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TOURISM DEVELOPMENT IN THE BAFFIN REGION:
An Examination of Tourism Development in
Canada's Eastern Arctic

by

Malcolm J. Anderson.

B.A.(Hons.), University of Otago

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

Carleton University

Ottawa, Ontario

January 1986

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Abstract

Early studies of tourism development in Canada's Northwest Territories show a consistent appreciation of the problems which must first be overcome for a successful tourism strategy in the north. Presently, tourism development in the Baffin Region of Canada's arctic is based upon two strategies - the Baffin Region Tourism Strategy (1982) and the Community Based Tourism Strategy of the Northwest Territories (1983). Both strategies are reviewed and considered inappropriate to the Baffin Region.

Based upon a review of previous tourism studies on Canada's Northwest Territories, fieldwork, and literature reviewed concerning tourism impacts, development and planning, an alternative strategy outline for future tourism development in the region is presented.

This alternative strategy considers tourism development in the region for the benefit of the local communities. A gradualist approach to tourism development, which stresses slow growth on a small scale, is recommended for the Baffin Region. This approach would be augmented by tourism planning that is appropriate, comprehensive, integrated and continuous (these factors have been absent in the past), and research which utilises past tourism studies concerning impacts, development and planning.

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Table of Contents

	<u>Page</u>
Abstract	ii
Acknowledgements	iii
Table of Contents	iv
List of Tables	vii
List of Figures	viii
 Chapter One: Introduction	 1
 Chapter Two: Terminology and Tourism Impacts	 10
2.1 Introduction: Terminology	10
2.2 Tourism Impacts	14
2.2.1 Introduction	14
2.2.2 Economic Impacts on Host Communities	21
2.2.3 Tourist-Host Interaction	26
2.2.4 Resident Attitudes	29
2.2.5 Traditional Culture	31
2.2.6 Conclusion	34
 Chapter Three: Tourism Development and Planning	 37
3.1 Stages of Development	37
3.2 Tourism Planning - Introduction	40
3.3 Government Considerations	42
3.4 Tourism Planning Outlines	46
3.5 Phases of Tourism Planning	49
3.5.1 Background Analysis	49
3.5.2 Detailed Research and Analysis	51
3.5.3 Synthesis Phase	53
3.5.4 Goal-Setting, Strategy Selection and Objective Setting	54
3.5.5 Plan Development Phase	55
3.6 Public Involvement	57
 Chapter Four: Tourism in the Northwest Territories and the Baffin Region	 59
4.1 Introduction	59
4.1.1 Climate and Physiography	59
4.1.2 History	61
4.1.3 Settlements of the Northwest Territories	64
4.1.4 Resources	65
4.2 The Growth of Tourism	68
4.2.1 Northwest Territories Visitor Studies	73
4.3 The Baffin Region	77
4.3.1 Introduction	77
4.3.2 Baffin Region History	80
4.3.3 Settlements in the Baffin Region	82
4.3.4 Tourism in the Baffin Region: An Overview	82

Table of Contents cont'd

Page

Chapter Five: Problems for Tourism Development in
the Baffin Region

88

5.1 Introduction	88
5.2 Seasonality	88
5.3 Infrastructural Requirements	90
5.4 Transportation	93
5.5 Labour Force Considerations	94
5.6 Cultural Barriers	97
5.7 Environmental Considerations	99
5.8 The Arctic Image	100
5.9 Marketing	101
5.10 Inuit Land Claims	103
5.11 Other Considerations	104
5.12 Conclusion	105

Chapter Six: Tourism Development Literature:
Northwest Territories and the Baffin
Region

107

6.1 Introduction	107
6.2 Early Considerations	107
6.2.1 McConnell (1970)	107
6.2.2 Baker (1973)	108
6.2.3 Mieczkowski (1973, 1974)	109
6.2.4 Butler (1975)	111
6.3 The Eighties	114
6.3.1 Balmer, Crapo and Associates (1980)	114
6.3.2 Keller (1982)	115
6.4 The Baffin Region Tourism Strategy (1982)	117
6.4.1 Introduction	117
6.4.2 Detailed Research and Analysis Phase	118
6.4.3 Synthesis Phase	122
6.4.4 Goal Setting, Strategy Selection and Objective Setting Phase	123
6.4.5 Plan Development Phase	125
6.5 Community Based Tourism Strategy	129
6.6 The Present Day	134
6.7 Conclusion	138

Chapter Seven: A Strategy Outline for Baffin Tourism

142

7.1 Introduction	142
7.2 A Gradualist Approach	143
7.3 An Alternative Strategy	146
7.3.1 Introduction	146
7.3.2 Sub-Region 1: Southern Baffin	150
7.3.3 Sub-Region 2: East Baffin	151
7.3.4 Sub-Region 3: Northwest Baffin	152
7.4 Arrangements, Commitments and Organisation	155
7.5 Conclusion	157

Table of Contents cont'd.

Chapter Eight: Synthesis

Selected Bibliography

Appendices

Page

159

169

178

List of Tables

	<u>Page</u>
Table 2.1 Tourism Balance Sheet	17
Table 3.1 Phases of Tourism Planning	50
Table 4.1 Temperature and Sunlight Variation in Selected Northwest Territories Communities	60
Table 4.2 Tourist Attractions of the Northwest Territories	68
Table 4.3 Regional Breakdown of Tourism Facilities in the Northwest Territories	72
Table 4.4 Tourist Seasons of the Baffin Region	84
Table 6.1 Community Roles and Priority in the Baffin Region	126
Table 7.1 Priority Levels for Sub-Regions in a Gradualist Approach	147

List of Figures

	<u>Page</u>
Figure 1.1 The Northwest Territories of Canada	5
Figure 1.2 Baffin Region Travel Zone	6
Figure 2.1 Diagram Illustrating the Integrated Planning of Tourism Development	11
Figure 2.2 Touristic Impact upon a Culture and Local Perceptions of Visitors	18
Figure 2.3 Psychographic Continuum of Travellers	19
Figure 3.1 Stages in the Organic Development of a Peripheral Tourist Industry	39
Figure 3.2 Tourism Planning Model	56
Figure 4.1 Location of Settlements in the Northwest Territories	63
Figure 4.2 Increased Numbers of Tourists in the Northwest Territories 1959-1975	70
Figure 4.3 Travel Zones and National Parks of the Northwest Territories	71
Figure 4.4 Baffin Region Travel Zone	78
Figure 5.1 Population Pyramid of the Baffin Region	97
Figure 7.1 Sub-Regions of a Baffin Region Tourism Strategy	148

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

The study of tourism has received increasing attention over the past fifteen years from a variety of academic disciplines (for example: Archer, 1976; Cohen, 1979; Matthews, 1977; Pearce, 1982; Peters, 1969). Geographers' Mathieson and Wall (1982) defined tourism as:

...the temporary movement of people to destinations outside their normal places of work and residence, the activities undertaken during their stay in those destinations, and the facilities created to cater to their needs (Mathieson and Wall, 1982: 1).

The International Union of Official Travel Organisations (1963), now the World Tourism Organisation (WTO), defined tourists as: Temporary visitors staying at least twenty-four hours in the country visited and the purpose of whose journey can be classified under one of the following headings:

- a) Leisure (recreation, holiday, health, study, religion, sport).
- b) Business, family, friends, meeting, mission

Excursionists according to WTO, are defined as: temporary

visitors staying less than twenty-four hours in the country visited.

For a discussion of problems of definition see Leiper (1979) and Cohen (1974).

Many defined regions around the world have been the focus of tourism research. Indeed, the spatial component underlies much of this research, hence the *raison d'être* for geographical input (for example: Britton, 1979; Mathieson and Wall, 1982; Pearce, 1978; Wall and Ali, 1977; Williams and Zelinsky, 1970).

Unfortunately, the relationship between geography and tourism has not appeared so obvious and consequently there has been a pre-occupation with qualifying the relevancy of geography to tourism and vice-versa. Discussion of this association has been noted for example by Matley (1976); Mercer (1970); Mitchell (1979); Pearce (1979); Robinson (1976); Yefremov (1975).

Mitchell (1979: 236) cites two reasons why articles on tourism are absent from geographical publications; that geographers do not consider tourism a topic worthy of attention by 'mature scholars' and that the small size of the discipline and the large choice of other sub-disciplines within geography has led to the lack of research.

Considering 'tourism' as applied geography, Robinson (1976) justified geographical input in tourism research with the following factors:

- geographic concern with the environment, spatial distribution and relationships, spatial interplay of tourism demand and satisfaction.
- changes to the landscape resulting from tourism impact.
- changes in the demographic and economic structure of certain regions.

- tourism's increasing economic importance.
- the role of tourism in international trade.
- the social and cultural impacts of tourism (Robinson, 1976: xxii-xxiv).

The predominant approach to the study of tourism is that of the regionalist - due largely to the nature of tourism in that it is people and their desire to travel to a place. Hence we see studies involving one or other, or both, and since place is stationary in time, it provides the pivotal point for developing theories/concepts concerning people's movements and their relationship with the land and other people. Similarly, Mitchell (1979: 237) notes

In a conceptual vein the geographer has traditionally claimed the spatial and chorographic aspects as his realm, and chronology and evolution have been viewed as the domain of the historian. The geographer, therefore, is concerned about earth space in general and about place and places in particular.

Central to this line of thought is planning and development strategies for tourist regions. The scale of tourism may not be as important as appropriateness of the scale and quality of strategy formulation and management. Such a notion is discussed here with reference to the Eastern Arctic of Canada's Northwest Territories (NWT) [1] - one of the last relatively untouched

1. The Northwest Territories total area is 3,376,698 sq. km. - approximately one third of the total area of Canada, and is equal in size to India (NWT Databook, 1984) (see Fig. 1.1). The NWT Act (1875) refers to the area being:

i) All that part of Canada north of the sixtieth parallel of North Latitude, except the portions thereof that are within the Yukon Territory, the Province of Quebec, or the Province of Newfoundland and

ii) the islands in Hudson Bay, James Bay and Ungava Bay, except those islands that are within the Province of Manitoba, the Province of Ontario or the Province of Quebec.

areas of the world (Figure 1.1).

Enveloped in a Community Based Tourism Strategy by the Government of the Northwest Territories (GNWT, 1983), the Eastern Arctic is one of six travel zones into which the Territories are divided (Figure 1.2). Known as the Baffin Travel Zone, the area consists of fourteen communities with an aggregate population of 8,300 (Statistics Canada, 1981). (For a tabulated outline of each community see Appendix 1.)

Keller (1982) identified the Baffin Travel Zone as a peripheral/tourist destination due to the region's geographical location and hence relative inaccessibility, and its remote, northerly image. Indeed, these factors are central to this study and will be discussed in greater detail in later chapters.

The Baffin Travel Zone is an awesome land of high mountains, deep fiords, and frozen glaciers. It stretches from Eastern Hudson Bay up through Davis Strait and its major islands including Baffin itself - north to Ellesmere and the edge of the polar ice cap (NWT Explorers Guide, 1985: 80).

The Community Based Tourism Strategy has a time frame of five years spanning from 1983-1987 inclusive. The purpose of the strategy was to provide a basis for tourism budgeting and planning for the GNWT. Emphasis was given to assisting NWT residents so that they may receive full benefit from the tourism industry, hence the support for community based tourism programmes. With this emphasis in mind, important questions arise which are examined in this study. For example: Is this strategy appropriate for an area as large as the NWT, and more specifically, is it appropriate for the Eastern Arctic? How should tourism development proceed in the Eastern Arctic?

