
Opportunity for cultural interaction	61	3.28	39.35	57.38	10

Those who were offered the opportunity for exposure to Inuit culture usually thought highly of the experience.

> Without reservation, the highlight of the trip was the opportunity to observe (and participate in) the life of the Inuit 'on the land'. Although the observation of wildlife at the floe edge was the intended purpose, this took a secondary place to the 'Inuit life' factor once we were on the ice with our Inuit guides.

One group of three tourists who visited Pond Inlet in 1993 made specific mention of their unfulfilled desire to view hunting and identified a possible explanation.

> We quickly realized that tourists were regarded as Greenpeace members We asked several times to join a seal hunt but noticed lots of reluctance and got negative answers (. .) I regret this fact. It would have been very interesting for us.

Thus it would appear that tourists do in fact value the opportunity to learn about Inuit culture and that perhaps there is room to improve the availability of such opportunities.

5.3.3 Interest in and Impressions of Inuit Culture: Implications

While there is clearly a great deal of interest among visitors in Inuit culture, it is important to ask what kind of impression tourists obtain of their Inuit hosts. For example, is the negative impression feared by residents in fact being instilled in the minds of visitors?

MacCannell (1992, 26) posits that this interest in "primitive" cultures holds largely negative implications. He argues that the postmodern tourist's interest is highly critical and value-laden, focusing on the attempt to capture the essence of "unspoiled nature and savagery". This results in a tendency for tourists to impose on cultural groups their own view of what constitutes a 'traditional' ethnic identity.

> The touristic requirement that a group internalize an 'authentic' ethnic identity, even if the promoted image is widely held to be a positive one, is no less a constraint than the earlier form of negative ethnic stereotyping... [O]ne is only doing with admiration what was done earlier with dogs, guns, and bureaucratic and economic terrorism (ibid, 179).

For this reason, he concludes that "ethnic tourism is the mirror image of racism" (ibid, 170).

The implication is that Inuit encountered during a trip to the arctic may be judged more harshly than members of the tourist's own cultural group. There is the potential, therefore, for a negative attitude to result when confronted with the northern reality of modern hunting technology or what appears to be an occasional wasting of food. Wenzel (1985; 1991) has observed that within the animal rights movement, in particular, there is "a resentment that Inuit have not risen above the crass consumerism of southern society" (Wenzel 1985, 87). It remains an important question as to what degree the general public has internalized this view. Yet even among those non-Inuit living in the

North, Brody (1975) has observed that Inuit are criticized both for not being 'White enough' and simultaneously for not living up to the Whites' idea of "perfect Eskimo-ness" (Ibid., 86).

There is evidence, albeit anecdotal, that some tourists do indeed find some hunting related aspects of the Inuit culture objectionable. For example, in a letter to the editor of a nature magazine, a tourist to Pond Inlet expressed a distaste for what he viewed as acts of waste of wildlife resources. "I am left with images of waste (...) by men with rifles and snowmobiles" (Nature Canada 1988a). Several responding tourists did make mention of related anecdotes and impressions, both verbally and in written form. Because of their small number, they are included here for illustrative purposes only, and are not intended to represent the views of the majority.

A German student, on a packaged photo tour to Pond Inlet, objected to the hunting of narwhal. He stated that he could accept hunting yet he found the amount killed to be excessive. He would not say how many he saw (Roll-Passmore, Field Notes 1992). A group of Americans camping and kayaking in Cumberland Sound, near Pangnirtung, noted that from their camp they heard gunshots associated with seal hunting. Although two members of the party made light of it, they nevertheless found it significant enough to mention it without encouragement (Roll-Passmore 1992). The other party members found the sound disturbing as well as its effects on the seals, which were thus too timid to approach them so they could have a closer look. The questionnaire of one of the party members contained the comment: "The shooting of seals is loud and obtrusive".

The issue of waste was also noted. A geologist from New Brunswick, visiting Nanisivik, was

> shocked by the apparent total disregard of the northerners for the environment and for conservation of the natural resources (polar bear, narwhal, seal, etc.).

He commented verbally about what he perceived to be a wastage of animals, and particularly about having heard about the killing of narwhal just for their tusk in Lancaster Sound. A similar comment was directed at the people of Pond Inlet by a pilot

based there. He believes that tourists will find such actions offensive and that it will deter them from coming (Roll-Passmore Field Notes 1992).

In order to attempt to get a clearer understanding of tourists' attitudes toward hunting, the 1993 questionnaire asked whether respondents had been witness to any such activity. As the question was presented as an 'add-on' to the questionnaire, 31% of questionnaire respondents chose not to complete this question. This left 99 respondents. Three quarters of them reported not having witnessed any hunting Almost half of this group said that they did not want to see this activity. It is not clear, however, if this was just due to lack of interest, or stemmed from a clear distaste for such an experience. Interestingly, 40% of this group claimed that they wanted to have this experience but the opportunity was lacking. For those who did view hunting, just one individual described it as a negative experience. Twenty (83%) described it as a positive experience.

It is important to point out that a lack of desire to witness hunting does not necessarily indicate a lack of respect for Inuit culture. Several tourists I spoke with made comments similar to the following:

> Although I understand the native peoples of the North must hunt to live, I don't care to witness it. It is something I put up with when I visit.

This information is anecdotal and far from conclusive. However, it suggests that while residents' fears about tourists' negative views of hunting may in some cases be justified, there is also some degree of interest in Inuit hunting that will not be met as long as locals suspect that tourists take a negative view of it.

5.4 Patterns of Expenditure

This section employs information supplied by tourists as to the sectoral breakdown of their total expenditure while in the region.

> It is the expenditure behaviour of tourists which initiates the chain of events leading to an economic impact upon a host community (Milne 1987c, 19).

This analysis will indicate which sectors are most closely linked to tourism Chapter 6 will then demonstrate how these sectors are in turn connected to the local economy in

terms of their generation of local income and employment.

Tables 5.6 and 5.7 provide the average daily expenditures for, respectively, tourists travelling independently and on package tours. These figures indicate that the most significant area of expenditure is arts and crafts, amounting to 38% of average daily expenditure of independent tourists, or $32 per day. Among package tourists it accounts for a similar amount of expenditure, but is obviously more significant proportionately. Next in importance is accommodation and meals, which together account for over 36% of expenditure among independent tourists, or $26 per day. This is followed by $15 per day spent on transportation and tours while in the region, 18% of daily expenditure.

Table 5.6: Independent Tourists' Average Daily Expenditure Totals and Patterns (per person)

Expenditure Category	Average Daily Expenditure ($Cdn & %)	
	Iqaluit	Second Community Visited
Accommodation[a]	$ 9.21 10.73%	$11.27 13.14%
Meals	$ 3.96 4.61%	$ 2.00 2.33%
Transportation[b]/Tours	$ 3.67 4.28%	$11.69 13.63%
Groceries	$ 1.23 1.43%	$ 2.57 3.00%
Arts & Crafts	$12.69 14.79%	$19.57 22.81%
Other	$ 1.04 1.21%	$ 6.48[c] 7 55%
Total per community	$31.80 37.05%	$53.58 62 46%
Total		$85.38 100.00%

Notes: [a] Accommodation figures often include meals at hotel

[b] Does not include airfare

[c] This figure includes $5 29 which is the total figure spent by anyone going to a third community; sectoral breakdown of third community figures are unavailable

Table 5.7: Package Tourists' Average Daily Expenditure Totals and Patterns[a] (per person)

Expenditure Category	Average Daily Expenditure ($Cdn & %)			
	Iqaluit		Second Community Visited	
Accommodation	$ 3.12	5.74%	$ 1.94	3 57%
Meals	$ 3 13	5 77%	$ 28	51%
Transportation/Tours	$ 4 47	8.24%	$ 1 31	2 41%
Groceries	$00.28	.52%	$ .77	1 41%
Arts & Crafts	$13.56	24.97%	$21 44	39 49%
Other	$ 3.13	5.76%	$ .88	1 62%
Total per community	$27.69	51.00%	$26.62	49 00%
Total			$54.31	100 00%

Notes: [a] Does not include package price breakdown (see Table 5 8)

It must be remembered however, that the vast majority of the expenditure of package tourists is on the package tour, which is not considered in Table 5.7. The typical breakdown of a package tour to the Baffin region is illustrated in Table 5.8.

Table 5.8 Package Tour Price Breakdown

Transportation	Outfitter/Guide	Wholesaler/Retailer	Hotel/Meals	Total
40.00 %	26.50 %	20.20 %	13.30 %	100 %

Source: GNWT 1992

Note. Respondents to the tour operator survey generally did not include airfare in their breakdown of price, for comparability with these figures, those reported in table work out as follows. Outfitter 44 17%, Wholesaler: 33 67%, Hotel· 22.17%.

These are, however, average figures. The portion accruing to the community, in the form of payments to outfitters/guides and hotels/meals, clearly depends on the type of tour (Sinclair 1991), and consequently the extent to which the company uses these services. Adventure tour operators have a lower usage of these items than those

offering tours with a wildlife or cultural orientation. Adventure tour operators participating in this study typically report that no more than 40% of their costs accrue to the region, less than the average figure of 66% (not considering airfare) reported in Table 5.8. In one case, a tour operator offering hiking tours from Pangnirtung claims that her only local expense is for guide transport to trailhead, amounting to approximately 10 percent of tour price (not considering airfare).

The following discussions focus in more detail on the categories accounting for the largest proportion of expenditure: accommodation, meals, and arts and crafts. Transportation/tours will be discussed in Chapter 6.

5.4.1 Accommodation

Although distribution of expenditure categories can be expected to vary between destinations and type of tourist, in other locations accommodation and food tend to account for the largest category of expenditure, amounting to 73% of daily expenditure in the Cook Islands (Milne 1987c) and comprising at least 50% of expenditure per trip in several Caribbean islands (Bryden 1973). Indeed, data on visitors to Canada indicates that this category places second after transportation (Tourism Canada 1990). Such is not the case in the Baffin region, where camping accounts for most tourist nights (Table 5.9).

Table 5.9: Type of Accommodation used by Independent Tourists

Type of Accommodation	Percentage of Total Nights
Camping	73.19
Private home	10.99
Hotel/lodge	11.76
Cabin	1 98
Bed and Breakfast	1.43
Other	.66

Independent tourists spent the vast majority of their nights camping, which accounts for the low daily expenditure on accommodation and meals. Similarly, many package tours also are based around camping, with one or two nights spent in a hotel at the start and end of the tour. While camping is an important part of the experience for many independent tourists (Table 5.1), a few commented that they would have appreciated a cheap, basic form of accommodation in which to spend some of their nights. Such accommodation is rare. Available accommodation is commonly regarded as too highly priced (Tables 5.4, 5.5).

> There seems to be a large gap in services and facilities between the shoestring campers (me) and the luxury hotel class(...). The alternatives were free camping or $200/night. (...)(I)t would be nice to have a low budget 'hostel' type accommodation with shower and laundry facilities(...)I would have stayed a couple of nights in such a place to clean up and dry off.

> If we had not had private accommodation at Pond Inlet, the trip would have been rendered financially impossible.

5.4.2 Country Foods

Meals account for a substantial proportion of accommodation price (half the nightly rate in the case of Pond Inlet). Thus the degree to which the food supplies required by hotels, restaurants, and supermarkets are local in origin as opposed to being imported, will have a significant effect on tourism's economic benefits to the host region. Linkage of local agriculture into the tourist industry can provide employment and income in sectors related to the production, processing, preparation and distribution of local agricultural products (Bélisle 1980; GNWT 1990a).

Bélisle has observed that food for the tourist industry is commonly imported instead of produced locally (1980). In his study, Jamaican hoteliers blamed this situation on supply and quality problems with local products. Yet there is a prominent assumption, in both the hoteliers' and Bélisle's own explanation, that tourists prefer to eat foods to which they are accustomed. The need to question this assumption is made apparent by recent indications that ecotourists do in fact value the opportunity to try

new foods while on holiday (see Chapter 2).

The questionnaire asked tourists what type of country foods they had eaten on their trip or would have been interested in eating if available. The list of foods was derived from the Acres tourist questionnaire (1988). That study indicated that over 70% of respondents had tried arctic char and nearly 50%, caribou. Seal, Baffin shrimp and scallops and Greenland halibut (turbot) were sampled by a minority.