Figure 1.1

— The Northwest Territories of Canada

Figure 1.2

Baffin Region Travel Zone

The Baffin Region initially received considerable attention from the GNWT with an \$800,000 consultant's report in 1982 on tourism in the area. Known as the Baffin Regional Tourism Planning Project, the intent of the study was:

to provide a basic strategy for resource development and marketing and serve as an educational tool to stimulate interest and gain the full participation of native residents in the tourism industry (Marshall, Macklin, Monaghan, 1982: 1).

and,

to identify investment opportunities for the private and public sectors that will allow for maximum contribution to the economic well-being of individual areas with pre-determined social carrying capacities (Marshall, Macklin, Monaghan, 1982: 2).

Present tourism development in the Baffin Region is based upon the Baffin Regional Tourism Strategy and the Community Based Tourism Strategy.

In essence, the purpose of this paper is to examine the nature of tourism development in the Baffin Region and to relate this to the germane components of tourism literature. To do this, the study will critically review tourism development strategies in the Northwest Territories and the Baffin Region. The study will also present an alternative tourism development strategy based on tourism literature, field work and previous strategy outlines in the Baffin Region.

Field work was conducted in July 1985 in the communities of Frobisher Bay, Pangnirtung and Pond Inlet. Interviews were conducted with local government officials, tourism consultants, Parks Canada staff, tourism entrepreneurs and the general public in these communities. Data collection and observations were also

made in each of these communities and in Auyuittuq National Park on Baffin Island.

Attempts to administer a short questionnaire on tourism impacts to residents, written in both Inuktitut and English, failed due to the following factors: lack of interest by local people to complete the questionnaire, many residents were away from the communities over the duration of the fieldwork and the limited time available for fieldwork, imposed by financial constraints, prevented adequate questionnaire sampling in the communities.

Chapters Two and Three review tourism literature pertaining to impacts, planning and development. The remaining chapters are based on information gathered through research, personal correspondence and interviews with people involved with northern tourism development, and field work conducted in the Baffin region in the summer of 1985. In many instances, the source of information cannot be revealed due to the fact that the social and political ramifications of such divulgence would have consequences for those people concerned.

Chapters Two and Three discuss in detail the theoretical literature pertaining to tourism development, planning and impacts, citing case studies of past tourism research around the world. Although not explicitly mentioned in subsequent chapters, the elements discussed in these two chapters provide an implicit understanding of the factors related to tourism development in the Baffin Region.

Chapter Four introduces both the Northwest Territories (NWT)

and the Baffin Region in terms of their history and geography, and their present tourism characteristics.

Chapter Five discusses the inherent barriers associated with tourism development in the region, providing an arbitrary distinction to identify these problems. In many cases these barriers to growth are closely inter-related.

Chapter Six builds upon the conceptual foundations presented in Chapters Two and Three and reviews tourism development concepts and strategies which relate specifically to the Northwest Territories, and the Baffin Region in particular. Special emphasis will be placed upon the Community Based Tourism Strategy and the Baffin Region Tourism Strategy for it is these two studies that provide the present platform for tourism development in the Baffin Region.

Following this analysis, an alternative strategy for tourism development in the Baffin Region will be presented based on considerations raised in the preceding chapters. Chapter Seven then, is a purely subjective section of this study which seeks to go beyond the normal explanation, description process to provide a blueprint for future tourism development in this Eastern Arctic region. The spatial component is the predominant theme underlying much tourism research and will be central to this thesis.

The indigenous people of the north are well aware of the southern lifestyle and the way which it can, and has already, altered their own. Tourism growth, therefore, should be harnessed at an early stage, utilised for the benefit of the local people, and organised and managed at an appropriate level which makes full use of existing facilities - thus minimising costs in the future.

CHAPTER TWO

TERMINOLOGY AND TOURISM IMPACTS

2.1 Introduction: Terminology

Before entering into a specific analysis of Eastern Arctic tourism it is essential that a semantic clarification of tourism terminology be made. In past tourism research, 'precise' meaning has been elusive. When we consider terms such as tourism 'growth', 'impacts', 'development', and 'planning', it is important that each concept be placed correctly in context with the others. On the following page, Figure 2.1 illustrates the inter-relationships of these terms in the context of planning for tourism development.

At the abstract level, there are inherent semantic difficulties with the concept of 'development'. Welch (1984) notes:

Development...suggests an evolutionary process; it has positive connotations, in at least some of its meanings it suggests an unfolding from within. And of course, development is always of something particular, a human being, a society, a nation, an economy, a skill...It is often associated with words such as under or over or balanced; too little, too much, or just right...which suggests that development has a structure, and that the speaker has some idea about how this structure ought to be developed? (Welch, 1984: 2).

Figure 2.1

Diagram Illustrating the Integrated Planning of Tourism Development

Source: Mawhinney and Bagnal, 1976: 338.

It is common to think of 'development' as a process, and also the result of that process. Precise meaning, however, is often left to the readers' interpretation. If we consider 'development' as cumulative structural change (Welch, 1984: 4) then we may adopt a neutral definition that does not state the form in which such change may take place. Accordingly, for our purposes, we accept Varley's (1978) definition that

...Development is a normative concept and embraces changes in a society which extend beyond the purely economic, and involves not only the transformation of production and consumption patterns but changes in institutions, attitudes and ideology (Varley, 1978: 12).

Enter then, the notion of tourism, composed, as Mathieson and Wall (1982: 14) stress, of three elements:

the dynamic; involving travel to a selected destination or destinations;

the static; the stay in the destination;

the consequential; the effects of the static and dynamic elements on existing economic, physical and social subsystems in a particular host area.

We can combine the ideas of Varley, and Mathieson and Wall and note that tourism development is a process stemming from a change in tourism activity in a particular area. For tourism specifically, development may be regarded as:

the process of increasing the number and variety of opportunities available to travellers, while continuing to improve the quality of the tourism experience. Tourism development is a careful mix of preservation, upgrading and addition (Balmer, Cropp and Associates, 1976: 1).

Implicit in any discussion of development is the notion of growth. 'Growth' in many instances can be synonymous with

development. 'Too much' growth may have negative impacts (as discussed later) while 'too little' may indicate unrealised tourism potential. Ideally, what is called for is balanced growth where the supply of tourism facilities meets demand, where the number of tourists does not increase beyond the carrying capacity of host communities, where tourism is integrated with related activities and co-ordinated planning is in accordance with the desires of the local host population (Cleverdon and Edwards, 1982; Mill and Morrison, 1985).

Indeed, a change in tourism activity necessitates the stabilising factor of tourism planning. It is the responsibility of planners to take the appropriate course of action for the benefit of those involved, both directly and indirectly, with the tourism phenomenon.

Mathieson and Wall (1982) observe that impact research is an essential element in the tourism planning process and can help ensure that goals and objectives be met. Increasing attention is being given to the impacts of tourism. It is vital to any planning strategy that some awareness of potential impacts exists. There is a definite relationship between impacts and planning. Planning seeks to minimise negative impacts and enhance the positive. Similarly, as noted, planning is the mechanism by which to guide tourism development. The direct control of tourism development should be via planning which seeks to guide tourism activity for the benefit of both tourists and residents in destination areas.

It is common in tourism literature to discuss impacts,

planning and development separately with little mention of the relationship amongst the three. The following two chapters will show that an important relationship does exist and attempt to clarify and explain these factors further, providing an insight into the quality and quantity of these aspects of tourism research.

2.2 The Socio-Economic Impacts of Tourism

2.2.1 Introduction

Impacts are perceptual constructs based on peoples' experience, acquired knowledge and belief structure. Accordingly, tourism in the 1960's was considered a valuable commodity and was seen as a viable 'resource' in economic terms. As Jafari (1982) notes, many public and international agencies voiced their approval of tourism, regarding the phenomenon as an 'invaluable trade or business in the world' (Jafari, 1982: 51). And that is still the case today (as demonstrated by, for example, the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, International Labour Organisation and the World Tourism Organisation).

To consider just the economic aspect of tourism, however, meant that it was inevitably taken out of context, with little consideration given to other effects - particularly social impacts on host communities. The following discussion will summarise research on tourism impacts in host communities during the 1970s and the first half of the 1980s. Various themes and concepts emerge that can be applied to the Eastern Arctic.

Núñez relates impacts to the planning process noting:

It is one thing to say that no one can predict social impacts with certainty, and quite another to leave them out of the planning process altogether (Núñez, 1977: 366).

Moreover, Wall and Ali (1977: 46) stress that social and economic impacts of tourism are 'inextricably interwoven, and it is impossible to isolate their individual effects'. It must be stressed here that despite the ordering and structure of this chapter there is considerable overlap owing to the various widespread effects of tourism. Nevertheless, it is hoped that the distinctions do assist readers to structure tourism impacts conceptually to a certain degree.

Many of the studies cited here come from small, less developed areas of the world where the effects of tourism are more noticeable on traditional lifestyles (for example, Groupe Huit in Tunisia (1979); Swain, in Panama (1977); and Wilson (1979) in the Seychelles).

Indeed, De Kadt (1979) notes:

Small countries [or areas] with relatively underdeveloped production facilities and infrastructure and relatively low levels of skills among their people, are likely to experience more negative sociocultural effects as a result of tourism development than are larger, more developed countries [or areas] (De Kadt, 1979: 16).

During the 1960s the predominant approach to tourism around the world was optimistic. Tourism was seen as a panacea to the economic ills of disadvantaged regions and countries. Research concentrated on the positive attributes of tourism. During the 1970s, however, an increasingly critical style of research emerged that either a) considered tourism in a wider context discussing both positive and negative effects, or, b)

concentrated on its negative attributes (for example, Andronicou, 1979; Boissevain and Inglott, 1979; Hudson, 1978; Hyma and Wall, 1979; Jonish and Peterson, 1973; Lundberg, 1974; Ritchie and Zins, 1978). At the same time though, many tourism textbooks presented uncritical views of tourism (for example, Burkart and Medlik, 1974; McIntosh, 1976; Peters, 1969).

The positive effects cannot be denied, and some of these (and also the negative effects) can be observed in Table 2.1 below (after Jafari, 1982).

Tourism may also help establish a sense of unity and identity (Archer, 1978; Boissevain and Inglott, 1979) and can be instrumental in helping residents of host communities establish an appreciation for the local environment and local history (Cohen, 1978).

The dominant underlying theme of tourism development is that change will take place and the effects will be felt at varying levels in both social/cultural and economic terms. Butler (1974) identified ten factors involved in social change:

Related to Tourists

- number of tourists
- length of stay of visitors
- ethnic characteristics of visitors
- economic characteristics of visitors
- activities of visitors

Related to the Destination Area

- economic condition of the area
- degree of local involvement in tourism
- spatial characteristics of tourism development
- viability of local culture
- others, e.g., political attitudes

Similarly, Smith (1977) illustrated the effects of increasing numbers and changing composition of tourists with the following diagram (Figure 2.2).

Impacts of tourism increase with growing numbers of tourists

Table 2.1

Tourism Balance Sheet - But It Does not Balance; Or is it Supposed to?

BENEFITS			COSTS	
Economic	Sociocultural	Economic	Sociocultural	
Examples:		Examples:	Examples:	Examples:
- Foreign Exchange	- Broadening of Education	- Inflation	- Misunderstanding	
- Built on the existing infrastructure	- International peace and understanding	- Leakage	- Stereotyping	
- Developed with Local Products and Resources	Breakdown of: - language barriers	- Seasonality	- Xenophobia	
- Spread Development	- social or class barriers	- Unemployment	- Social Pollution	
- Complement Product of other Economic Activities	- religious barriers	- Susceptible to political changes, rumours, spread of disease, economic fluctuation	- Commercialization of the culture	
- Multiplier Effect	- racial barriers	- Unbalanced economic development	- Commercialization of Religion	
Employment:	- Appreciation of one's own and other socio-cultural elements	- Demonstration effects	- Commercialisation of the Arts	
- full time		- Visual pollution	- Demonstration Effects	
- part time		- Destruction of resources	- Frostification	
- seasonal			- Conflicts	
- unskilled			- Crime	

Note: This Table represents a sample of the kind of costs and benefits attributed to tourism in the Sixties and Seventies.

Source: Jafari, 1982: 53.

and a change in tourist composition (also De Kadt, 1979; Varley, 1978). Initially, tourists would be exploratory in nature and would be genuinely interested in the new culture with its 'touristic appeal' (Varley, 1978). Impacts, De Kadt (1978) notes, would increase with the changing composition of tourists until the final group, the charter tourist would predominate.

Figure 2.2

Touristic Impact upon a Culture and Local Perceptions
of Visitors

Touristic impact upon a culture Δ and local perceptions of visitors ∇ expressed in types of tourism. 1. Explorer; 2. Elite; 3. Off-beat; 4. Unusual; 5. Incipient Mass; 6. Mass; 7. Charter:

Source: Smith, 1977, 11.

18

These tourists would have a strong negative impact on the host community and would spatially concentrate themselves in tourist enclaves in which tourist-host interaction will be minimal.

In a similar vein, Plog (1972) introduced a psychological theory to explain the rise and fall in popularity of tourist destination areas (Figure 2.3).

Figure 2.3

Psychographic Continuum of Travellers

Source: Plog, 1972

Known as the psychographic continuum, the graph places the behaviour characteristics of travellers. At one end are the allocentric people who are 'self-confident, usually successful, high earners, and frequent travellers'. They prefer uncrowded destination areas and show a high interest in meeting people and learning of new cultures. At the other end of the continuum are the psychocentric people who are characterised as being unsure

of themselves, low earners and infrequent travellers who prefer the security of crowded, familiar tourist destinations. In the middle of these two extremes are the midcentrics who prefer heavily used destinations; familiar food and chain-type hotels. Most people, Plog added, were in this category.

According to Plog, the rise and fall of a destination area is a function of its psychographic appeal. The graph gives examples of some tourism destinations presently used today.

Turner (1976) and Krippendorff (1974) note that for effective planning a social cost/benefit approach for all segments of the tourism industry should be constructed, thus providing a structured means by which to measure potential impacts upon host communities. A strong emphasis should be placed on the social impacts of tourism which would then act as a catalyst for impact studies on the economy and the environment, if indeed, these impacts can be regarded as mutually exclusive (Bryden, 1973; Noronha, 1979).

Since tourism does not produce one homogenous product, and instead, produces a variety of goods and services (Varley, 1978) it is essential for any attempts to minimise negative tourism impacts to understand the extensive wing-span of what is known as the tourism industry. The tourism phenomenon involves almost every aspect of a local economy. As such, the tourism industry is not readily identifiable but rather is composed of many different economic sectors. Young (1973) suggested that one of the major problems with the tourism industry may be the uneven growth of some sections which has, or may lead, to overall

structures possessing weak links. His solution was for policy-makers to emphasize vertical integration - similar to the practice of many transnational corporations today.

Young added that there are two types of problems in connection with the growth of tourism: the avoidable; inadequate forecasting, inefficient planning and failure to deal with the components of tourism in a consistent coherent way; and the unavoidable: 'due to the very nature and innate dynamism of tourism leading to conflicts of land-use and to changes in social and economic patterns' (Young, 1973: 169).

Tourism may have varying levels of impacts and these may vary from region to region. For these different degrees to be understood and the negative impacts reduced, it is necessary that policy makers consider the wide ranging effects of tourism and learn from other regions experiences with the tourism phenomenon.

2.2.2 Economic Impact on Host Communities

Tourism has been acknowledged as an instrument in regional economic development policy (Economic Intelligence Unit (EIU) 1973; Jafari, 1974; Young, 1973), and especially so for backward, less developed regions (Cleverdon and Edwards, 1982). The greatest effect in a host community, however, may be felt in the changing employment pattern. A change in employment patterns is the most obvious and immediate benefit a community may receive (De Kadt, 1979). Increased opportunity for employment with the creation of jobs will help to increase

income and raise the standard of living. Cleverdon and Edwards (1982) note that tourism produces a range of lower-middle occupations and provides opportunities for the creation of small businesses. Greenwood (1977), however, questions the true value of a change in employment, stating that the industry may create an unequal distribution of wealth. A popular example is that of a father and son in an agricultural area. The son goes to the tourist enclave and earns as much in a day as his father earns in a week. Increased financial dualism and change in status within a host destination may only be further perpetuated with a growing tourism industry. Indeed, Matthews (1977: 24) critically evaluated tourism in 'third world' countries, concluding that '[the tourism] industry uses third world countries as a stage upon which the tourists' fantasy can be acted out, for profit'. Little consideration, he felt, was given to the existing employment structure of indigenous economies.

Several questions need to be answered before praising or condemning employment change resulting from increased tourism:

- How much employment is generated by tourism?
- What will be the effects on a social/cultural level?
- What type of skills are required?
- What type of worker is most in demand and can these workers be provided locally?
- Will the long term effect be an increase in structural unemployment?
- Of the new positions available, how many go to outsiders interested only in the seasonal activity?

Bryden (1973), commenting on the Caribbean Islands between 1960 and 1970, suggested that as a result of tourism, there was a declining proportion of the labour force in agriculture. Change in employment had been caused by labour moving to construction, tourism and possible commercial sectors.

Young people and women appear to benefit from the creation of tourism jobs and their resulting change in status weakens the traditional family structure (Andronicou, 1979; Cleverdon and Edwards, 1982; De Kadt, 1979; UNESCO, 1976; Wilson, 1979).

The production of arts and crafts may become commercialised in response to increasing demands by tourists (De Kadt, 1979; Greenwood, 1976; 1977). Traditional dances or rituals may be 'commoditised' for the benefit of tourists, resulting in the creation of a 'phony-folk-culture' (Archer, 1978; Forster, 1964).

Essentially, a change in lifestyle may occur with the growth of tourism, resulting in a change from a traditional to a modern way of life which emphasises different consumption patterns, a monetised society, new employment status and increasing dependency on external economic influences (Jafari, 1974; Wilson, 1979).

Careful consideration must also be given to the seasonality of tourism, which can lead to loss of profit and unemployment in the off season. Moreover, administration expenditures by local, regional or national governments in the tourism industry will need to be absorbed into the overall economic budget. Cleverdon and Edwards (1982) note four main categories of government

expenditure; development and administration control; operation of facilities (e.g., government owned hotels); infrastructural costs, and grants and incentives designed to attract tourism.

Aside from the social impacts of tourism, economies are generally considered to be better off. The benefits may include: a diversified economy, a growth sector with relatively high price and income elasticities of demand, increased employment, growth of a well developed infrastructure, and possibly, the promotion of a different image that may, in the case of small countries, help to increase foreign investment. On the negative side, however, there may be increased inflation, unbalanced economic development, increased volume of imports and eventual unemployment (Cleverdon and Edwards, 1982; Groupe Huit, 1979; Jafari, 1982; Mathieson and Wall, 1982; Wilson, 1979).

Table 2.1 gives further examples of economic costs and benefits.

To give less developed countries a greater piece of the global economic tourism pie, Turner (1976) gave the following recommendations:

- 1) Establish a Ministry of Tourism (to co-ordinate the Industry)
- 2) Work out the costs and benefits of all segments of the tourist market
- 3) Indigenise (or attempt to) employment and purchasing policies
- 4) Think of ways to increase foreign exchange receipts.
- 5) Need to carefully calculate infrastructural investment (Turner, 1976: 13).

Increased tourist demand for a particular area leads inevitably to an increase in supply (i.e., more hotels, increased infrastructure, extra tourist activities - Niagara Falls may be a prime example). The equating of supply and

demand introduces the notion of the product life-cycle of tourism which will be discussed shortly. In the meantime, however, it would be advisable for host communities to consider the quality of the tourist in addition to the quantity, and to recognise that at a certain point it will be economically impractical to increase supply any further. Planning and development strategies must be realistic and responsive to sensible market platforms.

On a positive note, EIU (1973) stated:

...a unique asset of tourism is that it can be considered as a motor for economic development in every country - there is no lack of raw materials since just being different can in itself be a tourist attraction. Distance from major tourist generating markets is becoming less and less of a restriction to growth...For some countries, indeed, inaccessibility can be an asset in securing low volume/high expenditure tourism development (EIU, 1973: 58).

In a more cautious vein, Rodenburg (1980) stressed:

It is necessary to adapt the scale of tourism development to the realities of the situation. It is not necessary nor is it desirable, to adapt the local situation to the realities of industrialisation (Rodenburg, 1980: 195).

The perceived economic potential of tourism is the primary reason for growth of the industry. In pure economic terms, there are advantages and disadvantages. In the social/cultural context there will be impacts irrespective of whether the economy experiences success or not. An important aspect regarding social/cultural effect on host communities is tourist-host interaction.

2.2.3 Tourist-Host Interaction

Evans (1976) and to a lesser extent UNESCO (1976) state that the quality of tourist-host interaction is primarily a function of the type of tourist and the role of the culture broker.

The culture brokers (or 'marginal men' as Jafari (1974) and Smith (1977) regard them) are, according to Evans:

often bilingual, innovative, analytical about their culture, and active in introducing change and mediating between the local group and outside agencies (Evans, 1976: 192).

These people are likely to be in either one of two groups; those who hold traditional positions of prestige in the community, or, those who are somehow 'culturally marginal' (Nunez, 1977). They are likely to be innovators within their own community and/or are the first to accept and encourage 'outsiders' traits or behavior. Such response has been associated with what is known as the demonstration effect - which will be discussed in greater detail shortly. Evans distinguished four further important variables to tourist-host interaction aside from the type of tourist and role of the culture broker: - the spatial, temporal, communicative and cultural climate in which they relate. The varying combination of these factors determines the extent of involvement of the culture broker.

Generally, the first, and possibly the only tourist-host interaction, may be with the culture brokers of a host community. The tourists' image of the community will be based in part on their interaction with the culture broker. The culture broker, therefore, has an important role to play as

tourists enter a host community.

Smith (1977) observed how tourists had face to face interaction with the Inuit people of Alaska apart from those who worked in the tourism industry - and even this contact was only functional and in passing. Tourism, she felt, may generate 'patronising ethnocentrism' using the 'ugly American' as an example. Other studies (e.g., Groupe Huit, 1979; Varley, 1978) note that meetings between tourists and locals are generally of a transitory nature and often unequal and lacking spontaneity. Such meetings generate stereotypical images of tourists. Differences between host and guest may be so great that mutual understanding is replaced by antipathy (Archer, 1978). Consequently, disrespect and mistrust may be the response to local resentment (Jafari, 1974).