The results of the current study similarly identify arctic char and caribou as the most commonly consumed country foods (Tables 5.10 and 5.11). However, more package tourists report having eaten them than those travelling independently. Over 90% of package tourists report having eaten char at least once, compared with 68% of independent travellers. Caribou was eaten by almost 85% of package tourists versus just over 50% of independent travellers.

The higher incidence of consumption of country foods amongst package tourists is likely due in part to the fact that most independent travellers bring their food, often in freeze dried form suitable for hiking/camping. Thus they would not have had much opportunity to consume local foods. This may also suggest that the supply of these

Table 5.10: Consumption of Country Foods Amongst Package Tourists

Food	# Responses	# of times eaten (by % of respondents)			
		Once	Twice or more	Not at all	Would have if available
Caribou	66	40.91	43.94	7.57	7 57
Arctic char	70	21 43	71 43	2.86	4.28
Seal	45	22.22	-----	26.67	51 11
Greenland Halibut	45	2.22	2.22	48.89	46 67
Scallop	45	2.22	-----	55 55	42.22
Shrimp	46	15 22	2.18	41.30	41.30
Whale	48	14 58	2.08	33.33	50 00
Muskox	44	4.54	-----	43.18	52 27

Table 5.11: Consumption of Country Foods Amongst Independent Tourists.

Food	# Responses	# of times eaten (by % of respondents)			
		Once	Twice or more	Not at all	Would have if available
Caribou	77	31 17	19 48	15 58	33 77
Arctic char	79	29.11	39 24	6 33	25 32
Seal	61	13 11	3 28	22 95	60 65
Greenland Halibut	55	3.64	-----	30 91	65 45
Scallop	58	8 62	3 45	27 59	60 34
Shrimp	58	5.17	10 34	27 59	56 90
Whale	69	26 09	1 45	20 29	52 17
Muskox	61	3 28	1.64	32 79	62 29

foods must be organized by the tour operator in conjunction with local suppliers It may be difficult for those travelling independently to access country food in some communities. Indeed, several hikers commented that they would have purchased some country foods had they known that they were available and where to purchase them.

Very few other local foods were tasted despite an apparent interest in doing so Even those foods which are most foreign to non-northerners, such as seal and whale, appear to be of interest. It must be noted, however, that not all of the above foods are available, even theoretically, in all Baffin communities: scallops and shrimp are associated with Cumberland Sound fisheries in Pangnirtung, and Grise Fiord is the only community where muskox is harvested. Indeed, it is likely that some communities are more able than others to provide tourists with country foods

Type of travel is not the only factor influencing whether or not tourists eat country food. A cross tabulation of interest in "Inuit culture/cultural experience" and incidence of consumption of, or interest in consuming, country food revealed that those more interested in the culture were also more likely to partake of arctic char ($p = 0.02$)

It appears that on the demand side, the potential exists for increasing the proportion of locally harvested food in the tourist's diet. Foods other than char and caribou might be introduced to package tourists and all foods made more available to those travelling independently. It is unclear, however, whether those that did eat some country foods on one or more occasions would have appreciated the opportunity to consume more.

As Tables 5.4 and 5.5 illustrated, both groups ranked the cost of food amongst the least satisfying aspects of their trip. Perhaps if country foods could be supplied more cheaply than food 'imported' from the south, satisfaction might be increased. It is also possible that country food might be perceived to provide more value for money. Similarly, the higher degree of satisfaction with the quality of food expressed by package tourists (60% of whom were highly satisfied versus 34% of independent travellers) might be partly a reflection of the fact that this group received more country food. It also suggests that the services of the tour company are important to the organization of food services.

5.4.3 Purchase of Arts and Crafts

Arts and crafts account for the largest proportion of tourist expenditure (Tables 5.6 and 5.7). Elsewhere, this proportion is much smaller (Milne 1987c). This difference can perhaps be accounted for by the fact that most handicrafts are high end items, often costing several hundred dollars a piece, as well as by the low relative expenditure on accommodation. As well, carvings in particular are associated with Inuit in the public mind, thus compelling a high proportion of tourists to make such purchases (Blundell 1993). In fact, 75% of tourists responding to the questionnaire reported having purchased some type of arts and crafts. Carvings account for at least 73% of expenditure on arts and crafts, followed by prints (6.6%), clothing (5.8%), and jewellery (5.5%).

As Tables 5.4 and 5.5 illustrated, availability of arts and crafts was rated rather differently by independent versus package tourists: the latter were extremely satisfied in 75% of cases, the former in 49% of cases. This difference cannot be explained by differing levels of interest in shopping for arts and crafts between the two groups as they

considered it to be of similar importance (Tables 5.1 & 5.2). The findings suggest that the services of the tour guide assist the tourists in locating these items GNWT policy (1990a) has in fact been aimed at strengthening links between the tourism industry and the arts and crafts sector. The findings noted above indicate that in general, it has been successful (but see Milne et al 1994a) However, as will be demonstrated below, some tourists are more likely than others to purchase arts and crafts

5.5 Relationship Between Motivations and Spending Patterns

While there is much speculation that changes in consumer demand might increase the economic impacts of tourism in peripheral areas, detailed information linking particular consumer motivations/ attitudes with economic or socio-cultural impacts at the community-level remains scarce. As Cohen (1984) notes, most research has dealt with mass tourism. This is a serious omission since

> one of the most important factors affecting the types of impacts (both economic and socio-cultural) that tourism brings will be the types of tourists that are attracted to a community (Milne and Wenzel 1991, 17)

This section will compare the expenditure patterns just reported with the tourist attitudes and motivations outlined earlier. Such data may assist communities, such as Pond Inlet, to "make an informed decision about the types of tourists it wants to attract" (ibid, 17) Chapter 3 revealed that residents want tourists to be interested in and respectful of their culture. In this section I will also ask whether there is an economic rationale for targeting "cultural" tourists. Do these tourists vary in their spending behaviour from those who are primarily "nature" or "adventure" oriented?

It must be noted, however, that categories such as nature, culture and adventure tourists are unlikely to exist as clearly defined, exclusive entities most respondents considered motivations related to all three categories to be very important, therefore it would be misleading to classify them into distinct groupings These classifications are, however, useful in illustrating the relationship between particular attitudes and impacts

Boo (1990) reports that where nature is tourists' main reason for visiting a country, parties had a higher total, as well as daily, expenditure in the country than those

reporting that nature was not an important factor. This conclusion is, however, hampered by several methodological shortcomings. The study includes tourists whose main motivation was to visit friends and relatives, the expenditure of whom can be expected to be lower than that of other tourists. Further, since expenditure is not broken down by sector, it is difficult to conclude what the reasons are for this difference in expenditure.

It has been hypothesized that since adventure/wilderness oriented tourists spend most of their time out on the land, their economic impact on the communities is minimal (Milne and Wenzel 1991). As Wall (1993, no pagination) has noted, "it is difficult to spend money in the wilderness". Indeed Milne and Wenzel (1991) argue that tourists who are strongly interested in Inuit culture will spend more time, and consequently more money, in the community. Stoffle et al. (1979) found that tourists in the southwestern United States who held a positive attitude to indigenous peoples on reservations spent significantly more on curios when visiting them than did those who held negative attitudes. Those who feel positive about a people closely associated with a region are likely to "purchase more or better curios to remember the experience" (ibid, 304).

Following the methodology employed by Stoffle et al. (1979), tourists' average daily expenditure, in total as well as broken down by sector, was related to tourist type (defined by motivation for travel to the region). Results were then subjected to t-tests of statistical significance. In those cases where the total number of responses in a category numbers less than five, results were omitted.

Table 5.12 illustrates that independent tourists with a strong interest in "hiking/camping" spent less than one quarter of those who found it moderately or not important (p= respectively, 0.01 and 0.0025). Similarly, where "wilderness" was very important, tourists spent about half the amount of those who considered it of moderate importance (p=0.05). These findings are not unexpected, as those who value the wilderness experience and the opportunity for hiking and camping will be relatively self-sufficient, particularly in terms of accommodation and meals.

Where interest in "wildlife" is concerned, the opposite pattern is evident. Those who considered wildlife to be of primary importance in choosing the region spent over

double the amount of those who considered it unimportant and about one third more than those for whom it was moderately important (p= respectively 0.05 and 0.10). This group spent more on transport/tours, accommodation, art, and miscellaneous items. Those wanting to observe wildlife will commonly require a local guided tour in order to facilitate this. The purchase of art, commonly depicting wildlife, may serve as a reminder of this experience.

Table 5.12 : Relationship between Motivations and Expenditure: Independent Tourists

Motivation	Average Total Daily Expenditure (per person)			T-Test Results
	1. Unimportant	2. Moderately Important	3. Very Important	
Inuit/Cultural Experience	$60.59 (SD=$45.55) N=3	$65.03 (SD=$80.37) N=27	$77.20 (SD=86.34) N=44	**3/2:** p=0.20
Wilderness	n/a	$123.93 (SD=89.03) N=11	$64.36 (SD=$79.00) N=64	**3/2:** p=0.05
Hike/Camp	$188.65 (SD=92.99) N=8	$131.35 (SD=$105.13) N=13	$42.32 (SD=$45.46) N=54	**3/2:** p=0.01 **3/1:** p=0.0025 **2/1:** p=0.15
Wildlife	$40.30 (SD=$38.07) N=6	$56.03 (SD=$66.70) N=26	$87.24 (SD=92.75) N=44	**3/2:** p=0.10 **3/1:** p=0.05 **2/1:** p=0.25

Notes: SD = Standard Deviation
N = Number of respondents in category

It was hypothesized that those more interested in the local culture would spend more on handicrafts, spend more time in the communities, thereby requiring accommodation and meals, and be more likely to pay for guided tours. Although a high degree of interest in "Inuit people/cultural experience" was indeed associated with a

higher mean total expenditure than a moderate interest, the difference was not statistically significance (p=0.20).

Results obtained for package tourists are similar to those for independent tourists, however, they yielded no statistically significant relationship between expenditure and any of the motivations considered. The expenditure patterns of this group will, to a large extent, be influenced by the structures and features of their tour packages One must expect, therefore, that any association between motivation and expenditure will be less direct in this data set.

Since spending on arts and crafts accounts for the largest portion of total expenditure, and because of its importance as an earner of local income, it is presented on its own (Table 5.14). Since expenditure in this area should theoretically not be affected by either travel arrangements or length of stay, it is presented for all tourists together, so as to increase sample size, and calculated on a total rather than daily basis.

Before going on to consider this relationship, it is interesting to note that package tourists report a significantly higher incidence of purchase of arts and crafts than do independent travellers, respectively 86% versus just over 67% (Table 5.13).

Table 5.13: Relationship Between Type of Travel and Purchase of Arts and Crafts.

Type of Travel	Purchase of Arts and Crafts	
	Yes	No
Package	55 (85.94 %)	9 (14.06 %)
Independent	55 (67 07 %)	27 (32 93 %)

This finding may reflect the two groups' different level of satisfaction with the availability of arts and crafts (section 5.4.3). It may also be the result of package tourists being more willing to spend extra money on incidentals as the bulk of their expenditure has been made far in advance of the trip. Despite this finding, however, there was no statistically significant difference in the amount of expenditure on arts and crafts between the two groups: package tourists spent an average of $258 per person,

whereas independent tourists spent $220.

Table 5.14 illustrates the relationship between tourist type, defined by motivation for travel to the region, and expenditure on arts and crafts. Results are similar to those for total daily expenditure, with differing levels of statistical significance. Average expenditure on arts & crafts is positively associated with interest in wildlife. Those for whom wildlife is a major motivation for visiting the region, so-called nature tourists, spent on average $271 per person trip on arts and crafts compared to those with a moderate interest, who spent $151.

Both interest in wilderness and interest in hiking/camping, interests characteristic of a soft-adventure tourist profile, are negatively associated with arts & crafts expenditure. Those rating hiking/camping as a very important motive spent an average of $150 on arts and crafts, while those who considered it unimportant, spent more than double this, at $383. While a similar pattern is suggested for the wilderness motivation, the level of significance is low (p=0.15).

Although mean expenditure does appear to increase with degree of interest in Inuit culture, results are not statistically significant. Thus, the finding of Stoffle et al. (1979) was not confirmed in this study. One might have hypothesized that this relationship would be stronger since these items are made exclusively by Inuit and are considered to be symbolic of Inuit culture (Blundell 1993). However, since the subject matter portrayed in carvings is very often arctic wildlife their purchase is perhaps more closely associated with wildlife than with Inuit culture.

Nevertheless, while those indicating hiking and camping as their most important motivating factor are the lowest spenders on arts, those among them who expressed a stronger interest in Inuit culture spent significantly more on arts ($176) than those who expressed a moderate interest ($76). The difference in means is significant at p=0.05. Thus, an interest in Inuit culture is in fact associated with a higher expenditure.

5.14: Relationship Between Motivation and Expenditure on Arts and Crafts

Motivation	Average Expenditure on Arts & Crafts (per person/per trip)			T-Test Results
	1. Unimportant	2. Moderately Important	3 Very Important	
Inuit/Cultural Experience	$175 (SD=$97.08) N=4	$188.52 (SD=$307.72) N=33	$230 98 (SD=$383 49) N=93	3/2 Not significant, 3/1 p=0 25
Wilderness	n/a	$282.42 (SD=310.87) N=29	$205 16 (SD=374.26) N=101	3/2 p=0 15
Hike/Camp	383.20 (SD=$602.56) N=24	$240.39 (SD=$263.48) N=24	$150.78 (SD=$239 07) N=78	3/2· p=0.10 3/1· p=0.05 2/1· p=0.15
Wildlife	$92.86 (SD=$99.10) N=7	$150.99 (SD=$168 09) N=49	$270.97 (SD=444.99) N=75	3/2· p=0 02 3/1. p=0 02 2/1: p=0 15

5.6 Summary

Natural and cultural attractions figure most prominently amongst motivations for travel to the Baffin region. Indications are, however, that while tourists are highly satisfied with the region's natural attractions, they are less satisfied with the opportunity provided for cultural interaction.

Travel motivation is associated with significant differences in expenditure. While arts and crafts account for the highest proportion of expenditure, it is higher among those for whom wildlife is a key motivating factor than among those for whom it is less important. The pattern is reversed where hiking/camping is a key motivating factor. A community's gross level of tourism receipts will therefore depend in large part on the type of tourism it specializes in.

Travel style (package tour or independent travel) is also associated with significant

implications for economic and socio-cultural impacts. It is commonly believed that package tourists are associated with a higher degree of socio-cultural disruption and a lower degree of economic benefits accruing to the destination (Rodenberg 1980; Meijer 1989). In the case of the Baffin region, where package tourists are not associated with mass tourism, these assumptions should be questioned. Package tourists are more interested in Inuit culture, consume more country foods, have a higher degree of usage of paid accommodation, and are more likely to purchase arts and crafts than independent tourists.

These results indicate that communities specializing in packaged wildlife-viewing tours, such as Pond Inlet, stand to benefit from a relatively high degree of tourist expenditure. In the next chapter, further evidence regarding Pond Inlet's gross tourism receipts is presented, as is the community's ability to generate local income and employment from these receipts.

Chapter 6: The Economic Impact of Tourism in Pond Inlet

6.1 Introduction

This chapter seeks to assess the current economic performance of Pond Inlet's tourist industry. The discussion begins with a review of multiplier analysis, a common method of measuring the local income and employment generated by tourism expenditure. Some factors commonly associated with tourism's often less than optimal performance as a tool for regional economic development are also discussed. After assessing factors relating to the gross receipts from tourism accruing to Pond Inlet, a much simplified multiplier analysis is applied, where data permits. The analysis is aimed at determining the local income and employment generation potential of the four sectors most closely associated with tourism in the community: accommodation, outfitting/guiding, arts and crafts, and food services.

6.2 Determining the Economic Impacts of Tourism: Multiplier Analysis

The actual change in local income and employment that results from an injection of tourist expenditure into an economy has most commonly been measured by means of multiplier analysis (Archer 1977; Archer 1982; Milne 1992a). Multipliers measure and reflect the interrelationships of both *direct* and *secondary* tourist expenditure. The *direct* economic impact occurs when a tourist spends money in a hotel or store. A proportion of this expenditure will generate income, employment and government revenue within the business. The degree of direct local income generation (IG) and employment generation (EG) will be determined by the magnitude and pattern of tourist expenditure and by the proportion of this input attributable to wages, salaries and profits. Thus, labour intensive operations will tend to have relatively large coefficients (Fletcher and Archer 1991; Milne 1992a).

Another determining factor is the structure of the tourist industry. Tourist facilities in developing areas are often characterized by high levels of foreign involvement (ownership, management contracts, etc.). Such firms usually repatriate a large portion of their profits, lowering tourism's direct IG. Similarly, foreign ownership

often leads to employment of non-residents, particularly in the most lucrative positions. This results in relatively low EGs (Bryden 1973; Cleverdon 1979; Britton 1983; Milne 1987b; Sinclair and Sutcliffe 1988).

Tourism's *secondary* impacts occur as those individuals/ businesses that receive direct tourism income re-spend it locally. Part of the tourist business' receipts are used to purchase the goods and services required to run the firm and thus are passed on to the firms supplying these inputs. If these suppliers are local, tourist expenditure will generate a further round of *indirect* local income and employment creation (Archer 1982; Milne 1987c; Fletcher and Archer 1991). A further round of *induced* income and employment generation impact occurs when residents spend this income locally (Milne 1992a).

The indirect effects depend on the degree of localized inter-industrial linkages between tourist businesses and those sectors that supply them with goods and services (Archer 1982). In underdeveloped regions, characterized by limited industrial bases, localized inter-industrial linkages are often limited, leading to a high degree of leakage of gross tourism receipts from the economy. The larger the proportion of financial flows that leak from the region the lower the 'multiplier' effect will be (Archer 1977; Cleverdon 1979; Sinclair and Sutcliffe 1988). The level of importation is also influenced by the demands of tourists. For example, when tourists demand 'imported' foods hotels will make less use of local produce.

IG coefficients are expressed as a proportion of local income generated per unit of tourist expenditure. In other words, an IG of .50 means that for every dollar a tourist spends in the community, 50 cents becomes local income. In this study, EG is expressed as the amount of turnover in a business required to create one full-time job.

While tourism multipliers are often expressed as an average value for the economy as a whole, some work has been aimed at disaggregating the analysis to provide insights into the abilities of different firms and sectors to generate local income and employment (Brownrigg and Greig 1975; Milne 1987a). For example, Milne (1992a, 205) has demonstrated that "small, locally owned tourism businesses tend to have more localized input linkages, and exhibit larger IG and EG coefficients than larger (sometimes foreign controlled) counterparts". Similarly certain types of businesses, such as

handicrafts, tend to provide larger IGs and EGs as they rely on local materials and labour.

This study uses a much simplified disaggregated multiplier at the direct level only. The structural realities of the local economy mean that it would be of limited utility to attempt to conduct a 'full-blown' multiplier analysis. Attention is, however, drawn to policy measures which might increase the multiplier at the indirect level. The intention is rather to highlight the economic performance of the industry and to point to potential areas where linkages may be improved.

6.3 Pond Inlet's Gross Tourism Receipts

Because of the logistics involved in getting access to the rather isolated sites that make up Pond Inlet's tourism natural resource base, the community's tourist industry is largely based on guided tours. They are arranged into packages which include transport between the community and sites of interest, three or four days of camping on the land, as well as at least one night before and after the trip spent in the local hotel. They are almost entirely marketed through southern tour operators, with community outfitters providing the local service only. In fact the co-op would prefer not to do any booking of individuals. The GNWT considers such full service tourism, including hotel accommodation, outfitting and food service, as providing the best opportunity for Baffin communities to derive maximum economic benefits from tourism (Trumper, personal communication 1992).

As Table 6.1 illustrates, Pond Inlet's package tour sales are among the highest in the region. By contrast, the community of Pangnirtung attracts a high proportion of independent backpacking tourists, due to its proximity to Auyuittuq National Park Reserve hiking trail. Considering that Pangnirtung receives many more tourists than Pond[1], it is clear that a much higher proportion of Pond Inlet's tourism is based on package tours. These figures indicate that Pond may receive more tourist dollars, in the form of outfitting and hotel night sales, than Pangnirtung.

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[1] Pangnirtung's visitor centre traffic counts for the 1991 tourist season recorded 1 273 visitors who were non-resident in the NWT (GNWT 1992b).

Table 6.1: Package Tour Sales 1988-1992 for the Four Highest Grossing Communities

Community	Sales of Package Tours[a] & Number of Tourists				
	1988	1989	1990	1991	1992
Resolute Bay/ Ellesmere/ North Pole	$1 093 060 462	$1 558 359 482	--- ---[b]	$375 000 ---	$974 710 172
Pond Inlet	$653 922 269	$516 378 202	$362 538 ---	$257 849 72	$226 577 95
Pangnirtung	$312 820 131	$321 677 289	---	$190 000 ---	$108 855 72
Iqaluit	$210 695 451	$189 036 191	---	$140 000 ---	$221 021 496

Notes: [a] These figures refer to total tour operator sales. See Table 5 8 for breakdown into components and proportion received by community

[b] Data unavailable

Source: Government of the Northwest Territories 1989; 1991; 1992a.

Based on the package tour price break-down provided in Table 5.8, recent annual outfitting income, as a proportion of Pond Inlet's package tour sales (Table 6.1), ranges from a high in 1988 of $173 000 to a low of $60 000 in 1992, or an average of about $100 000. In Pangnirtung, when sales to individuals by local outfitters are added to those provided through package tour sales (Reimer and Dialla 1992), average annual outfitting sales from 1989 to 1991 similarly approach $100 000. Thus it would appear that the nature of Pond Inlet's tourism product leads to gross receipts to its outfitting sector which are almost identical to those of Pangnirtung, while receiving far fewer tourists.

Outfitting income is optimized only with a ratio of 3 tourists to each guide (the maximum number that can be accommodated on each komatik). While the guide earns his daily wage regardless, the outfitting company will only break even with 2 tourists to

a guide and will lose money with 1 tourist; a surcharge is required in such cases This is another important reason why group tours are more efficient.

There is, however, a price to be paid for relying on southern tour operators.

> [I]f an equivalent level of demand for tourism could be attained without the intervention of foreign tour operators, it is likely that the value of expenditure on tourism in the destination area would be higher (Sinclair and Sutcliffe 1988, 119-120).

Both outfitting managers feel they would have difficulties finding clients on their own. Co-op management feels constrained by a lack of qualified management and marketing assistance within the community and for this reason is content to be just the provider of the local service, leaving the marketing and organization of the tour to the southern tour operators. The co-op has recently been the recipient of several government-sponsored industry fam tours (see Chapter 5), featuring Japanese tour operators, and is currently looking to French and German tour operators.

They are also aware that this strategy results in lower profits. Table 5.8 revealed that at least 20% of the tour price accrues to tour operators, (about 35% when tour airfare is not considered), in the form of their own costs and profits (Sinclair and Sutcliffe 1988; Archer 1989). Elsewhere, tour operators have been shown to retain a similar proportion, over 25%, of the price of inclusive tours (Ryan 1991; Sinclair 1991). This portion, along with airfare on a non-local carrier, has been referred to as "pre-leakage" (Smith and Jenner 1992). The tour operator survey/ interviews conducted for this study tend to mirror these findings (Table 6.2).

Table 6.2: Cost Structure of One Southern Tour Operator's Spring Floe Edge Tour to Pond Inlet

Tour Price ($ CDN)	Community Expenses	Other Expenses	Operating Margin	Proportion of Tour Price Accruing to Community	
3 295	1 990	605	700	60 %[a]	41.50%[b]

Notes: [a]Not including airfare.

[b]Including airfare to Pond Inlet ($ 1500 from Ottawa or Montreal)

In addition, tour operators are in a position to negotiate discounts on both outfitting and hotel rates (Sinclair and Sutcliffe 1988). Discounts anywhere from 15 to over 60% off these services are common in Pond Inlet's hotel and outfitting sectors.

To some operators, such discounts can be the deciding factor in choosing which Baffin communities to feature - more important than the quality of their attractions. One operator features only those communities that offer him their services at a wholesale rate. He avoids or limits his stay in those communities which illustrate a 'take it or leave it' attitude He has recently moved back into Pond Inlet after having abandoned it 10 years ago when he found the prices too high. He feels that such offers illustrate a good attitude toward tourism and thus a positive ambience for his clients.

Furthermore, the co-op manager believes that the promotional efforts of the regional Department of Economic Development and Tourism imply that "the island ends at Pangnirtung", which further necessitates the co-op's reliance on southern tour operators. He regards this as an unfair level of community level competition, a potential problem identified by Anderson (1991), and stresses that Pond Inlet is "a saleable product" but that it is "having a hard time getting the message out". Hence it is hoped that southern tour operators will help to do so.