An important factor in understanding tourist-host relations is to understand the ability of residents to adjust to tourism psychologically. Based on research in Niagara On The Lake and Barbados, Doxey (1975) formulated an IRRIDEX which attempts to categorise varying degrees of irritations felt by residents toward tourists. Four consecutive stages of euphoria, apathy, annoyance, and then antagonism provide a breakdown of resident attitudes along a continuum. Increased irritations were felt as the number of tourists increased over time.

Residents may be unaware of the fact that tourists have saved for what may only be a two week holiday, hence, their consumption patterns do not accurately represent the typical lifestyle. A degree of misunderstanding may arise. The

prosperity of tourists amongst the relative poverty of residents may lead to an increasing desire by locals to emulate tourists. Such a reaction is commonly referred to as the demonstration effect.

The demonstration effect refers to the change of values and attitudes in a host region (De Kadt, 1979; Jafari, 1974), as well as possibly a change in dress, eating habits, accommodation demands and demand for consumer goods (Cleverdon and Edwards, 1982). If residents cannot emulate the lifestyle of tourists then this may lead to a sense of deprivation and frustration (Archer, 1978). The effect has been discussed in many impact studies (for example, Andronicou, 1979; Groupe Huit, 1979; Nettleford, 1975; Wilson, 1979).

Much criticism has been directed at the term. Varley (1978), regarding the demonstration effect as a very hazy concept, felt that for it to mean anything it was necessary to define what is being demonstrated, by whom, and to whom, and at what pace it is occurring. Bryden (1973) held similar views and questioned why it is that the tastes of outsiders are assumed to be adopted by host communities, and not vice-versa? Despite this criticism, the demonstration effect is a useful term to describe changing values and attitudes as two different cultures meet. If an elaborate study was to be made of the effect, however, the concerns noted by Varley and Bryden would have to be examined.

Social dualism is often accentuated by tourism. More often than not, however, acculturation occurs on a one-way basis

(Jafari, 1974). This acculturation may lead to pressures of overcrowding if too many tourists visit an area over a short time period. To minimise the local peoples' irritations toward tourists and to assist in determining the carrying capacity of tourism it is vital to consider the attitudes of the host residents. These people, observes De Kadt (1979) can be grouped into three broad categories:

- 1) those employed in tourism sector activities
- 2) those living in the vicinity of tourism activity and having occasional contact with tourists
- 3) those who have no contact with tourists (De Kadt, 1979: 344).

2.2.4 Resident Attitudes

Over the past ten years, attitudes of residents in host communities have been looked at in a number of areas using a variety of methods (for example, ABT Associates, 1976; Cole, 1975; English Tourist Board, 1978; Rothman, 1978).

Pizam (1978) compared entrepreneur's attitudes with those of the residents in Cape Cod, United States, indicating entrepreneurs were more in favour of tourism. With increased tourism activity came an increased level of irritation by residents. Similarly, Thomeson, Crampton and Dan Kamp (1979) in Southern Texas (United States), using semantic differential scales, showed that resident attitudes varied according to the degree of involvement that respondents had with tourism. Pearce (1980), in West Virginia (United States), noted attitudes were a function of the scale and type of tourism while Belisle and Hoy (1980), in Colombia, concluded that perception of tourist

activity by residents was a function of distance from the 'tourist zone'.

Using discriminant analysis on three English towns, Murphy (1981) indicated that different levels of tourism activity created different levels of acceptance by residents. Similarly, Brougham (1978) and Brougham and Butler (1981), in Sleat (Scotland), used segmentation analysis to conclude that perceived tourism impact varied according to the nature of the resident population and the degree of exposure to tourists.

More recently, Haukeland (1984) noticed differences in attitudes to tourism in three different resort locations in Norway, Sweden and Denmark. These differences were based on the cultural traditions and social structure in each community. People in traditional activities held the most critical viewpoints. Finally, Sheldon and Var (1984), using factor analysis on residents in northern Wales, discovered that visitors from more distant places were regarded as more considerate and those who visited more frequently than others were perceived as having the least negative impact on society.

In essence, these types of studies have suggested that by qualitatively and quantitatively investigating the attitudes of residents in host communities a greater understanding of the impacts of tourism can be made.

Attitudes of residents can also reflect the impact of tourism on traditional culture. Traditional cultures may have more to lose, and greater problems in assimilating tourists, than those cultures which are modern.

All these studies indicate a trend towards attempting to understand host community attitudes regarding tourists and tourism. The implementation of studies such as these would fill a vital gap in tourism planning frameworks for regions, and may help to minimise the potential negative impacts from tourism activities.

2.2.5 Traditional Culture

Tourism has been regarded as both a positive and negative element in the preservation of traditional culture (De Kadt, 1979). The double-edged effect of tourism may be felt in varying degrees around the world. From existing tourism literature, it is generally regarded that traditional culture is enhanced with the increased interest shown by tourists. Positive effects have been shown for example, by Andronicou (1979) in Cyprus; McKean (1977) in Bali; Noronha (1979); and Swain (1977).

As Jafari (1974) states, however, tourism may also exploit the local way of life. Urbanowicz (1977a, 1977b) studied tourism in Tonga and revealed an increase associated with tourism of prostitution, homosexuality, drunkenness and crime. In addition, there may be little or no respect shown by tourists for the tradition and beliefs of local people, thus a conflict between traditional values and the modern lifestyle emerges (Archer, 1978). Whether or not these factors would have occurred irrespective of tourism is a moot point.

With regards to traditional arts and crafts, De Kadt (1979) notes that increased production due to increased demand may

mean problems of quality control. To counter this problem, some countries have institutionalised training and assistance schemes, - for example Cyprus and Tunisia, for learning traditional crafts. On a larger scale, Stanton (1977) discussed the functioning attributes of the Polynesian Cultural Center in Hawaii, which was established to provide an opportunity for people to view (albeit superficially) examples of various cultures of the Polynesian people that are spread throughout the Pacific. It has been a successful programme, for not only do tourists get an opportunity to observe a variety of cultures but so too, do the participants who demonstrate the various traditional activities. Interest is created for both indigenous people and tourists.

The commoditisation of local culture was studied by Greenwood (1976, 1977) in Fuenterrabia - a small town in the Basque region of Spain. There is a public ritual called the 'Alarde' which is a re-creation of Fuenterrabia's victory over the French in 1638. The event has become a tourist attraction and now it takes on a new meaning. 'Although they [the residents] can still perform the outward forms of the ritual for money, they cannot subscribe to the meanings it once held because it is no longer being performed by them, for themselves' (Greenwood, 1976: 136).

Similarly, Groupe Huit (1979) concluded:

[the] beauty of traditional products has always been related to their function, and the change in their end use may confuse rather than amuse the traditional users and manufacturers (Groupe Huit, 1979: 304).

It may be inevitable that traditional cultures and activities become monetised for that is the way the world in 1986 operates, and will, perhaps, continue to do so for many years to come. Wilson (1979) commented on the Seychelles, noting that tourism has acted as a social catalyst, stimulating development of socio-political awareness and increasing social mobility, but at the same time eroding the position of the traditional elite and blending the European and Creole cultures together. The structural change that emerges in a society becomes a function of time and, ultimately, local awareness of the traditional local culture which exists, and has existed, in the past.

Development strategies that do not consult the local people, or give them an opportunity to determine their own future, are questionable strategies for the local area. The preservation of traditional culture is generally regarded as important for both traditional and modern societies. Tourism does provide a means for ensuring the continuation of traditional arts, crafts, dances, rituals and ceremonies. Their functional purpose has changed, however, from being traditionally value laden and culture conscious to now, representing a commodity in modern monetary exchange. Appropriate planning and development strategies should be used to enhance traditional culture as much as possible and should not consider monetary exchange as an important factor.

2.2.6 Conclusion

The studies presented here provide only a brief insight into the numerous studies that emerged during the 1970's and the first half of the 1980's. Nevertheless, it has been shown that tourism does have both positive and negative effects on particular host communities.

Few universal concepts or general theories on the impacts of tourism have come to the fore. At best, different factors/ attributes of tourism have been distinguished but their degree of intensity and relevance varies from one location to another. Indeed, Jafari (1982) writes

Consideration of it [tourism] in a singular form at this time is meaningless. The present tourism thought comes basically from particularistic tourism studies, and if any explanations are offered, are precisely in relation to localised tourism, each with its unique brand of culture mix. These explanations must not be mistaken for general tourism explanations (Jafari, 1982: 60).

Furthermore:

...each cultural base is different from others and even if tourism were a universalistic element, the findings would still be different from base to base (Jafari, 1982: 60).

Tourism research has a recent beginning and studies of tourism impacts emerged only a very short time ago. The important point is that impacts are essentially location specific (Varley, 1978). For the benefit of this study, however, it is important that the various concepts be recognised before discussing the Baffin Region.

If the impacts from tourism are to be considered at all, then what must first be known is who will be affected. Logically it will be the local community. To understand the

true situation as much as possible, it is imperative that the 'community' has an opportunity to voice their opinion.

Policy-makers would do well to look at the studies of resident attitudes mentioned earlier, if an appropriate tourism growth strategy is to be established. Furthermore, it is imperative that tourism be regarded as a unit within a whole territorial system and that its function within that structure be known.

The desire for some form of cumulative structural change has seen the implementation of tourism policy in regions, and this, more often than not, has preceded any study into the potential impacts, advantages and disadvantages of tourism growth. Impacts of tourism can be regarded as a function of the awareness of residents, entrepreneurs, policy-makers and the tourists. It is essential that the impacts, or rather the potential impacts, are known. Future planning decisions regarding tourism growth (as a proponent of change) must utilise previous impact studies, taking the specifics of each different region into account.

In the future, impact studies must be used to help local communities increase their tourism awareness - to assist future tourism policies and not, as in the past, be done solely to assess the damage that has already been caused or influenced by tourism phenomena.

The following chapter discusses the factors that are utilised to augment, or prevent, tourism impacts. These development strategies and planning outlines provide a framework from which policy-makers may construct their own tourism

development plan. Inevitably, such strategies are placed in the hands of planning consultants. Nevertheless, it is essential that we review these theoretical outlines and then relate them to the specifics of Baffin Regional tourism development.

Mathieson and Wall conveniently note:

The main objectives of tourism planning are to ensure that opportunities are available for tourists to gain enjoyable and satisfying experiences and, at the same time, to provide a means for improving the way of life of residents of destination areas. Impact research is an indispensable input to the planning of tourist destinations and can help to ensure that these goals are met (Mathieson and Wall, 1982: 186).

CHAPTER THREE

TOURISM DEVELOPMENT AND PLANNING

3.1 Stages of Development

The assumption that tourist areas will always remain tourist areas and be attractive to tourists appears to be implicit in tourism planning. Public and private agencies alike, rarely, if ever, refer to the anticipated life span of a tourist area or its attractions. Rather, because tourism has shown an, as yet, unlimited potential for growth despite economic recessions, it is taken for granted that numbers of visitors will continue to increase (Butler, 1980: 10).

Before a tourism development plan is implemented it is first important to establish the state of development that a given region has reached, and wishes to reach (De Kadt, 1979; Travis, 1982).

Noronha (1977) observed that development may either be organic or induced. Organic development refers to growth without any associated planning while induced suggests that planning occurred from the very start. Indeed, as Keller (1982) observed, the control and decision-making process of induced change is merely the later stage of organic development. With tourism development acting as a catalyst for change, Wahab et al. (1975: 15) noted three important factors had to be considered; the direction of change, the degree of change and

the pace of change. To conceptualize clearly these viewpoints, several authors have provided 'stages', or rather, 'continuums' for the development of a tourism industry.