It is clear then, that while the southern tour operators are indeed gaining from this relationship, so is the community. The co-op manager feels that the service southern tour operators provide (customer relations, organization, advertising, etc.) is well worth the sacrifice of additional profits. Thus while dependency related concepts of 'core-periphery' go some way toward explaining the nature of the relationship between local businesses and southern tour operators, it is clear that such contractual arrangements are necessary to enable continued tourism development in the community and are likely to remain part of an appropriate tourism policy. Both outfitters feel that a lower level of demand, and hence a lower level of tourism income would occur without them. They are fully aware of the advantages and disadvantages associated with these relationships and thus make the policy choice in full knowledge of their alternatives.

Based on figures provided in Tables 5.8, 6.1 and 6.2, the average tourist travelling on a package tour to Pond Inlet accounts for about $2000 of gross income to

the community, or a total of approximately $150 000 in 1991. When average per person expenditure of $270 on arts and crafts for wildlife-watchers is added (Table 5 14) total receipts amount to approximately $165 000. By way of comparison, each independent tourist staying in the community for 7 days, a similar length of stay as those on package tours, spends an average total of approximately $375 in the community (based on data provided in Table 5 6)[2].

6.4 Local Income and Employment Generation

While these figures are useful, they do not provide the full picture. As noted earlier, only a proportion of gross tourism receipts remain in the community in the form of local income and employment; the rest 'leaks' out immediately in order to pay for goods and services required to run the various tourism related businesses It has been suggested that opportunities for linkages between local industries are limited

> [T]here are almost no services available in Pond Inlet that can help "churn" the cash within the community economy (.) There is virtually no "multiplier effect" in operation, cash comes into the Pond Inlet economy and it goes right back out. At the very least, churning the cash within the Pond Inlet economy should be one of the main goals of any development plan (Huestis 1991, 13)

Thus, the indirect impacts of tourist expenditure, and hence the multiplier effect, will be low, and leakages high (Archer 1977, 1982). The following discussion assesses what proportion of Pond Inlet's tourist revenue generates local income and employment.

6.4.1 Guiding/Outfitting

In assessing the potential economic impact of tourism, it is important to ask how tourism related employment is perceived by residents because negative perceptions will reduce the industry's ability to attract workers (Duffield 1982) Guiding, and indeed tourist sector employment in general, has been portrayed as a negatively perceived

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[2] Figures for independent travellers are less reliable as they relate to tourists to the region as a whole, rather than specifically to Pond Inlet As many of the individuals supplying this data were on their way to hike in Auyuittuq National Park, their expenditure on hotel/meals was low Hence it possibly underestimates the amount that independent tourists to Pond Inlet would spend on accommodation

industry in the NWT, plagued by high rates of job vacancies and considerable turnover rates (Haywood et al. forthcoming).

Nevertheless, for many men guiding represents the only available source of wage income to supplement social assistance. In Pangnirtung, this was so for 15 of 21 guides interviewed. A further six used it in addition to carving and print-making. In 1991, guiding contributed local wage earnings ranging from $24 000 to $40 000 (Reimer and Dialla 1992).

A total of 11 guides were identified by the two outfitting companies in Pond Inlet, 5 of whom had taken government sponsored training courses (GNWT 1991b). Among the 7 guides interviewed experience ranged from 3 to 14 years. For 6, guiding was reported as their only source of wage income (with some occasional carving). All of those interviewed felt that guiding is a "good job" although one had reservations, noting that it would be a better job if there were more tourists. Guiding is considered a good source of income for local families and contact with tourists is also welcomed as a positive social and cultural experience. Several young men who were interviewed during the household survey also appeared to regard guiding positively, indicating it as a potential employment option. A Level 1 Guide Training course held in Pond Inlet in the spring of 1993 attracted 7 local individuals.

Previous studies have suggested that guiding may present possible opportunity costs to guides as time spent catering to tourists' needs is lost hunting time (Milne and Wenzel 1991). Indeed, one of the weaknesses of multiplier analysis is that it cannot measure such costs (Archer 1977). Because each guide currently does so few trips, it is unlikely that current opportunity costs related to guiding are significant. One guide stated that his hunting is not interfered with by guiding as he can hunt at any other time.

Guides are paid by the day. While their daily wage differs by company, the most common rate is $265. Guides generally work from 4 to 28 days per year (1 to 7 trips, each of 4 or 5 days duration). The total number of days worked is highest amongst those with the most experience and training. In 1992, none of those interviewed had guided more than four trips.

In 1991, total community outfitting income is estimated at anywhere from $68 000

to $77 000[3]. Approximately $29 000 of this is total community guiding wages, with the remainder flowing to the co-op. This is based on 72 clients, or approximately 6 tours of 12 people, each spending a maximum of 5 days on the land. Thus, while no single guide makes a substantial income from this activity, it clearly does provide some much needed occasional income to about a dozen local men.

In addition, income from each polar bear sporthunt provides a further $4 000 to the community, in the form of wages to a guide and his helper, as well as administration fees to the HTA, and wages to a local woman (usually the guide's wife) to clean the skin. The number of polar bear tags allocated to sporthunters each year comes out of the community quota of 19. In 1992 4 such hunts were conducted, providing the community with approximately $16 000.

Clearly, while Pangnirtung gets many more tourists than Pond Inlet, its guiding income is not proportionately more than that of Pond Inlet. This suggests that Pond Inlet's specialty, guided nature tourism, is a better earner of guiding income that is adventure tourism, as provided by Pangnirtung.

The local IG for the outfitting sector of the co-op is thus estimated at 0.66[4]. That is, for every dollar spent on outfitting, nearly 66 cents forms local income. This figure suggests that the local tour sector performs much better than those in various Pacific Island states, whose IGs range from a low of 0.09 in Tonga, to 0.51 in Vanuatu (Milne 1990a; 1990b). As co-op guides are employed on a contract basis, no employment generation analysis was performed.

6.4.2 Accommodation

The community offers a choice of two types of accommodation: a free campsite

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[3] The source of the former figure is the regional government's standard breakdown of package tours as devoting 26.5 percent of package price to outfitting. The latter figure is based on personal communication with outfitting companies.

[4] Receipts associated with Eclipse Sound Outfitting and sporthunting are not included in this calculation

with tent platforms, situated on the beach 2 km west of the community; or the Sauniq Hotel, owned and operated by the co-op. The latter dates from 1985 when it was built to replace an older hotel which was deemed to be of insufficient quality to attract tourists (Marshall et al. 1982). It can accommodate up to 24 people in 12 rooms. Its dining room offers the only meal service in town. Rates (1992) were $200 per person, per night. The old hotel has recently been transformed into a meeting facility both for regional conferences and tourist orientation.

Clearly, hotel rates in the region are significantly higher than those for a similar standard of accommodation in the south. This is to be expected, as operating costs are much higher. As Chapter 5 illustrated, accommodation costs are considered excessive by many visitors to the region and this is perhaps why expenditure on accommodation is relatively low by independent tourists. Many commented that they would have spent more nights in paid accommodation if prices were lower. This observation has not gone unnoticed by government. As early as 1983 government planners advocated placing emphasis on homestays - having tourists stay with local families (GNWT 1983). However, this strategy has not been realized. Firstly, most homes in the region are owned by the NWT Housing Corporation which does not permit the use of its buildings for this purpose, claiming that it increases depreciation. The NWT Housing Corporation owns 136 out of 151 housing units in Pond Inlet (NWT Data Book 1989). This would permit a very small number of residents to participate legally in homestays.

Further, hotel administrations in Pond as in other Baffin communities, are fiercely opposed to homestays, viewing them as government subsidized competition (Wenzel and Milne 1990; Reimer and Dialla 1992). The hotels have large debts to service and a short tourist season. Although hotel management has occasionally endorsed homestays, this is only on rare occasions when the hotel is full.

Nevertheless, some homestays have been conducted in Pond Inlet, as in other Baffin communities. For tourists they provide the opportunity for a cultural experience as well a lower priced alternative to hotels. For local families, it provides an opportunity to earn between $75 and $100 per person per night. During the resident interviews several residents expressed their interest in participating in such programs.

The manager of one company which has organized homestays in Pond Inlet has experienced organizational difficulties. He feels that although these arrangements sometimes work out very well, differing expectations between clients and the host family can often lead to problems. The host family may not know what is demanded of it while tourists may have a "romantic illusion" of what they will get. Another inbound tour operator concurs that the experience is often not what tourists expect. The informality of meals and sleeping patterns, as well as the lack of space in most homes, often makes the experience "unbearable after one night".

Even without competition from homestays, the Sauniq hotel typically suffers from a low but fluctuating occupancy rate. While the co-op does not have any long-term monthly occupancy figures, management claims they range from 20 to 30%. Rates for the first half of 1992 were the only ones obtainable (Table 6.3).

Table 6.3: Sauniq Hotel Occupancy Rate (first eight months of 1992).

Month	Bed nights available[a]	Bed nights utilised[b]	Occupancy rate (%)[c]
January	744	36	4.84
February	714	194	27.17
March	744	125	16.80
April	720	125	17.36
May	744	106	14.25
June	720	279	38.75
July[d]	744	---	---
August[e]	744	126	16.93

Source: Sauniq Hotel management

Notes: [a] 24 beds X number of nights in month.

[b] Hotel visitors X length of stay

[c] Bed nights utilised as a percentage of bed nights available.

[d] No data available; no package tours planned.

[e] Data is based on reservations Forty two people were due to make seven-day trips I have estimated that 3 of these nights would be spent at the hotel Late ice breakup may have lead to the cancelling of these reservations.

Monthly rates ranged from 4.84% to a peak of 38.75% in June. While June is typically the community's busiest month for tourism, only 13.26% of bed/nights utilised this particular June were composed of tourists. This particular June was, however, a slow one for tourism. Government and construction workers typically form the mainstay of the region's hotel clientele. Indeed, data from June to September of 1983 to 1986 indicate that 55.5% of occupancy in Pond Inlet was accounted for by government employees and under 10% by tourists (Hamburg and Monteith 1988).

As previously noted, a stay of several nights in the hotel is built into package tours to Pond Inlet. Adventure type tours are less likely to use paid accommodation than cultural or wildlife tours. Adventure/hiking tour groups spend 2 to 4 nights in Pangnirtung out of a 14 night trip but the two companies providing this information do not use hotel accommodation for those nights. Each participant does, however, have the option to arrange it him/herself. An art trip with a focus on Inuit culture typically spends all ten days in the community, with some day trips to see nearby sites, with all nights spent at the local hotel.

In order to perform an analysis of the hotel's IG and EG capabilities, information is required on its operating cost structure (Table 6.4). Local expenditure on wages, salaries and retained profits, provided a direct regional income generator of .39. While direct (as opposed to total) IG data with which to compare this figure is rare, it does correspond to those found for the accommodation sectors of several Pacific island microstates. Direct IGs ranged from 0.15 in Tonga's hotels to 0.38 in the guesthouses of Vanuatu (Milne 1990a; 1990b). The Sauniq hotel corresponds to the relatively higher figures of the guesthouses as they share high levels of labor intensity, local ownership and employment of local residents (Milne 1992a).

Table 6.4 Sauniq Hotel Cost and Revenue Structure

Category of Payment	Distribution of Operating Costs (%)[a]
Food Purchases	17 22
Utilities	9.10
Repair and maintenance	3.24
Insurance	3.02
Depreciation	8.46
Wages and Salaries	24.14
Profit	14.13
Tax on profit	10.33
Supplies	2.19
Other	0.83
Administrative	7.32
TOTAL	100.00

Source: Toonoonik Sahoonik Co-operative Limited Financial Statement 1991; personal communication 1992.

Note: [a] Efforts to maintain confidentiality have precluded the use of the actual figures concerned.

It is estimated that the hotel's indirect IG capabilities are rather limited because of its reliance on goods 'imported' directly from the south. One of the largest inputs (17%) is accounted for by food, almost all of which is imported. Brownrigg and Greig (1975) note that in the accommodation sector of the Isle of Sky the weakness of its linkages to local food suppliers "is one of the main factors contributing towards the relatively low values of the tourist multipliers" (ibid., 267). In the case of Pond Inlet, were a significant proportion of tourists' food locally supplied, linkages with the local economy would clearly be strengthened.

The hotel employs 12 full-time people throughout the year and a further 6 on a

seasonal basis. When the latter are converted into full time equivalents[5], total full-time staff reaches 13.5. Thus, one job is created per every $47 359 of turnover in the hotel. Much higher EGs were obtained in studies based in the South Pacific. In the Cook Islands' accommodation sector, one job is created for every $17 000 (Canadian $) of expenditure. The ratio is even more favourable in Tonga's guesthouses, at 1:$3 350 (Milne 1987c; 1990b). The discrepancy may however, be more illustrative of the high rates charged by the accommodation sector of Northern Canada, rather than of staff to client ratio.

It is important to note, however, that while the multiplier assumes that employment is fully utilized so that any additional output will necessitate additional employment, "this is clearly not the case and quite often additional demand can be satisfied without increasing the labour force" (Archer and Fletcher 1989, 8). However, at this scale, the relationship between demand and labour requirements might be expected to be fairly constant.

6.4.3 Arts and Crafts

The sale of local handicrafts generates the highest IGs in many tourist industries where disaggregated multiplier studies have been conducted (Milne 1990b;1990a;1991). In the context of the South Pacific, Milne (1992a, 205) states:

> Handicrafts provide the best example of how a tourist sector, well linked to the local economy, can provide further rounds of income and employment generation from initial tourist expenditure. The businesses tend to be small and either owned by local people or cooperative organisations. At the same time the bulk of their expenditure flows to the indigenous producers of the goods, who, in turn, tend to use local raw materials in the production process.

Inuit arts and crafts in particular, have the potential to provide much local income

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[5] I am assuming that seasonal positions are June to August. This three month period provides a full-time equivalency of 0.25.

because of their high profile amongst visitors to the region, most of whom make a purchase on their trip (Chapter 5).

In Pond Inlet, the only retail outlet for arts and crafts is the hotel gift shop. While the Northern Store purchases some carvings it does not retail them locally. Although the co-op also carries non-local souvenirs, such as t-shirts and books, 70% of its sales are of local craft items. Approximately 95% of these products are carvings

While the women of the community produce clothing and wall hangings made of skins and 'imported' cloth, few such items are available in the shop. The manager claims that this is because he is a man and he does not know how to price women's products. As a result, the potential of women in the community to link into the tourism industry is reduced. While some women do carve, most carvers are men. Several women spoke of often having their crafts refused by the co-op.

The co-op opened a clothing store in Iqaluit in the autumn of 1993. Management regards it as an outlet for women's crafts. The skin apparel made by many local women, such as *kamiks* (seal skin boots), apparently had no local market as most families in Pond Inlet have someone who can supply their needs. The implied rationale is that Iqaluit represents a potential market as a higher proportion of its Inuit residents have formal employment and will purchase such items rather than have a family member make them. While it is questionable whether kamiks would have much of a market amongst tourists, it is likely that many other women's craft items would. Thus it is possible that by failing to make such crafts available in the community, local women are being deprived a potential source of tourism related income.

In some communities, craft sales are made directly to tourists. Carvers in Pangnirtung, for example, feel they can make more money this way (Reimer and Dialla 1992). Despite the fact that there is a map on a wall of Pond Inlet's hotel lobby which indicates the names and homes of craftspeople, private sales are reputedly rare. An income survey conducted in Pond Inlet in 1987 reports that in that year, most of the carving income of $52 300 was paid by the co-operative. The study's author implies that this is a typical year, stating that in this way, "the carvings market in Pond Inlet is very different from that of most communities" (Huestis 1991). However, even in Cape Dorset,

a community famous for its carving industry, only a quarter of those carvers surveyed claimed to have ever sold a piece to a tourist (Milne et al. 1994a).

Discussions with craftspeople would appear to confirm this assertion. None of those questioned regard tourists as their target market. Two of the women whose names appear on the map were unaware that they were listed and in any case stated that tourists never came to them. Both sell only to the co-op as they rarely come into contact with tourists. Other women also opt for this strategy or sell to resident *Qallunaat* teachers. Most do so either because they do not come into contact with tourists very often, or because they do not have items ready and waiting for them. Several noted that they did not have the money to buy the materials required and instead waited for orders to be placed. One felt too shy to approach tourists. The community tourism coordinator confirmed that residents sell primarily through the co-op.

The co-op sold approximately $80 000 worth of carvings in 1991. Of this, $30 000 was sold to tourists, and the remaining $50 000 shipped to collectors and gallery owners. Its margin on carvings ranges from 15 to 60 %. Based on an average 36.6% markup (the figure provided by the co-op's 1991 financial statement) local craftspeople would have earned approximately $ 50 000 in 1991.

In the same year, income directly earned by Pangnirtung's craftspeople was estimated at a minimum of $215 000, most of which was paid by the co-op or craft shop (Reimer and Dialla 1992). Data on sales was not provided. While Chapter 5 demonstrated that arts and crafts sales would be expected to be higher in Pond Inlet (a nature tourism community) than in Pangnirtung (a wilderness/hiking and camping community), this discrepancy is likely due to the fact that Pangnirtung receives so many more tourists than does Pond Inlet.

The giftshop's cost and revenue structure was obtained from the co-op's financial statements (Table 6.5). Based on these figures, the giftshop's direct IG is estimated to be 0.81, which exceeds the highest IG coefficient obtained (0.72 in Vanuatu) in the handicraft sectors of the South Pacific (Milne 1990a). This is attributable to the fact that most of the costs are in the form of purchases of goods for resale, which becomes income (not subject to income tax) to local carvers. Also the material, stone, is quarried

by the carvers themselves at Mary River, approximately 150 km from the community. Expenses to acquire the stone, such as fuel and depreciation on snowmobile motors, must however be extracted from income. It would not be meaningful to provide an EG as craftspeople are self employed and receive income per item produced.

Table 6.5 Co-operative Giftshop Cost and Revenue Structure

Category of Payment	Distribution of Operating Costs (%)
Cost of goods sold	63.38
Operating	8.17
Wages	11.87
Administrative	7.32
Tax on profit	3.91
Profit	5.35
TOTAL	100.00

Source: Toonoonik Sahoonik Co-operative Limited Financial Statement 1991; personal communication 1992.

Were carvings to be sold directly to tourists, it is possible that both the craftsperson and tourist would get a better price (Milne et al. 1994a). However, it is questionable whether the carver would have the negotiating power to obtain prices as high as those charged by the co-op. Carving prices in Pond Inlet's gift shop appear to be, on average, higher than items of similar quality available in Iqaluit and Cape Dorset.

6.4.4 Food Service

The harvesting and processing of local foods is one area with potential for linkages with the tourist industry. The GNWT has in fact recognized the need to decrease 'import' leakages by encouraging hotels to prepare and serve more country foods (Hamburg and Monteith 1988). Chapter 5 also revealed that there is demand for

country food among tourists which is not entirely being met. This section focuses on the supply side of the issue.

Literature on the commercial use of country foods in the Canadian arctic is rare (Webber 1987). The region is not unique in this regard. "The impact of tourism on food production in developing countries has been almost totally neglected" (Bélisle 1980, 17). However, some studies have been conducted on the links between local food production and tourism in the Caribbean (Bélisle 1980; 1983; CTRC 1984). Some of the conclusions drawn by this literature may be instructive to the case at hand.

As Chapter 5 revealed, the assumption that tourists are not interested in country foods does not appear to be substantiated. Indeed, according to Alleyne (1984), the low level of linkage between Caribbean agriculture and tourism is more likely due to lack of supply and promotion rather than lack of demand. He points out that the Caribbean's culinary arts suffer from a low level of innovation and "the feeble initiatives taken in promoting dishes produced from regional foods" (ibid, 519). A study conducted in St. Lucia, Grenada and St. Vincent reached a similar conclusion (CTRC 1984). The CTRC noted that linkages between tourism and agriculture are weak in these Caribbean islands, with 54% (by value) of food required for the tourist industry being imported. Common constraints included unreliability and poor quality of meat supplies and the seasonality of supply and demand. Similar constraints were identified by Jamaican hoteliers (Bélisle 1980).

In order to improve the linkages the authors of the CTRC study suggest measures including: increasing local awareness of the benefits to the local economy of using local foods, training butchers to supply appropriate cuts of meat, development of the local wholesaling sector, training chefs to prepare dishes from local foods, and production of new products such as processed meats and fish.

These types of approaches have not gone unnoticed in the Baffin region. Pond Inlet's HTA (Hunters and Trappers Association) received funding of approximately $20 000 in 1992 under the Traditional Economy Sector of the Economic Development Agreement (EDA) between the territorial and federal governments. A butcher was hired to train local meat cutters and instruct them in the production of processed meats and

fish. Related equipment was also purchased. As a result it is one of the best equipped HTAs in the region, offering a wide range of products, including caribou steaks, sausages, salamis and smoked fish (Bloor personal communication).

The rationale behind the upgrading of the HTA was to provide employment for hunters and meat cutters and to provide processed meat and fish to the community. It employs two people full-time: a secretary manager and freezer manager and 2 or 3 meat cutters on a casual part-time basis. The HTA was to wholesale its products to the two local retail operations: the co-op and Northern Stores.

The opportunity for tourism operators to utilize local foods arises from the fact that the hotel and outfitting companies typically supply all of the food requirements of tour groups to Pond Inlet. By contrast, many adventure tour companies which do independent activities without local guides, such as hiking or canoeing, import up to 100% of their food supplies from the south. Sporthunting tours to Pond Inlet import 80% of their food, in freeze dried form, claiming that it takes too long to cook meat.

Benefits also emerge in terms of savings to the local tourist industry. According to co-op management, it costs $13.77 to serve a pound of hamburger (includes price of imported meat, freight, preparation cost of $2.30 as well as trimmings). Based on 1992 prices, one pound of ground caribou meat costs $3.00, as does the same amount of arctic char steaks. When price of preparation and trimmings are added, it costs the hotel less than half that of the hamburger.

Despite these apparent benefits, the co-op manager admits that the proportion of the hotel's menu consisting of country foods is "practically nil", at around 5%. He admits that Pond Inlet has a reputation for serving very little country food. Tour groups apparently receive a welcome dinner of a variety of country foods and receive very little during the rest of their stay. The hotel's menu typically includes beef, veal, pork, chicken, and vegetables. A hotel cook claimed that she prepares char once every two weeks and caribou once every three weeks.

Indeed, the tour operator survey indicated that a relatively small proportion of locally supplied meals in the region are composed of country food. Respondents typically claim that no more than 20% of such meals are composed of country food.

One operator feels that his clients are served less country food in Pond Inlet than in other communities. He attributes this to a "misconception" among local organizers that there is no demand for it. Most respondents state that they are interested in increasing the proportion of country foods in meals served to their clients, but note problems of availability. One tour operator added: "It's who you know. There is nothing regular that you can count on".

While there are many reasons for the limited links that exist between tourism and local food production in Pond Inlet, a recurrent problem raised in interviews is that of communication. In July 1992, several months after the HTA's facelift, its linkages with the local tourism industry were clearly viewed as unsatisfactory by its Secretary Manager. He claimed that the hotel administration viewed the HTA as competition and tried to outbid the purchase price they paid to hunters. As a result the two were engaged in a price war in which he claimed victory. Although HTA records confirm that the co-op was the largest customer for its products during the first half of 1991, HTA administration complained that it purchased little for its hotel and outfitting operations. Visits to the HTA during the month of July revealed a freezer full of char, some turbot (Greenland halibut), sausages, and caribou.

At this time, hotel and co-op management accounted for their limited use of country foods by claiming that caribou could not be served without being government inspected, a prohibitive barrier considering that there are no facilities to do this locally. They claimed that there was too much trouble involved in sending a sample of caribou down to Iqaluit for testing. Yet an interview with a government environmental health officer revealed that there is no such regulation (Fowler, personal communication, 1992).

In interviews with co-op management and the new hotel manager in 1993, a different set of barriers was identified. While they outlined a goal to serve both char and caribou up to four times per week, they felt that the HTA could not provide a constant supply due to seasonal factors and inadequate quotas: the community's commercial quota for char (10 000 pounds) and caribou (50 animals) is generally gone by tourist season: most of what remains is seal meat and *muktuq*, which are thought to be unappealing to tourists.

In reality, however, only 70 to 80% of the annual char quota is filled, due to inadequate fish concentrations in some of the zoned areas. Efforts are currently being directed at finding new sources through test fisheries for turbot and char (Dean, personal communication 1993)

In 1993 the HTA Secretary Manager considered relations with the co-op to have improved. At this time he too cited supply constraints due to commercial quotas being too small and expressed hope that if the experimental fishery proves successful, the HTA will have a larger supply during the spring and summer tourist season.