In a relatively unknown paper, Forster (1964) suggested that underdevelopment was a source of attraction. Based on research in the Pacific Islands Forster noted:

the major significance of the development [tourism]...is that at each stage of development the interests, desires and capacities of the tourists are different and thus, at each stage different demands are made upon the local community (Forster, 1964: 220).

In a useful diagram, Keller (1982) illustrates the similarity of several researchers' conception of development stages of tourism growth in an area (Figure 3.1), all of which go through similar patterns to that of the Product Life Cycle (Mill and Morrison, 1985). The product life cycle has five phases: introduction, establishment, growth, maturity and decline. Conceptually the tourism 'product' follows a similar pattern. In each case the destination area moves from being virtually unknown, to become increasingly popular. One important role of planning is to ensure that tourism development never reaches the stage of decline.

Little planning is evident in the first stage of tourism development. At the second stage, local interest increases and some degree of response is made to the increase in tourism activity. The third stage has a further increase of tourists, a change in tourist composition and growing annoyance by the host community towards tourists. The 'final' stage reflects a host community completely transformed from what it was in its initial

Figure 3.1

Stages in the Organic Development of A Peripheral Tourist Industry

* See also Hovinen 1981.

Source: Keller, 1982: 37.

stage of 'development'. Whether or not the decline continues, depends on the way in which the local population, who now have renewed responsibility in their own affairs, handle the situation.

The models provide a useful conceptual framework which planners can use to evaluate a specific area. There are, of course, obvious limitations. No indication is given to what time period is involved (as each destination is different) nor, in fact, how many tourists an area may receive. Also, there is the over-riding assumption that all areas follow the same pattern, just at different time periods. Nevertheless, placed in the appropriate localised perspective, this schematic representation provides a useful conceptual framework from which policy-makers can base their planning strategies.

3.2 Tourist Planning - Introduction

To date, there have been very few comprehensive outlines for planning in tourism literature. The exceptions to this statement will be discussed shortly. For the meantime, however, it is useful to consider the general nature of 'tourism planning'.

'Planning' can be defined in many ways, but can be thought of as essentially the selection between alternative courses of action (Mill and Morrison, 1985). It is also, as Wahab et al. (1976: 122) assert, the 'definition of objectives and identification of methods whereby these can be achieved'.

Negative impacts on a host community can often be attributed

to the lack of appropriate tourism policy rather than 'tourism' itself. Thus, as Gunn (1979) states: the role of planning must be to provide services and facilities that satisfy the tourist, and which, at the same time, avoid the negative impacts of tourism on the host community.

Tourism Planning must consider what type of development is desired and the product life cycle of the tourism product (De Kadt, 1979; Mill and Morrison, 1985). Mathieson and Wall (1982) state that planners should become more concerned with the welfare of host communities, and that in the past much of tourism planning had been characterised by reactive measures aimed at alleviating existing impacts of tourism. Today, prevention rather than cure is being advocated.

At any level of planning, several problems have first to be overcome. Barriers at the host community level include both the demand and supply side of the tourism product. McIntosh (1976) and Koch (1978) noted the following main obstacles with developing the supply side; access/transport routes, quality and quantity of accommodation, adequate goods and services, and a sufficient infrastructure to cater for the potential increase in demand of tourists. Gunn (1979) added further obstacles such as the quality and quantity of labour in the tourism industry, erratic market trends for the area (i.e., the substitutability of the destination area in relation to others), the need for initial high capital investment and the carrying capacity of the host community area in terms of tourist flows. All these obstacles need to be taken into account in effective planning for tourism.

Initially, there may be hesitancy towards tourism planning. Many people are against the principle of planning as it may act against the free enterprise spirit (Mill and Morrison, 1985). Furthermore, financial outlay may be considered too high for 'just' the initial resource analysis and market research. Another barrier is the diversity and complexity of tourism in that it impacts upon most economic sectors and aspects of community life. Seasonality of the tourism good is another important variable to be considered.

Essentially, although these factors are problems or barriers to tourism growth, they are also the reasons for advocating a tourism planning policy.

Problems with tourism in host community areas may have developed for several reasons. Mathieson and Wall (1982) observe five main contributing factors; inadequate forecasting, inefficiency of past planning measures, a tendency to sacrifice long term benefits for short term, inadequate attention given to the appropriate scale of development and the failure to specify the goals of planning policies adequately. Thus, appropriate, continuous planning should be encouraged and implemented to reduce the inequities of an unplanned or badly planned tourism destination area (Bagnall and Mawhinney, 1976; Gunn, 1979; Kaiser and Helber, 1978; Mill and Morrison, 1985).

3.3 Government Considerations

The role of government (at local, regional and national level) is ultimately a function of the importance placed on tourism in a destination area.

Inevitably the most appropriate form of tourism development is a political decision (Mathieson and Wall, 1982). The greater the importance, the greater the degree of government involvement. Similarly, the greater the capabilities of the private sector and the economic condition of an area, the less is the need for government involvement (Cleverdon and Edwards, 1982; McIntosh, 1976; Mill and Morrison, 1985). At varying degrees of activity and scale of involvement, the public sector role may include: planning, legislation and regulation, entrepreneur, and stimulator (of promotion, research and financial incentives).

Owing to the diversity of tourism, there may be a lack of co-ordination and cooperation between government agencies. There may be inherent conflicts of interest, such that the multi-faceted nature of tourism will require a similar breadth of public sector involvement. What reasons may encourage governments to have a more direct role in tourism development?

Aside from acting as a catalyst for tourism development, for example, by initiating tourism research, the government may try to encourage greater private sector involvement and/or help the private sector in times of economic hardship. The private sector may be unwilling to finance a certain project due to its limited financial potential. The government, however, may see this specific project as an important step in advancing the tourism industry, and as a result, may either contribute a substantial portion of the financial requirements or take over the project entirely itself. Similarly, if an existing facility

or service is bankrupt or near complete demise, the government may intervene. The government may also attempt to encourage further growth by financing or initiating pilot projects.

Tourism is an industry based on people rather than goods. The situation may arise whereby the public sector has personnel problems due to relative inexperience in this new industry. Hence, to overcome staffing difficulties the government may consider hiring consultants to prepare a master plan, employ foreign specialists and/or install a programme of local training to establish a group of people more suited and familiar with the tourism phenomenon (Cleverdon and Edwards, 1982).

The government has a vital role to play in tourism development and has many aspects of this development to consider when forming a tourism plan. O'Driscoll and Parsons (1976) note six considerations:

- 1) What is the desired rate of growth?
- 2) Should government encourage mass tourism or 'cultivate' a slower more selective growth?
- 3) What exactly will be the respective roles of both the public and private sectors and what is the desired level of local and external capital?
- 4) What time scale for planning investments is involved?
- 5) What degree of integration should exist amongst the national, regional and local levels?
- 6) Should tourism be treated like any other growth industry or should it be considered with special administrative and financial arrangements?

Ultimately then, it is the public sector which acts to organize and direct the tourism industry. At a theoretical level, as we will see shortly, the controlling mechanism can be logically fragmented into different components in order to structure ideas and policies which finally are enacted in the physical sense.

For the less developed regions of the world, of which the Paffin Region may be a prime example, planning is imperative. Moreover, appropriate planning is the key to tourism growth and success. Private sector businesses justly operate for economic benefits. At what costs to the community, however, is of concern to all involved with tourism in the local area. Normally it is the public sector that bears the brunt of criticism if something is to the displeasure of the community at large. Calls for improved (or greater degree of) management are made, and the impacts from a tourism related activity often need to be solved by the governing authority. Any ensuing action, however, is merely a cure for a problem which in fact may have been prevented by earlier involvement.

In short, greater awareness among residents, government administrators, entrepreneurs and external forces (for example, travel agents) of the problems and the need for some degree of control, is essential to successful tourism in host communities. The following section outlines the basic theoretical frameworks that have been advocated by tourism researchers. Large scale government involvement is assumed in all of these.

3.4 Tourism Planning Outlines

Very few comprehensive planning frameworks have been detailed in tourism literature. The neglect of discussion concerning tourism planning may be due to its seemingly 'obvious' nature. Planning is considered a logical tool by which to safeguard the interests of people in a given area.

To date, three textbooks have dealt with the issue of tourism planning and the framework from which it may operate. Gunn (1979) discussed the process and factors involved in a Regional Strategic Planning Process, using Texas as a case study area. Kaiser and Helber (1978) went through similar stages of planning formulation in theoretical terms, while more recently, Mill and Morrison (1985), outlined in considerable detail the tourism system and what they considered to be the optimal tourism planning framework.

Many other authors (for example, Bargur and Arbel, 1975; Cleverdon and Edwards, 1982; Koch, 1978; Wahab and Meguid, 1978) have provided further insight into the tourism planning process and their findings will be utilised also. For the most part, however, discussion will be focused around Mill and Morrison, Gunn and Kaiser and Helber, and where appropriate, drawing upon the findings of other researchers.

Gunn (1979) notes the distinction between goals and objectives. Goals are continuous - abstractions that are never reached though they are continually reached for. Objectives are seen as guidelines for 'reaching' the goals and it is the attainment of these objectives that is reflected in a successful

tourism planning policy.

A successful planning policy requires a clear, well-defined strategy (Wahab and Meguid, 1978) and cannot be achieved without the following considerations:

- realising the interface between the tourist product and tourist generating markets
- studying the influence of environmental forces
- preparing and implementing suitable market strategies
- obtaining effective and efficient control of tourist organisations and private concerns
- formulating a successful legislative policy
- stressing the human element of tourism by establishing a conscious interest in employment training programs.

In essence, the tourism planning proposals are very similar to one another. Each begins with a broad perspective style of plan based on initial research into market demand for the area and the supply of services, facilities and resources to accommodate that demand (Wahab et al., 1976). Indeed, Cleverdon and Edwards (1982) note that the first priority is to establish a system for recording and measuring the level of impact (existing and potential) of tourism. Tourism development policies should be based on a knowledge of resources and their carrying capacity, a knowledge of the users and an evaluation of the possible courses of action that the planner can take (Bagnall and Mawhinney, 1976).

There are five basic purposes of planning if it is designed to maintain tourism as a long term economic activity (Mill and

Morrison, 1985: 289). These are:

- 1) Identify alternative approaches to: marketing, industry organisation, tourism awareness and support services and activities.
- 2) Adapting to the unexpected in: general economic conditions, values and lifestyles, the success or failure of individual industries and factors external to the immediate tourism area.
- 3) Maintaining uniqueness in: natural features, local cultural and social fabric, local events and activities, architecture, historical monuments and landmarks and other features of the area.
- 4) Creating the desirable: such as achieving a high level of awareness of the benefits/costs of tourism, establishing a positive image of the area, effective industry organisation, a high level of co-operation, effective marketing and travel information programs.
- 5) Avoiding the undesirable: such as in friction and unnecessary competition among individual tourism operators, hostile and unfriendly attitudes of local residents toward tourists, damage to natural and historical features, loss of cultural identity, loss of market share, overcrowding, congestion, high seasonality and other negative impacts on a host community.

Cleverdon and Edwards (1982) suggest three types of planning studies to accommodate these purposes: the perspective plan which outlines the alternative courses of action, the five-year

development plan which identifies just what type of tourism is desired - stating targets to be reached with regards tourism facilities, infrastructural requirements, tourist flows and financing issues and finally, annual programmes which provide detailed accounts of specific tourism projects.