Indeed, the regional supervisor of Renewable Resource Development confirms that seasonality is a problem. However, he notes that hotels could overcome this problem by thinking ahead and buying in season. Furthermore, a local government official denies that the quota is at issue. Instead, he blames the HTA for an apparent failure to fill orders placed by the co-op. Thus while no concrete reason can be given for the low use of country foods in the local tourist industry, the sheer variety of responses, as well as the existence of some misinformation, suggest a lack of local communication and coordination.

6.5 Summary

The findings reported in this chapter give further support to the assertions made in Chapter 5: Pond Inlet's tourism 'product' does indeed provide a relatively high level of gross tourism receipts per tourist. Its outfitting sector appears to generate a similar level of revenue as that of Pangnirtung, while playing host to a fewer number of tourists. While Pond Inlet relies to a great deal on southern tour operators to market its services, this appears to be a sound strategy consistent with local objectives. Tourist expenditure on outfitting/guiding and arts and crafts, two features associated with Pond Inlet's clientele, currently represent the best means of providing local income. Nevertheless, local income and employment are not being optimized, particularly in the area of food service and some forms of arts and crafts.

Chapter 7: Conclusion

The following pages summarize the major findings of this research and propose several policy recommendations for consideration by the GNWT and the community of Pond Inlet. This is followed by an assessment of the merits of the theoretical approach taken in the thesis. The chapter ends by identifying areas for future research.

7.1 Summary of Findings and Recommendations

Overall, the community's current tourism strategy appears to be generating important economic benefits for the community without significant negative socio-cultural impacts. Tourism currently enjoys a high level of support among Pond Inlet residents. Not surprisingly, this is explained by tourism's anticipated economic benefits. A sizable minority also associate social or cultural benefits with tourism.

Residents identified few negative social/cultural or environmental aspects of tourism, which may indicate that it is currently well managed. Alternatively, it may reflect a lack of available information regarding the possible negative impacts that are sometimes associated with tourism development, or a reluctance to mention them to a researcher who may have been perceived as an advocate of tourism.[1]

There are different impacts (economic and socio-cultural) associated with different types of tourism, a significant finding in an era increasingly characterized by specialized market segments. The findings indicate that Pond Inlet's tourism 'product', nature tourism arranged into packages, appears to be a sensible means of maximizing community economic benefits. Nature tourism appropriately targets tourists who tend to display high levels of expenditure, particularly on arts and crafts, while the reverse is true for hikers/campers. This is significant as arts and crafts represent the best means of generating local income. From a socio-cultural standpoint, tourists interested in the culture of the host region are likely to be most welcomed by community members.

While it is commonly assumed that package tourists are associated with a higher

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[1] Thanks are due to Scot Nickels for bringing this possibility to my attention

degree of socio-cultural disruption and a lower degree of economic benefits accruing to the destination, this does not appear to apply to the Baffin. The package tourists surveyed appeared to be more interested in Inuit culture, consumed more country foods, tend to make more use of paid accommodation, and were more likely to purchase arts and crafts than independent tourists. 'Packaging' results in relatively high outfitting/guiding income and simplified organizational requirements for local service providers. The reliance on southern tour operators, which is associated with packaged tourism, is a strategy consistent with the abilities of local outfitters, who consider themselves unable to attract tourists and organize all aspects of the tours on their own.

Despite the strengths of the community's current approach to tourism development, the optimization of tourism's economic benefits and the minimization of its negative socio-cultural impacts are hampered by several shortcomings both at the community and regional level. The community is not capitalizing on the opportunity to provide indirect income and employment by linking tourism to other sectors of the local economy, such as the harvesting and processing of country foods. From a demand perspective, there appears to be room to increase the amount of country food served to tourists. However, efforts to supply this demand are hampered by a lack of communication and cooperation within the community. This is evidenced by the conflicting information offered in answer to questions regarding the lack of country foods served to tourists.

Women's crafts is another area characterized by limited linkages to the local tourist industry. These products have been undervalued by the co-op, resulting in a limited ability for local women to obtain tourism related income. These findings have been mirrored at the territorial level by the NWT Advisory Council on the Status of Women (Fennell and Fogwill 1988).

Another area of concern arises with regard to possible conflicts between nature tourists and local hunters. Local support for tourism is tempered by a concern over a perceived lack of knowledge or respect, on the part of tourists, for hunting related aspects of the Inuit way of life.

This concern is currently being dealt with by concealing hunting related activities

from tourists. The tourism agenda is largely determined by the two local outfitters, both of whom attempt to 'control' the image of residents portrayed to tourists in ways that appear to conflict with the desires of residents. The one adamantly refuses to be responsible for educating clients about Inuit culture, particularly with regard to hunting; the other prefers not to organize town tours as he feels that tourists' exposure to Inuit culture should be limited to elements of the traditional way of life, and that discussion of contemporary problems should be avoided.

Nor do most of the tour operators offering trips to the Baffin explicitly prepare tourists for the possibility that they may be exposed to hunting; few mention hunting in their brochures. The major exception is an operator who directly cautions tourists that they may see seal or narwhal hunting and explains that this is an activity important to Inuit.

Such an approach stands in stark contrast to the stated principles of the GNWT's Community Based Tourism Strategy, which seeks to encourage a tourist industry that is compatible with the culture of host communities. Hiding hunting from tourists results is a missed opportunity for inter-cultural communication, one of tourism's supposed benefits. Moreover, while tourism currently does not appear to be conflicting with Inuit hunting practises to a great degree, should the number of tourists visiting the community grow, so too would the possibility for conflict: residents may become increasingly resentful of having to make the effort to conceal an activity that is central to their way of life.

At the same time, there is demand, amongst both tourists and Inuit, for some form of 'cultural tourism'. A majority of residents interviewed feel that tourists should learn about Inuit culture while in Pond Inlet. Similarly, Inuit culture is among the major attractions for most tourists to the region. Indications are that many tourists are not being presented with an adequate opportunity for exposure to Inuit culture. There is some evidence that those who did have the opportunity to meet locals thought highly of the experience. While some tourists find aspects of hunting objectionable, others are clearly interested in having direct exposure to it.

These issues reflect a lack of communication and cooperation at the community

level. With a more proactive approach to tourism development, led perhaps by the tourism committee, these problems could be monitored and addressed. For example, if community members are truly interested in ensuring that tourists learn about their culture, they must take some responsibility to educate them. One solution might be to hire community hosts/hostesses to show tourists around town and introduce them to residents, thereby also providing additional tourism employment. This approach has been successful in other communities, such as Cape Dorset. Efforts to educate tourists about Inuit culture should be encouraged and supplemented by the GNWT and Baffin Tourism Association[2].

The need to address this issue has not gone entirely unrecognized by community leaders. The Economic Development/Tourism Committee has "stress(ed) (the) importance of using [the nature] centre to point out different perspectives/approaches of tourists/locals to nature" (Southam 1993, 3). The development of an ecotourism training course, scheduled for Pond Inlet in 1995, offers some further prospects in this area (Jones, personal communication).

A more active local Tourism Committee could also act as an intermediary between the HTA and tourism suppliers (hotel, outfitters), thus improving communication and coordination. It might also act on behalf of local women, ensuring that their crafts become more available to tourists. Further, the NWT Advisory Council on the Status of Women (Fennell and Fogwill 1988) has emphasized the need to empower women so that they may take control over their work and recommended the provision of more and better-targeted government assistance programs aimed at assisting women to develop their own craft businesses. Such efforts would likely be beneficial to the women of Pond Inlet.

Similarly, a tourism committee could address the issue of homestays. While there is talk of plans for a new hotel in Pond Inlet (Bloor, personal communication 1994), the findings of the tourist survey suggest that further consideration should be given to

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[2]The Baffin Tourism Association (BTA) promotes travel in the Baffin region on behalf of its members who represent all sectors of the tourism industry, including accommodation, airlines, outfitters and travel agencies

homestay programs or basic, more affordable types of shelters. Indications are that expenditure on accommodation could be increased somewhat were a less expensive alternative to hotels available. This might also increase the amount of time campers spend in communities, thereby increasing their expenditure in other areas, such as arts and crafts. Were the community to favour homestays, the problems of training and regulations regarding running a business out of a government-owned house must be addressed (GNWT 1989b).

While the above mentioned issues emerge at the local level, there are also external factors influencing the viability of the region's tourist industry. Travel agents' limited knowledge of the Baffin region, as well as the limited marketing power of specialized tour operators appear to constrain the region's ability to cater to the growing numbers of travellers interested in destinations featuring unique natural and cultural environments. While it is not possible to identify which, if any, of the factors noted in Chapter 2 are responsible for travel agents' lack of knowledge about the region, it is clear that structural and technological developments in the tourist industry will hamper the region's ability to attract a wider market.

While the regions' suppliers are unable to tap into CRSs, they might benefit instead from Destination Information Systems (DIS), electronic information technology accessed via videotext, CD-Rom, and personal computers. The DIS can provide pre-trip information about a destination's accommodation, transportation, tours, and attractions to the travelling public either directly through home computers, or through travel agents or national/regional tourist offices. There is also potential for connecting the DIS with CRSs which would connect the supplier to travel agents around the world (Sheldon 1993). Such systems can be developed on a national or regional basis; examples of the latter exist in the Scottish Highlands and the Tyrolean region of Austria (Vlitos-Rowe 1992). In market regions "characterised by small independent businesses and individualistic holidays", centralization of information can increase visibility as well as ease of reservation (Vlitos-Rowe 1992, 102)

As early as 1983, the Community Based Tourism strategy recommended that government supported automated "Information/Reservation Systems" be implemented for

the region (GNWT 1983). The need for such systems has only increased since then. At present, such efforts have been limited to the development of a toll-free "Arctic Hotline" number, through which consumers can request that the NWT Explorers' Guide be sent to them. While the expense of developing such a system will likely be considerable,

> [i]n the near future, such systems will be a pre-requisite to a continued healthy and growing tourism sector (Ibid., B-11).

It is hoped that the information provided in this thesis will assist the community in planning a tourist industry that provides a better living for residents and a more positive experience for both locals and travellers. Tourism is neither inherently good nor evil: the degree to which it is economically, socio-culturally and environmentally sustainable depends on the way in which it is planned and managed.

7.2 The Theoretical Framework: an evaluation

This study demonstrated that while previous approaches have aided our understanding of the impacts of tourism in underdeveloped regions, they have often been characterized by inhibiting ideological and teleological perspectives. The dependency approach and the TACE model have overstated the power of external forces to determine the development of tourism and as a result, tend to regard the destination as a victim entrapped in a downward spiral. They have also largely failed to provide an understanding of the dynamic economic and socio-cultural context within which the tourist industry operates and which ultimately manifests itself at the community level.

In the case of Pond Inlet, external forces are clearly not entirely responsible for diminishing the potential of tourism to link to other sectors of the local economy, thereby increasing its ability to generate local economic benefits. For example, both tour operators and tourists would like local foods to be served. Failure to supply this demand appears to be the result of a lack of communication and cooperation at the community level.

Nor are southern tour operators unduly benefitting from the Baffin's tourist industry: rather their involvement appears to be part of appropriate policy, on the part

of local outfitters and the GNWT, which recognizes the strengths and limitations of the communities. This finding further calls into question the scenario envisaged by both the dependency viewpoint and the TACE model.

Further, while residents are currently acquiescing to the perceived need to conceal hunting from tourists, there are indications that they are not wholly prepared to sacrifice such an important part of their culture for the sake of tourism. Were they instead the confront the problem by educating tourists, the community would avoid the assertions of the cultural dependency model, as well as the downward curve of the TACE.

The body of this thesis began and ended with a resident attitude survey and a community economic impact analysis, two rather 'standard', yet vital elements of tourism impact studies. However, this thesis was able situate these studies within a broader structural understanding of the industry and the consumers it caters to. Having been informed by the 'flexible specialization' approach, I was able to identify several broader socioeconomic trends which impact upon communities attempting to benefit from 'alternative' tourism development. The above criticism of earlier approaches was not meant to deny that broader economic and social processes largely define the context in which local actors function. However, by better understanding economic and social trends, the community's fate is seen to be, not predetermined as is the position implied by previous approaches, but rather dependent on the appropriateness of its response to them.