In greater detail, Gunn (1979), Kaiser and Helber (1978) and Mill and Morrison (1985) outlined the essential phases of tourism planning, and these can be compared in Table 3.1.

The similarities of each outline are obvious. For the purpose of classification and to simplify the understanding of the different phases it is worthwhile to examine the Mill and Morrison structure in greater detail. It has the advantage of being a recent planning structure, having drawn upon the outlines of previous planning strategies.

3.5 Phases of Tourism Planning (Mill and Morrison, 1985)

3.5.1 Background Analysis

Acting as the situational phase, the initial background analysis provides a framework for defining goals and objectives, and establishes the basic direction for other phases. A description of existing tourism demand is completed and includes an analysis of important variables such as: mode of transportation, volume and times of tourists, geographic origins of tourists, purposes of the trip, tourists' demographics, activities participated in, market segments, length of stay, expenditure and use of facilities. Following this description, a critical, objective review of the major strengths and

Table 3.1

Phases of Tourism Planning

Kaiser and Helber (1978)	Gunn (1979)	Mill and Morrison (1985)
1. Establishing understanding	1. Set Objectives	1. Background Analysis
2. Preliminary position statement		
3. Commitment for tourism study		
4. Market and Research analysis	2. Research of Physical and program factors	2. Detailed Market Research and Analysis
5. Conceptual Planning		
6. Plan Approval	3. Synthesis of these data and draw conclusions	3. Synthesis Phase
7. Master Planning		4. Goal Setting, Strategy Selection
8. Final Commitments		
9. Staged Implementation	4. Applying principles and creating concepts for development	5. Plan Development Phase and Objective Setting
10. Evaluation and Direction	5. Repeating recommendations	

weaknesses for tourism in the area is outlined. At this stage, public meetings may be held to determine local support and help educate the community as to the pros and cons of tourism development. Public support will be considered later in more detail.

3.5.2 Detailed Research and Analysis

Perhaps the most important phase of the planning process, this detailed research and analysis establishes the setting from which tourism development may take place. This phase essentially builds the framework on which a comprehensive plan can be further constructed. Mill and Morrison stress the need for research, for without research, plans may reflect the subjective opinions of the planners and only perpetuate the existing situation. The research and analysis should be concentrated in four areas: resources, markets, activities and competition.

The carrying capacity of resources and their classification and interpretation into resource maps are the main activities of resource research and analysis. Tourist activities, and potential activities, need to be reviewed as does the existing and potential competition from other tourist destination areas. Planners must review the comparative advantage (if any) and future plans of other areas, as well as their own.

As Koch (1978: 21), among others, states 'Any planning in tourism should be based on a thorough analysis of demand'. Bagnall and Mawhinney (1976) stress the need for a comprehensive

assessment to be made of supply and demand. Demand, both existing and potential, can be determined by accurate marketing analysis. Marketing is the 'process of identifying the product, its logical customer, and their motivations and criteria for purchasing' (Kaiser and Helber, 1978: 216). They add there are two phases of a marketing campaign 1) the start-up and 2) the ongoing.

Mill and Morrison note that market potential comprises seven major factors:

- 1) Attraction of pleasure travellers from other geographical markets other than those that are currently being drawn from.
- 2) Attraction of pleasure travellers from other segments of the pleasure-travel market other than those that are currently being drawn.
- 3) Increased penetration of those geographical markets from which pleasure travellers are currently being drawn.
- 4) Increased penetration of those segments of the pleasure travel market that are currently being drawn from.
- 5) Increased penetration of those segments of the business travel market that are currently being drawn from.
- 6) The attraction of current business travellers as future pleasure travellers.
- 7) The attraction of current pleasure travellers as future pleasure travellers (i.e., repeat patronage).

The potential of increased demand may be determined by various survey methods such as focus groups, telephone or

personal interviews and mailout questionnaires.

Other studies, for example, on industrial organisation and community awareness may also be undertaken to provide a more holistic perspective on the spatial, economic, social and environmental attributes of the host community area.

The detailed research and analysis phase is paralleled by Kaiser and Helber's conceptual plan approach (Kaiser and Helber, 1978: 81). Here, once a market study is completed, seven further components need consideration; a statement of objectives and policies, appropriate tourist facilities and resource site selection, the requirements of the tourist facilities, should there be additional attractions to entertain tourists?, land-use allocation and control (conditions and types of use), architectural styles and themes, budgets (financial projections and capital costs) and present government policies and legislation. As conceptual planning is finalised there should be a report completed that outlines a commitment to a planning programme and that provides a timetable by which planning policies may proceed.

3.5.3 Synthesis Phase

It is at this stage in Mill and Morrison's outline that major conclusions are reached and a comprehensive plan is formulated. The synthesis phase is divided into five categories; tourism development, marketing, industry organisation; tourism awareness and other tourism support services and activities. In each of these categories a

position statement is made and then a decision is made as to where each category would like to be, or should be, in the future. Essentially the comprehensive plan provides the bridge between the present and the future. In their Master Plan, Kaiser and Helber add the need for an appropriate organisational structure, and in particular raise the following questions: who should form the main organisational structure, what kind, and how much power, and what are its limitations? All these questions require consideration for effective tourism planning.

3.5.4 Goal-Setting, Strategy Selection and Objective Setting

Alternative strategy proposals are discussed and the strategy concluded most appropriate and feasible, forms the basis of the tourism plan. At this point should come the definition of overall goals and objectives for the planning group. As in the previous three stages, participants from the public sector, tourism industry operators and officials, consultants and public sector officials from other important departments should combine and formulate a statement of tourism plan goals and objectives. The tourism plan is given a timetable (normally five years) in which time the planning objectives should be achievable.

3.5.5 Plan Development Phase

Again, similar to the Master Plan phase of Kaiser and Helber (1978: 99) the Plan Development phase deals with the five categories of the synthesis, taking each of these and specifying

the following factors for each; the roles and responsibilities of both public and private sectors, the amount (and source) of funds, establishing various types of development and marketing concepts and opportunities, the timetable for carrying out the various programmes and actions (as in Phase 4), and the method of monitoring the success or failure of the plan during its duration.

The whole process can be summarised by the Tourism Planning model from Mill and Morrison (1985: 294-295) (Figure 3.2). In the planning implementation stage, tourism projects are initiated and various feasibility studies and market analyses are conducted to establish whether the project is viable or not. Commonly, prefeasibility and feasibility studies are conducted, incorporating a description of the relevant factors such as: the scale and size of development, predicted operating costs and profits and capital flows, and the rate of return on investment. A cost/benefit analysis is also conducted along the lines of Krrippendorf's (1975) analysis that seeks to establish both the quantifiable and unquantifiable costs and benefits. Theoretically, the comprehensive and integrated plan is now able to control the flow of tourists and growth of tourism in the host community area - in accordance with the plans goals and objectives.

One final variable which deserves more attention is that of public involvement, for planning must be first and foremost for the benefit of the local people. Without the support of the local people, tourism would not have a long

future. Tourism should also be for the local people so that they derive the economic benefits while having to sustain the social costs.

3.6 Public Involvement

That the local community should be involved in tourism planning is stressed by many writers, for example: De Kadt (1979), Jafari (1980), MacNaught (1982), Mathieson and Wall (1982). Local participation at all stages is vital to a successful tourism planning policy (Cleverdon and Edwards, 1982) and, if possible, the community should be able to initiate their own policies and strategies (Mill and Morrison, 1985).

In the past, as MacNaught (1982) points out, the wishes of local people have quite often been ignored, and often non-local interests have become the dominant factor. He also notes that residents must achieve a greater degree of control over tourism in order to avoid the undesirable impacts.

De Kadt (1979) notes,

Effort should be devoted to building up local competence in planning. Moreover, host populations should be actively consulted and involved in tourism plans for their areas and have a voice in determining if they should have tourism, the rate of tourism growth, the types of tourists and investors to be encouraged, and, concomitantly, the type of overall development suitable for the community (De Kadt, 1979: 343).

Tourism planning then, must be both for the local community, and must also involve the local community. The process of tourism development can be successful with appropriate, comprehensive, integrated, continuous planning - with evaluation at regular intervals - one which utilises and safeguards the

lifestyle and attitudes of the local population. De Kadt (1979) insists on a 'gradualist approach' to tourism development, stressing that the negative effects are likely to be reduced if growth in tourism is neither rapid nor large scale, and if there is time for the local people to adjust to the new activity within their community.

It is appropriate, in light of the past literature review presented here, and the oncoming chapters, that we consider a note of caution from Mathieson and Wall:

In a theoretical sense, public participation is a positive approach towards more effective decision-making. From a practical perspective it is difficult to arrive at decisions which are socially and environmentally acceptable, and, at the same time, economically feasible. Management problems compound the difficulties of reaching such decisions (Mathieson and Wall, 1982: 181).

In the past two chapters, the literature on tourism impacts, development and planning have been reviewed. With a greater awareness of the inter-relationship of many tourism variables, the case of Canada's eastern arctic can now be considered.

The following chapter provides an introduction to the Northwest Territories and the Baffin Region in particular. The intent of this chapter is to provide an image of the area so that subsequent chapters can be easier understood.

CHAPTER FOUR

TOURISM IN THE NORTHWEST TERRITORIES

4.1 Introduction

4.1.1 Climate and Physiography

The vast expanse of the Northwest Territories encompasses four time zones, and two major climatic zones: the Arctic and the Subarctic. The 'Subarctic' regions have longer, colder winters than Southern Canada and summers that are relatively shorter. The 'Arctic' area generally refers to that area which is north of the treeline (Figure 4.1). The Arctic climate is colder and drier than that of the subarctic though there are some variations within the region.

Examples of temperature variation and change in sunlight hours for northern communities are presented in Table 4.1.

Table 4.1

Temperature and Sunlight Variation in Selected

NWT Communities

Community	Average Winter Temperature C		Average Summer Temperature C		Sunlight hours	
	Jan mean	Low	July mean	Low	Winter Dec 21	Summer June 21
<u>Arctic</u>						
Cambridge Bay	-30	-35.2	11	3.9	0	24
Chesterfield Inlet	-27.8	-35.2	13.1	4.6	4.5	20.8
Frobisher Bay	-21.5	-29.7	11.4	3.7	4.5	20.8
<u>Sub-arctic</u>						
Yellowknife	-24.7	-33	20.7	11.8	6.5	20
Inuvik	-24.7	-34.4	19.4	17.8	0	24

Source: NWT Databook 1984.

There are four physiographic regions in the NWT (NWT Databook, 1984). The largest, the Precambrian or Canadian Shield underlies over half the Territories; most of NWT mainland and most of the central and eastern Arctic Islands south of Devon Island. The second largest is the Plains region which incorporates four areas: the Interior Plains, the Arctic Lowlands, the Arctic Coastal Plain and the Hudson Bay Lowland. The Innuitian region is the area north of the Arctic Lowlands which covers all the northern arctic islands. This region is characterised by gentle folding and faulting. Finally, the Cordilleran region covers a small portion of land in the western NWT, and is characterised by mountainous terrain caused by extensive folding (Indian and Northern Affairs, 1983).

4.1.2 History

The northern area of Canada was first occupied by indigenous people who crossed over from Asia to Alaska either by a land bridge which was present at various times between 40,000 and 12,000 years ago, or by small boat (NWT Databook, 1984). Most estimates put migration occurring at least 25,000 years ago (NWT Databook, 1984). Since that time, it is believed that the people moved over the North American continent, the earlier inhabitants travelling further south to the warm central areas of the American continent. Continued migration of indigenous people meant that gradually most areas of the continent were settled. The final wave of migrants brought the ancestors of the Inuit people who moved east where the climate was harsh to hunt for marine life such as whales and seals.

The first Europeans to visit the NWT are believed to have been Norseman on their way to Greenland around 1000 A.D. (Wilson, 1976). European interest in the area increased during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries with the search for a Northwest Passage that would enable a short route to the Orient for trading purposes. Following early exploration, fur traders, whalers and missionaries gradually established themselves in the North. The Hudson's Bay Company, for example, was formed in 1670 and for many years administered the northern area of Canada known then as Ruperts Land (NWT Databook, 1984).

During the nineteenth century whaling and trapping dominated the economy north of the treeline. By the early 1900's, however, the whaling resource had become overexploited and no

longer profitable and the industry decreased in importance. As the whaling industry declined, the fur trade moved in, mainly for white fox fur which was becoming increasingly popular (Indian and Northern Affairs, 1983).

Gradually, communities were established and the nomadic indigenous people slowly came to settle in these areas. The pervasive effects of the fur and whale/seal economies had created a need for schools and hospitals and these were provided by missionaries, predominantly Anglican in the east and Roman Catholics in the West (NWT Databook, 1984).

Up until the 1920s, the fur trade had dominated life in the NWT south of the treeline: Indians would bring fur they had trapped to the trading posts to exchange for ammunition, firearms and other necessities. Oil was discovered at Norman Wells in 1920 (Figure 4.1) and this led to an increase in oil exploration in the area (Armstrong et al., 1978).

World War Two had an important effect on northern development. As part of the war effort, a chain of airfields was established in the western portion of the NWT. There was increased development of the Norman Wells Oilfield, improved communications, pipelines, meteorological stations were established and there was an increase in mining activity (Indian and Northern Affairs, 1983).

With the cold war of the late 1940s and 1950s, new defence projects were initiated (for example the Distant Early Warning (DEW) line). These projects, notes Indian and Northern Affairs,

...gave to the North airfields, roads, communications, navigational aids and other infrastructure much earlier and of much higher standards than could have been justified by civil needs, though not always in the places that civil needs would have chosen (Indian and Northern Affairs, 1983: 4-5).

Figure 4.1

Location of Settlements in the Northwest Territories

In addition, the federal government established schools and nursing stations throughout the territories and these developments, together with increased mineral production and oil exploration, have led to the settlement pattern of the Northwest Territories today.

4.1.3 Settlements of the Northwest Territories

There are sixty-two communities in the NWT composed of both native and non-native people, with a total population of approximately 50,000 (NWT Explorers Guide, 1985) (Figure 4.1). The native Dene and Metis people of the west are a minority to the non-native population. In the east, the Inuit people are the majority over non-natives. Natives predominantly reside in smaller communities while non-natives are concentrated in urban areas. Inuit communities are north of the treeline, while the Dene, Metis and most non-natives are located in the lower southwest corner of the NWT. The capital of the NWT, Yellowknife, contains approximately one-fifth of the entire NWT population (approximately 9,500), of which almost 90% are non-native (NWT Databook, 1984)..

Eight communities have a population between 1,000 and 3,200 (for example, Frobisher Bay and Inuvik) while the remainder have populations less than one thousand. Of the communities in the Baffin region, only Frobisher Bay (2,335) has a population greater than one thousand (Statistics Canada, 1981).

Two very distinct native groups have emerged today that are presently negotiating with the federal government over land

claims. In the West, the Western Constitutional Forum, representing the Dene and Metis people, proposes the division of the NWT into two distinct areas with Indian interests in the West and Inuit interests in the east. In the east, the Inuit people (approximately 20,000) propose the creation of a territory known as NUNAVUT (essentially land north of the treeline) which encompasses the Inuit communities of the NWT (Inuit Tapirisat, 1985). The implications of NUNAVUT with regards to tourism development will be considered in Chapter Five.

4.1.4 Resources

The NWT is an area of tremendous resource potential - both renewable and non-renewable. Presently, production and exploration of minerals, and oil and gas provides a major portion of the NWT economy. In 1981, 12.9% of the NWT labour force was employed directly in the mining industry, with minerals contributing \$456,382,000 to income for the NWT (Indian and Northern Affairs, 1983). By 1983 this figure had increased to \$503,300,000 (GNWT, 1984). Substantial lead-zinc deposits are currently being extracted around Great Slave Lake, Naniaivik and on Little Cornwallis Island (see Figure 4.1). Other mineral reserves being explored presently include uranium, gold, zinc, silver and tungsten (GNWT, 1984). The federal department of Energy, Mines and Resources estimates that northern Canada (Yukon and the NWT) will contain approximately 25% of Canada's oil reserves and 33% of Canada's gas reserves (Indian and Northern

Affairs, 1983). Presently, drilling for oil and gas is focused mainly in the west and Beaufort Sea area of the NWT.

Hunting and trapping continue to play an important role in everyday life in NWT communities. The total value of furs traded annually by trappers in the NWT is approximately \$3.5 to \$4.0 million. Eighty percent of the nearly 3,700 trappers, however, earn less than \$1,000 per annum (Indian and Northern Affairs, 1983). Nevertheless, Armstrong et al. (1978: 101) estimate that 'food obtained through hunting is probably the equivalent to an annual income of about \$4,000 for each family'. In 1981, income from harvesting the fur of ringed seal came to \$330,000, and for polar bears, between \$300,000 and \$500,000 (Indian and Northern Affairs, 1983).

Other renewable resources include Inuit graphics and soapstone carving, forestry, marine mammal harvesting and tourism.

The production of Inuit graphics and soapstone carving is estimated to earn the natives of the NWT \$2.5 million a year (Armstrong et al., 1978). There is some forestry in the south and west of Great Slave Lake, the annual production of which has been increasing over recent years. The annual value of forest products, noted Armstrong et al. (1978), was approaching five million dollars.

Almost 1.4 million kilograms of fish are caught annually in NWT commercial fisheries, for a value of approximately \$3 million (Indian and Northern Affairs, 1983). Freshwater fishing is on the decline in recent years with the 1976 catch only just

half of the 1970 total (Armstrong et al., 1978). Arctic char is caught by the Inuit but the expansion of this industry is restricted due to problems of transportation to southern markets. As well as a growing marine mammal harvesting industry, particularly in the Eastern Arctic, Indian and Northern Affairs (1983) note that the annual value of the relatively underdeveloped shrimp fishery off the coast of Baffin Island is estimated to be potentially \$3.5 million.

Finally, the tourism industry has been seen as a growth industry in future northern development. The following section outlines the characteristics and growth of the tourism industry in the Northwest Territories.

4.2 The Growth of Tourism

'Explore Canada's Arctic' (GNWT Promotion Slogan)

The southern Canadians' image of the North is one of abundant wildlife, cold temperatures, traditional lifestyles, snow and ice. Commonly regarded as a 'frontier area' in southern caucasian terms, (Keller, 1982) the region has only recently become a major tourist attraction. Indeed, many tourism promotions presently play upon this theme.

The North is truly Canada's last frontier, and one of the world's last undiscovered destinations. A land of contrasts, from mountains and arctic fiords, to vast river valleys and great inland seas, from 'barren' plains over-run with tiny arctic shrubs and flowers, to bustling communities (NWT Explorers Guide, 1985: 4).

If you are an outdoor enthusiast, then:

You can find excellent hiking and climbing, whether you're a novice or an expert, on terrain that ranges from gently rolling tundra to jagged mountain peaks. Our myriad rivers and lakes, some of the most majestic anywhere, invite

canoeing, kayaking and boating, whether in tranquil backwaters or roaring rapids. Our deep, clear waters offer world-class fishing too (NWT Explorers Guide, 1985: 18).

Add to these descriptions the attraction of abundant wildlife, traditional lifestyles and arts and crafts of the indigenous people, and there is a clear image of an area rich in tourism potential. Table 4.2 illustrates the variety of tourist attractions available in the Northwest Territories.

Table 4.2
Tourist Attractions of the NWT

<u>Landscape</u>	<u>Flora and Fauna</u>
- Spectacular Scenery	- Arctic vegetation
- Pingos	- Arctic marine mammals, e.g., whales, seals
- Tundra	- Arctic terrestrial mammals, e.g., caribou, polar bears
- Fiords	- Arctic birds
- Ice Caps	
- Glaciers	
<u>General</u>	<u>Cultural</u>
- Snob Appeal	- Traditional lifestyle and activities
- Frontier Image	- Arts and Crafts
- Wilderness Image	- History
- Uniqueness	- Archaeology

Source: Baker, 1973; Balmer Crapo & Associates, 1980; Butler, 1975; Keller, 1982.

There were officially recorded tourists as early as the 1920s when the Hudson's Bay Company utilised a freight ship (the 'Nascopie') to accommodate tourists (Keller, 1982). It was not until the general boom of tourism worldwide in the 1960s, however, that the NWT began to show a significant growth in tourism.

Between 1959 and 1967, the NWT began to open up for tourists with the building of roads such as the Mackenzie Highway which now provides access from the province of Alberta to Fort

Simpson, the opening of hotels and lodges by the territorial government. By 1970 the territories had an estimated 20,000 tourists (GNWT, 1976).

Growth of tourism during the 1970s came mainly through the promotion of package tourism, though this growth was based predominantly in the west. Eight-six per cent of tours in 1975, for example, were bound for locations in the southwest of the NWT, and this can be attributed to the highway system (GNWT, 1976). By the beginning of the 1980s, though very small by world standards, the tourism industry was second only to mining with respect to dollar contribution to the NWT economy (NWT Databook, 1984).

By 1970, there were twelve establishments registered as hotels, five as motels and twelve as campgrounds. At the same time there were fifteen recognised outfitters. By 1983, these figures had increased to: twenty-four hotels, eight motels, nineteen campgrounds and twenty-six registered outfitters (Statistics Canada, 1970-1983).

Presently there are over one hundred hotels and lodges throughout the NWT. These range from full-service hotels to smaller home style arrangements in the more remote communities, and hunting/fishing lodges. There are over seventy outfitters and almost fifty package tours in operation throughout the NWT (NWT Explorers Guide, 1985). These package tours include white-water rafting, photographic/cultural tours, exotic ski touring, dog sled trips, guided tours through any one of the three existing National Parks, canoe trips and North Pole tours, among others.

The following chart shows the comparative growth in the number of tourists to the NWT and their expenditure between 1959 and 1975 (Figure 4.2).

Figure 4.2

Increased Numbers of Tourists in the NWT, 1959-1975

Source: GNWT, 1976.

In the summer of 1983 there were an estimated 44,000 people visiting the NWT either for business or vacation reasons. For 1984 this figure was estimated at 41,800 (GNWT, 1983, 1984).

The NWT, as noted earlier, is divided into six travel zones: Arctic Coast, Baffin, Big River, Keewatin, Northern Frontier and Western Arctic (see Figure 4.3). Table 4.3 presents a breakdown of tourism facilities in each travel zone. Each zone has its own headquarters and is responsible, through the Government of the NWT, for tourism development in the region. The intent, notes Balmer Crapo and Associates (1980), is to develop each zone uniquely and differently from the others and for each to have its own image.