Previous observers have assumed that the specialized travel experience offered by arctic regions makes them unlikely destinations with very limited potential for growth (Lundgren 1987). It is no doubt true, and perhaps fortunate, that the Baffin will never attract large numbers of tourists. However, the apparent emergence of more specialized market segments bodes well for 'new' destinations, such as Pond Inlet. By providing more detailed data as to the preferences and expenditure behaviour of these tourists, this thesis has identified appropriate measures aimed at maximizing the community's benefits from this trend.

The framework also identified structural and technological developments in the tourist industry which demand that a new 'best practise' be pursued. In so doing, small

firms and the underdeveloped regions they represent might avoid being passive victims of external forces (Poon 1988b; 1990). As noted earlier, Poon's optimism regarding their ability to exploit such strategies is clearly overstated. This is a major weakness of her approach. However, while her assertions may be inaccurate, the framework utilized identifies a trend likely to influence the viability of the Baffin's tourist industry.

7.3 Research Agenda

This study identified several issues worthy of future research. While it is clear that tourists are increasingly interested in exposure to the indigenous culture of the region, little is known about tourists' image of Inuit upon arrival and upon departure. In particular, it is unclear whether tourists might have a negative view of hunting, perhaps as a result of the publicity surrounding the animal rights movement. The importance of such information emerges as northern communities reveal their concern about touristic images (Chapter 3) and attempt to address the need to educate tourists. In a related vein, planners need to know what type of cultural programs tourists would be interested in and what local residents are prepared to provide.

In the course of the research, several government officials expressed an impression that residents have an "apathetic" attitude toward economic development in general. While such attitudes have been refuted by other studies, (Kakivak Association 1991), the current study concluded that there is, to some degree, a lack of coordinated local policy toward tourism development in Pond Inlet. Broader studies, focusing on local views regarding development, might better elucidate the community dynamics at work.

There is also a need for future research into the potential links between tourism and country foods, one of the few avenues that might strengthen tourism's indirect economic impacts. In particular, it is unclear what amount of country foods tourists would like to try. Further, it would be useful to know whether imaginative forms of preparation could increase the amount and type of country foods that tourists would like to consume. For example, while seal is widely considered to be unpalatable to non-Inuit, the Canadian Sealers' Association is currently researching new methods for the

preparation of seal meat, aimed at making it more palatable to the tastes of the unaccustomed (CBC 1992).

The opening up of fragile ecosystems to tourist traffic has the potential to degrade the resource base upon which tourism depends (Budowski 1976). The trampling of tundra and presence of tourists on wildlife behaviour are among the areas of concern in the Baffin region. There is a need, therefore, to monitor the environmental impacts of tourism in the region.

Further study is also warranted into the ways in which technological and structural developments in the tourist industry are affecting the ability of relatively underdeveloped tourism destinations, and the tour operators who package their services, to make themselves known to consumers. It is also important to better understand the most appropriate ways in which knowledge of such destinations can reach potential travellers.

While this study was guided by an emerging body of theory in economic geography, there is clearly a need for more testing of this and other theoretical approaches to understanding the processes and impacts of tourism development (Britton 1991). There is a need to reach beyond the descriptive, and to understand tourism as a phenonmenon embedded in a wider socio-cultural and economic context.

Finally, while some connections between tourist 'types' and community level impacts were established in this thesis, there is a need for more detailed studies which take into account 'clusters' of tourist characteristics. More sophisticated segmentation studies using multi-dimensional variables defining tourists' preferences, motivations and opinions, will enable planners to design and promote tourism products and services demanded by particular groups of tourists (Vincent et al. 1993). This will better enable communities to understand the potential impacts of tourism and in so doing, to prepare themselves to derive utmost benefits from the industry.

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APPENDIX A

QUESTIONS GUIDING RESIDENT INTERVIEWS

- Have you ever seen tourists in or around Pond Inlet?
- Are you in favour of tourism in Pond Inlet?
    - Why?/Why not?
- Who will benefit mostly from tourism? Who else will benefit?
- Are there any negative aspects to tourism in Pond Inlet?
- Is there anything tourists should not do while in town or on the land? Is there any place they should not go?
- What should tourists see and learn about when they come to Pond Inlet?
- Is there anything tourists should know about Pond Inlet/Inuit before they arrive?
- Is there any particular type of tourist who should/should not come to Pond Inlet?
- Do you do any crafts? Do you ever think of selling to tourists?
- Does the presence of tourists ever affect your hunting? Do you see any conflict between the presence of tourists and your ability to hunt?
- Have you ever considered getting involved in a tourism related business or job? What type?
- Do you have any questions for me?

APPENDIX B

BAFFIN REGION TOURISM PROJECT: TOUR OPERATOR QUESTIONNAIRE

Company Name_____ Respondent's Name_____

_____ Respondent's Position_____

1. How long has the company been in business?_____years.

2. How long has your company offered packages to the Baffin Region? _____years.

3. What proportion of your clientele purchased packages to the Baffin Region in 1992?
[ ] 0 - 20% [ ] 21 - 40% [ ] 41 - 60% [ ] 61 - 80% [ ] 81 - 100%

4a) How many clients did you take to the Baffin Region in 1992?_____.

b) Is this number an [ ] increase or [ ] decrease over recent years?

5. What market segments do you cater to? Please indicate approximate proportion of your 1992 client base and indicate their growth potential.

Market Segment	% of Client Base	Growth Potential (High, Med, Low)
[ ] Soft adventure (hiking, ...)	_____	_____
[ ] Adventure (climbing, kayaking...)	_____	_____
[ ] Nature (wildlife viewing...)	_____	_____
[ ] Culture oriented	_____	_____
[ ] Artistically inclined	_____	_____
[ ] General tourists	_____	_____
[ ] Other_____	_____	_____

6a) Please rank your marketing approaches in order of performance:

I._____ II._____ III._____

b) Are your Baffin tours accessable on a CRS (Computerized Reservation System)? [ ] Yes [ ] No

7. What proportion of your tours are sold: Through travel agents ____ % Directly to consumer ____ %

8a) Please identify and describe your most popular packages to the Baffin Region in 1992, by filling in the following table:

Package Name:				
Nearest community				
Primary activity featured				
Number of Nights				
Amount of time spent *in* community				
Does package include guided tour of community?				
Type of accommoda-tion				
Price per person - Currency?				
Is airfare included in price?				
# of trips per year				

b) How has your range of packages changed in the last couple of years?

[ ] Increased [ ] Decreased [ ] Stayed about same

9. Are your tours offered in association with local community organizations such as a co-op or HTA (Hunters and Trappers Association)? Please specify communities_____

_____

10. Do you send confirmed clients detailed information about their destination (ie. natural history, cultural aspects, etc.)? [ ] No [ ] Yes - **Please send copies with your completed questionnaire.**

11. Do you find that your clients are interested in learning about Inuit culture? Do you provide the opportunity to do so? Please explain_____

_____

_____

_____

12a). How many people do you employ:
as office staff _____
on tours _____

b) Do you employ local Inuit people? [ ] Yes [ ] No

If so: In what capacity?_____

_____

What is their average wage?_____

If not: What conditions prevent you from doing so?_____

_____

13a) What proportion of your supplies is flown-up with you on the trip?
Food_____ % Other (please specify)_____ %

b) Of food purchased locally, please estimate what proportion is locally produced/harvested ("country" food)? _____ %

c) Are you interested in increasing this proportion? [ ] Yes [ ] No

What prevents you from doing so?_____

_____

_____

14. What proportion of your gross income from Baffin packages is spent on your operating costs within the region/community? [ ] 0 - 20% [ ] 21 - 40% [ ] 41 - 60% [ ] 61 - 80% [ ] 81 - 100%

15. What do you perceive as the biggest constraint to Baffin Island, or to the communities in which you operate, as a tourist destination?_____

_____

_____

_____

16. Could the territorial government or Baffin Tourism Association do anything to facilitate your operations?_____

_____

_____

17. Please rate the tourism potential (High, Medium, Low) of the following communities, omitting those you are unfamiliar with.

	Tourism Potential	Reason
Pangnirtung	_____	_____
Pond Inlet	_____	_____
Lake Harbour	_____	_____
Cape Dorset	_____	_____
Broughton Island	_____	_____
Clyde River	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____

18. What are the biggest constraints to the growth of your company?_____

_____

_____

19. What are your future plans for operating in the region?_____

_____

_____

Please enclose company brochures as well as any informational literature you send to clients.

Please use the space below for any additional comments you wish to make.

THANK YOU FOR YOUR ASSISTANCE

APPENDIX C

TOURIST QUESTIONNAIRE - 1992

Personal Information

1. Where do you live?

U.S.A. [ ]
Canada [ ]
U.K. [ ]
Other Europe [ ]
Other [ ]

State/province_____
Country_____

2. With whom are you travelling?

alone [ ]
friend(s) [ ]
family [ ]
spouse/partner [ ]
other (specify)_____

3. Sex: Male [ ]
Female [ ]

4. In which age group are you?

Under 18 [ ]
18 - 25 [ ]
26 - 35 [ ]
36 - 45 [ ]
46 - 55 [ ]
56 - 65 [ ]
65 and over [ ]

5. What is the main purpose of your visit?

Vacation [ ]
Business [ ]
Visiting friends/relatives [ ]
Other (specify)_____ [ ]

6. What is your approximate annual family income before taxes? Please indicate currency._____

Under 10,000.00 [ ]
10 - 19,999.00 [ ]
20 - 29,999.00 [ ]
30 - 39,999.00 [ ]
40 - 60,000.00 [ ]
60,000 + [ ]

7. Level of education attained?

Secondary [ ]
College [ ]
University:
undergraduate [ ]
graduate [ ]

8. Mother tongue

English [ ]
French [ ]
Other [ ]

9. Occupation_____

10. Is this your first trip to the Arctic? Yes [ ] No [ ]

If no, where in the Arctic have you been?_____
What was the purpose of your trip(s)?_____

11. Is this your first trip to Baffin Island? Yes [ ] No [ ]

If no, where in Baffin Island have you been?_____
What was the purpose of your trip(s)?_____

Planning of Trip

12. How far in advance did you plan this trip?

Under 1 month [ ]
1 - 3 months [ ]
3 - 6 months [ ]
6 - 12 months [ ]
1 + years [ ]

13. What alternative destinations did you consider when planning this trip?_____

14. How important were each of these factors in your decision to visit Baffin Island? Select from a scale of 1 (totally unimportant) to 7 (extremely important).

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Environment/scenery	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]
Wilderness	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]
Wildlife	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]
Inuit people/cultural experience	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]
Peace and quiet	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]
Special events/festivals	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]
Photography opportunity	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]
Arts and crafts shopping	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]
Historic aspects	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]
Hiking/camping	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]
Sportfishing	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]
Sporthunting	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]
Other:_____	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]

_____

_____

15. a) How important were each of the following sources in helping you to choose your destination? Place an X next to those sources that you did <u>not</u> consult. Rank those you <u>did</u> consult on a scale from 1 (most important) onwards to the least important.

Friends and relatives	___
Travel Agent	___
Baffin Tourism Authority	___
TravelArctic (NWT Tourism Bureau)	___
Newspapers	___
Travel magazines	___
TV program	___
Tour operator	___
Travel guidebook	___
Other_____	___

b) Was information on Baffin Island easy or difficult to obtain? Please explain._____

_____

_____

<u>Trip Details</u>

16. Are you travelling on a pre-paid package? Yes [] No []

If yes, name the package and the tour company_____

_____

_____

How much did the package cost? Please indicate currency_____

If yes, what does it include:

i) Air transportation to Baffin Island? []
ii) Accommodation []
iii) Breakfast only []
iv) Two meals []
v) Three meals []
vi) Other transportation []
(specify)_____
vii) Tours (specify)_____ []
_____
viii) Other (specify)_____ []
_____

17. a) Excluding pre-paid package costs, what was your total expenditure in Baffin Island? _____
How many people does this include? _____

b) How much did you spend on the following items during your stay? Exclude pre-paid package costs. Please estimate where uncertain.

Iqaluit
Accommodation_____
Meals: Hotel_____
Restaurant_____
Internal Transport:
Internal Air_____
Taxis_____
Tours/outfitting:
Boat trips_____
Land tours_____
Groceries/Supplies_____
Arts and crafts (carvings, etc.)_____
Other (specify)_____

Community#2: (specify)_____
Accommodation_____
Meals: Hotel_____
Restaurant_____
Internal Transport:
Internal Air_____
Taxis_____
Tours/outfitting:
Boat trips_____
Land tours_____
Groceries/Supplies_____
Arts and crafts (carvings, etc.)_____
Other (specify)_____

18. How much did you spend on the following types of arts and crafts?

Soapstone carvings	____	Toys/games	____
Artifact replicas	____	Clothing/footwear	____
Prints/painting	____	Jewellery	____
Tapestries	____	Folk art (dolls,etc.)	____

19. How many nights did you spend in each of the following locations:

Auyuittuq Nat'l Park_____	Arctic Bay_____	Grise Fiord_____
Igloolik_____	Iqaluit_____	Cape Dorset_____
Nanisivik_____	Lake Harbour_____	Resolute Bay_____
Clyde River_____	Pangnirtung_____	Hall Beach_____
Pond Inlet_____	Broughton Island_____	Other (specify)_____

20. How many nights did you spend in each of the following types of accommodation?

Camping	___
Private home	___
Hotels/motels	___
Lodge	___
Cabin	___
Bed and Breakfast	___

21. Please tick the things you did during your visit to Baffin Island, placing an asterix (*) next to your two <u>main</u> activities.

Birdwatching	___	Visits to National parks	___
Nature study	___	Fishing	___
Hunting	___	Photography	___
Visiting historic sites	___	Hiking/backpacking/climbing	___
Meeting Inuit people	___	Camping	___
Shopping - arts and crafts	___	Kayaking/canoeing	___
Snowmobiling	___	Attending festivals/	___
Dog-sledding	___	Local events	___
Visiting museums	___	Other(specify)_____	

22. Which of the following local foods did you eat on this trip?

	Didn't eat it	Ate it once	Ate it more than once	Would've eaten if available
Caribou	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]
Arctic char	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]
Seal	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]
Greenland halibut	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]
Baffin scallops	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]
Baffin shrimp	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]
Whale	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]
Muskox	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]

Level of Satisfaction

23. Rate the following aspects of your trip on a scale of 1 to 7 where [1] = very dissatisfied and [7] = very satisfied.

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Airline connections	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]
Quality of accommodation	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]
Cost of accommodation	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]
Quality of food and drinks	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]
Cost of food and drinks	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]
Availability of assistance/ information	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]
Friendliness of people	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]
Boat trips	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]
Guide/outfitter service	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]
Taxi Service	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]
Natural Attractions	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]
Quality of the Environment	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]
Availability of art/craft work	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]
Quality of art/craft work	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]
Opportunities for cultural interaction	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]

24. Would you return to Baffin Island?

Definitely [ ]
Probably [ ]
Probably not [ ]
Definitely not [ ]

25. Would you recommend Baffin Island to a friend?

Definately [ ]
Probably [ ]
Probably not [ ]
Definately not [ ]

26. Did the visit differ from your expectations?

expectations not met [ ]
expectations met [ ]
expectations exceeded [ ]

Please explain and expand upon any issue or points you feel strongly about concerning your experience in Baffin Island. For example, how could your visit have been improved?_____

_____

_____

_____

Thank you for your assistance

APPENDIX D

TOURIST QUESTIONNAIRE - 1993

McGill

McGILL UNIVERSITY
BAFFIN ISLAND VISITOR SURVEY

- CONFIDENTIAL -

The Department of Geography at McGill University has recently received funding from the Social Science Research Council of Canada to conduct a three year study of the economic and social impacts of tourism development in Baffin Island. We hope that you will assist us in this research by completing the following questionnaire. All information is strictly confidential - you'll note that we do not require your name or address.

If you have any questions please ask the research assistant to help you. If you would like more information on the broader project please contact Prof. S. Milne, Dept.of Geography, McGill University, 805 Sherbrooke St. W., Montreal, Quebec H3A 2K6, CANADA.

GENERAL INFORMATION

1. Where do you live?

Canada [ ]
U.S.A [ ]
U.K. [ ]
Other Europe [ ]
Other:
Please specify _____

2. In which age group are you?

Under 18 [ ]
18 - 25 [ ]
26 - 35 [ ]
36 - 55 [ ]
56 - 65 [ ]
66 and older [ ]

3. If you are from Canada or the USA please indicate the province/state you live in.

_____

4. What is your first language?

English [ ]
French [ ]
Other [ ]
Please specify _____

5. What is your sex?

Male [ ]
Female [ ]

6. What is your occupation?

Please specify _____

7. Level of education attained?

Secondary [ ]
College [ ]
University:
undergraduate [ ]
graduate [ ]

8. What is your approximate household income (before tax)?

Please specify currency used _____
Under 20,000 [ ]
20,000 - 29,000 [ ]
30,000 - 39,000 [ ]
40,000 - 59,000 [ ]
60,000 - 99,000 [ ]
100,000+ [ ]
Other _____

YOUR VISIT

9. What is the main purpose of your visit?

Vacation	[ ]
Business	[ ]
Visiting friends & relatives	[ ]
Other (please specify)_____	[ ]

10. With whom are you travelling?

Alone	[ ]
Friend(s)	[ ]
Family	[ ]
Spouse/partner	[ ]

11. Is this your first trip to the Arctic?

Yes	[ ]
No	[ ]

12. Is this your first trip to Baffin Island?

Yes	[ ]
No	[ ]

13. If you answered NO to Q.12 which communities have you visited on previous trips to Baffin Is.? (please specify)

_____ _____
_____ _____
_____ _____
_____ _____

14. Please indicate the three most important sources of information that you used in planning this visit to Baffin Island?

(most impt.= 1, less impt. = 3)	Rank
Friends and relatives	[ ]
Travel Agent	[ ]
Travel Arctic (NWT Govt.)	[ ]
Tour Operator	[ ]
Newspapers or magazines	[ ]
Television	[ ]
Other (please specify) _____	[ ]

15. How many nights did you spend in Baffin Island? _____

16. How many nights did you spend in each of the following locations?

A national park	___	Iqaluit	___
Pangnirtung	___	Pond Inlet	___
Cape Dorset	___	Resolute Bay	___
Grise Fiord	___	Lake Harbour	___
Clyde River	___	Nanisivik	___
Broughton Is.	___	Arctic Bay	___
Igloolik	___	Other	___

17. How many nights did you spend in the following accommodation types?

Hotel/motel	___
Lodge/cabin	___
Private Home (friend/relative)	___
Private Home (paid)	___
Camping	___
Other (please specify)	___

18. How important were each of these factors in your decision to visit Baffin Island? Select from a scale of 1 (totally unimportant) to 5 (extremely important).

	1	2	3	4	5
Environment / scenery / wildlife	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]
Inuit people / cultural experience	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]
Peace and quiet	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]
Special events / festivals	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]
Arts & crafts	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]
Historic aspects	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]
Hunting/fishing	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]
Other (specify)_____	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]

19. Which of the following local foods did you eat on this trip?

	Didn't eat it	Ate it once or more	Would have eaten (more) if available	Would never eat
Caribou	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]
Arctic Char	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]
Seal	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]
Halibut	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]
Scallops/shrimp	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]
Other _____	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]
Other _____	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]

EXPENDITURE DETAILS

20. Are you travelling on a pre-paid package?

Yes [ ]
No [ ]

What was the total price? _____
Please indicate currency _____

22. What is the name of the company that organised the package?

_____

21. If yes, what does your package include?

i) Air transport [ ]
ii) Accommodation [ ]
iii) Breakfast only [ ]
iv) 2 or more meals daily [ ]
v) Tours/guiding [ ]
vi) Land transport [ ]
vii) Other (specify) _____
viii) Other (specify) _____

23. Excluding pre-paid package costs, how much money did you spend during this visit to Baffin Island? C$_____
How many people does this include? _____

24. Please break down your expenditure according to the following categories (if you are uncertain of a particular figure please provide an estimate).
Please provide figures in $ Canadian.

Expenditure Category	Iqaluit	Other Communities (please name) i.....	ii .....
Accommodation	_____	_____	_____
Meals: Hotel	_____	_____	_____
Restaurant	_____	_____	_____
Internal Air	_____	_____	_____
Taxis	_____	_____	_____
Tours/outfitting:			
Boat trips	_____	_____	_____
Land tours	_____	_____	_____
Groceries and supplies	_____	_____	_____
Arts and crafts	_____	_____	_____
Other (specify)_____	_____	_____	_____
Other (specify)_____	_____	_____	_____
Total	_____	_____	_____

25. How much did you spend on the following types of arts and crafts?

Stone/bone carvings	_____	Clothing/footwear	_____
Prints/painting	_____	Tapestries	_____
Jewellery	_____	Other (please specify)	_____

IMPRESSIONS AND COMMENTS

26. Looking back over your trip how satisfied were you with the following factors. Please respond on a scale of [1] very dissatisfied to [5] extremely satisfied.

	1	2	3	4	5	Not Applic.
Airline Connections	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]
Quality of accommodation	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]
Cost of accommodation	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]
Quality of food and drinks	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]
Cost of food and drinks	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]
Availability of information	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]
Guiding/outfitting services	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]
Availability of arts and crafts	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]
Quality of arts and crafts	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]
Natural attractions	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]
Quality of the environment	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]
Opportunities for cultural interaction	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]

27. Please list below any aspects of Inuit culture or life-style that you would have liked to experience or learn more about during your visit.

a._____

b._____

c._____

28. Will you return to Baffin Island?

Definitely	[ ]
Probably	[ ]
Probably not	[ ]
Definitely not	[ ]

29. Would you recommend Baffin Island to a friend?

Definitely	[ ]
Probably	[ ]
Probably not	[ ]
Definitely not	[ ]

30. Please comment upon any issues you feel strongly about concerning your visit to Baffin Island. How could your visit have been improved?

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

- THANK YOU FOR YOUR ASSISTANCE -

SUPPLEMENTARY QUESTIONS

The following two supplementary questions have been added to the questionnaire in the hope of allowing us to better understand the nature of your exposure to the local way of life. Although they are optional, we ask that you take an extra moment to complete them. Thank you.

1. Please indicate how your expectations regarding the following matched your experience:

	As expected	More modern than expected	More traditional than expected	No expectations/ No opinion
Way of life in village	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]
Appearance of village	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]
Hunting methods/ technology	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]
Way of life on the land	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]
Material culture (presence of commodities)	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]
Appearance of people (dress, etc.)	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]
Subject matter of arts and crafts	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]

2. Did you have any exposure to Inuit hunting activity? Please check the one box next to the response which best describes your experience.

IF NO:

[ ] Did not want to
[ ] Unsure if wanted to
[ ] Wanted to, opportunity lacking

IF YES:

[ ] Negative experience
[ ] Neutral experience
[ ] Positive experience

Please use the following space for any additional comments you would like to make.

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

APPENDIX E

INDIVIDUALS CONSULTED

Government of the Northwest Territories

Jaco Awa, Renewable Resources, Pond Inlet.

Michael Bloor, Area Economic Development Officer, Pond Inlet.

Bert Dean, Renewable Resource Officer, Pond Inlet.

Pat Fowler, Environmental Health Officer, Iqaluit.

Rick Hamburg, Regional Supervisor, Tourism Development. Iqaluit: Economic Development and Tourism.

Robert Jaffray, Area Economic Development Officer, Cape Dorset.

Hilary Jones, Tourism Training Co-ordinator, NWT Tourism Training Group.

Dave Monteith, Regional Supervisor, Parks and Visitor Services. Iqaluit: Economic Development and Tourism.

Ronald G. Seale, Special Advisor Parks Development. Yellowknife: Economic Development and Tourism.

Larry Simpson, Supervisor of Renewable Resource Development. Iqaluit: Economic Development and Tourism.

Catherine Trumper, Regional Supervisor, Economic Development and Tourism. Iqaluit.

Hamlet of Pond Inlet, NWT

Jake Anaviapik, Senior Administrative Officer.

Rhoda Katsak, Assistant Administrative Officer.

David Pitseolak, Pond Inlet Parks Committee.

Businesses, Pond Inlet, NWT

Appitak Ennuaraq, Hotel Manager (1993), Sauniq Hotel.

John Henderson, Eclipse Sound Outfitting.

Joshua Idlout, Tourism Co-ordinator, Toonoonik Sahoonik Co-op Ltd.

Simon Inutuq, Freezer Manager, Hunters and Trappers Association.

Elijah Nashuk, Hotel Manager (1992), Sauniq Hotel.

Levi Palituq, General Manager, Hunters and Trappers Association.

William Umphrey, General Manager, Toonoonik Sahoonik Co-op Ltd.

Baffin Tourism Association

Cecil P. Clarke, General Manager.

Environment Canada, Parks

R.A. Gamble, Public Involvement Officer, Northern Park Establishment, Yellowknife, NWT.