Figure 4.3

Travel Zones and National Parks of the Northwest Territories

Source: N.W.T. Explorers Guide, 1985, pp 48-49.

Table 4.3

Regional Breakdown of Tourism Facilities in The
Northwest Territories

<u>Travel Zone</u>	<u>Hotels/Motels</u>	<u>Lodges</u>	<u>Outfitters</u>	<u>Package Tours</u>
Arctic Coast	6	5	10	2
Baffin	16	4	27	30
Big River	15	9	7	3
Keewatin	7	12	16	7
Northern Frontier	7	17	10	2
Western Arctic	15	5	9	5

Source: NWT Explorers Guide, 1985.

The Territorial government's Department of Economic Development and Tourism is responsible for tourism in the NWT. The government agency within this department, responsible for marketing and regulation enforcement (Keller, 1982) is known as Travel Arctic. In 1984 three major co-operative marketing programs were designed to give the region increased exposure, these programs being run in conjunction with the Yukon, British Columbia, Manitoba, Saskatchewan and Alberta.

In addition, Travel Arctic staff attended an International Course on Tourism in Berlin and are presently working with the NWT private sectors' Travel Industry Association (TIA) to develop a marketing handbook to assist operators in marketing their products (GNWT, 1984). Initially, the TIA began as a lodge operators' association, but today includes members representing outfitters, hotels, motels, lodges, travel agents, communities, retail outlets, co-operatives and native organisations (Keller, 1982).

The three national parks (Figure 4.3) in the NWT are Nahanni and Wood Buffalo (Big River Zone), and Auyuittuq (pronounced 'I-you-we-took') in the Baffin region.

Wood Buffalo, established in 1922, is the world's second largest national park. Two thirds of the Park is in the Province of Alberta and it is noted as the haven for Canada's last herd of Wood Bison and for more than two hundred bird species (NWT Explorers Guide, 1985). Nahanni, a world heritage site, was established in 1971, and is noted for 'breathtaking river gorges, fabulous underground caves and natural hot springs' (NWT Explorers Guide, 1985: 37). The Explorers guide notes that legends, myths and rumours of lost gold add to the mystique of this wilderness preserve.

Auyuittuq was initially named Baffin Island National Park when first established in 1972 but reverted to the Inuit name which effectively translates to 'the land that never melts' (Wilson, 1976). It is world renowned for its ice caps, jagged mountain peaks, spectacular fiords and deeply carved valleys.

From personal correspondence with both Parks Canada staff and GNWT officials there are plans for a fourth national park in the NWT to be located at the northern tip of Ellesmere Island. It is expected that it will remain a park reserve for a few years before it assumes full national park status.

4.2.1 NWT Visitor Studies

Surveys have been conducted to help understand the nature of tourism in the NWT (for example GNWT, 1976, 1983) by

attempting to determine the number of tourists, their characteristics and place of residence.

In 1975 it was estimated that sport hunting and fishing lodges had 4,800 guests who paid \$3.83 million for accommodation, food and other services (GNWT, 1976). In the same year, it was also estimated that Territorial hotels and motels accommodated 227,400 guests who paid \$15.5 million for accommodation, food and other services (GNWT, 1976). The total number of non-resident leisure travellers entering the NWT in 1975 was estimated to be 11,900, representing a 3.9% drop in numbers of tourists from 1974 (GNWT, 1976).

These figures must be treated with caution, however, as the Territorial Government stresses:

The Northwest Territorial travel statistics remain inadequate in many areas, both in respect to coverage and accuracy. Steps are being taken to improve them, but we still do not have accurate information about the number of persons entering the NWT, their modes of travel, reasons for visiting or expenditures (GNWT, 1976: 1).

Tourist expenditure has been assessed to determine the contribution to the NWT economy though, unfortunately, the methodology is at times dubious.

In 1983 for example, respondents found it difficult to answer accurately when asked to recall exact amounts of money spent. The assumed approximate general amount spent per person averaged \$1,500 per visitor (GNWT, 1983). On this assumption it was estimated that revenue generated by visitors would be \$1,500 times the number of visitors. In the summer of 1983, therefore, the revenue generated was \$65 million (\$1,500 x

44,000 visitors). Leakages were not considered a factor.

Often there were small sample sizes upon which to base results. According to the Territorial government, 'the extent of co-operation has been limited to a relatively small number of individuals and businesses' (GNWT, 1983: 53). Similarly, with those involved with the administration of questionnaires (for example, hotelier, tourist, etc.), '...many individuals simply failed to comply with the instructions given them, they either lacked interest in the survey or were unable to devote the time required on a regular basis to follow through with reporting' (GNWT, 1983: 54). Indeed, lack of information has been a considerable problem for tourism officials. Information has predominantly been centered on areas of the NWT with large populations and road access. This bias must be considered when evaluating statistics of NWT tourism, as must also the size of the area concerned. Marshall, Macklin, Macklin (1982: 5) note 'Many of the reports caution against conclusive statements because of weaknesses in the survey design, small sample size, or collection of data'.

Generally then, the figures must be treated with a degree of caution. Nevertheless, they do give some indication of the scale of tourism that has occurred over the past fifteen years. Survey methodology has become more precise and the surveys themselves are covering a wider range of communities in the Northwest Territories.

In 1984 and 1985, the Government of the NWT conducted visitor surveys. The 1985 data is still being compiled in

Vancouver. It would be of benefit, however, to look at some of the 1984 findings:

- Of the 15,600 travellers visiting the NWT between the survey period of June 25th to September 4th, 1984, 70%

arrived by scheduled airline with 30% by road. These

percentages varied among the different regions: for example, 55% of visitors to the Big River region arrived by air compared to 100% in the Baffin and Keewatin regions.

- The majority of visitors (60%) travelled alone while 26% travelled with one other person. Again, there were variations from region to region. A high proportion of visitors travelled alone in the Keewatin and Western Arctic regions while the proportion was low in the Baffin and Big River regions.

- Overall, 88% of visitors were from Canada with a further 9% from the United States.

- Two-thirds of all visitors had been to the NWT before; 58% of those travelling for vacation purposes had visited previously, while 78% of business travellers had made other trips.

- The most popular activities were shopping for arts and crafts (49%), visiting friends and relatives (49%) and to visit museums and historic sites (37%).

- Visitors were predominantly from professional and managerial occupations. Twenty-two per cent of travellers had a total household income of \$50,000 or more while another 38% were between \$30,000 and \$50,000 a year.

- Overall, visitors stayed about twelve nights in the NWT with business travellers staying longer on average.
- The average expenditure per travel group was \$600, with higher amounts spent in the Baffin Region (\$1,025) and less in the Western Arctic and Big River regions. Road access may be an important factor in this respect.
- Finally, guides and outfitters were used by just twelve per cent of visitors, with an average expenditure of \$645 per visitor.

Tourists, then, were primarily from Canada and the United States, had above average incomes and came into the territories via airlines or road. In future studies it would be of benefit to ascertain why visitors chose the NWT, how they 'found out' what was available in the NWT and what they would like to see improved in the region. Answers to these questions would help future marketing studies and would assist in improving the supply side of the tourism industry for the Territorial government.

4.3 The Baffin Region

4.3.1 Introduction

The Baffin region extends north from the community of Sanikiluaq in Hudson Bay up through Baffin Island, over the northeastern tip of the mainland and through the High Arctic to the North Pole (Figure 4.4).

The physiography is characterised by high mountains and deeply carved valleys on the east coast of Baffin Island, and

Figure 4.4**Baffin Region Travel Zone**

relatively lowland hill plateaux in the west and south. To the north lies the Innuition region of Arctic islands composed of rock formations that have been repeatedly folded with ice extensively covering the most northerly islands.

The area is rich in history, archaeology, spectacular scenery and wildlife. In some sense it is the popular image of 'the Arctic' with very cold temperatures, inaccessibility, polar bears, and the Penny Ice Cap (located halfway up the east coast of Baffin Island, within Auyuittuq National Park).

The arctic is a cold desert characterised by long dark winters, gale force winds and very little precipitation. There are more than 1000 lichen species in the area which provide nutrients to feed many mosses that in turn give rise to plant life, including numerous flowering plants. In fact, there is quite prolific growth despite the inhospitable climate, the short seasons and permafrost (permanently frozen soil just below ground level). The short summers are assisted by twenty-four hours of sunlight which allows for maximum growing time (Travel Arctic, GNWT, 1985).

Many mammals have adapted to the harsh environment through a variety of different methods. Sea mammals, for example, have a thick layer of blubber that acts as both an energy source and insulator. Common sea mammals include walrus, whales, and seals. Land mammals include lemmings, foxes, wolves, caribou, muskoxen and polar bears.

4.3.2 Baffin Region History

Inuit history dates back to approximately 4500 years ago with the Arctic Small Tool Culture which had moved slowly east from Alaska. Two sub-groups were established from this culture, of which the Pre Dorsets established themselves in the Baffin region. In turn, the Pre Dorset culture gave rise to the Dorsets around 1000 B.C. Around 1000 A.D. came the Thule people, who had also entered the region via Alaska. It is not clear whether they conquered or absorbed the Dorset people, but they are considered to be the direct ancestors of today's Inuit (Wilson, 1976). In the harsh arctic environment the Inuit led a nomadic lifestyle centered on survival at a subsistence level.

Inuit and Europeans are believed to have first made contact in 1576 when English explorer Martin Frobisher sailed into what is known today as Frobisher Bay, in search of the Northwest Passage. Many other explorers followed Frobisher and then came the whaling and fur trade eras which affected the Inuit in several ways.

Although the introduction of a European culture brought new items such as tea, woollen clothes, flour, wooden boats, iron tools, etc., it also brought epidemics of mumps and measles and consumption (NWT Databook, 1984). In addition, guns were traded from the Europeans, but these were useless without a continuing supply of bullets. This trade is one example of an emerging dependency on the European way of life.

By the early 1900s, the Hudson's Bay Company had established

trading posts in many Baffin communities. Missionaries and the Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP) soon followed, though the Inuit were still basically living on the land and not settling in communities. The boom-bust cycle of the fur trade had reached disastrous proportions by the 1950s. With greater public awareness of the north, the federal government began a massive aid programme to establish medical services, schools and electricity in these remote areas. As a result, there emerged a gradual flow of people from the traditional camps to the communities where this aid was obtainable. Communities today have essentially grown from the 1950s period.

The 1950s also brought the introduction of the DEW line (Distant Early Warning Radar), increased wage labour and increased public awareness in the south of life 'up north' and the plight of the Inuit (Indian and Northern Affairs, 1983).

Life today in the communities revolves around community activities and organisations (for example schools, church, co-operatives and numerous committees on aspects of everyday life, e.g., drug abuse, tourism). The traditional lifestyle has not been forgotten, but altered. There is now a Hudson's Bay store, RCMP and a nursing station in nearly every community. Traditional life is more apparent in the summer when many families go 'on the land' to hunt and fish for extended periods without relying on the assistance which the community helps to provide.

4.3.3 Settlements in the Baffin Region

Of the fourteen communities which are located in the Baffin region, nine are located on Baffin Island itself (see Appendix 1). North of the island are the communities of Resolute and Grise Fiord, while on the north eastern tip of the Canadian mainland lie the communities of Igloolik and Hall Beach. Sanikiluaq, in Hudson Bay is the fourteenth community group.

Frobisher Bay is the largest community in the region with a population of 2,335 (Statistics Canada, 1981). No other community has a population which exceeds 1000. The next largest communities are Pangnirtung, Cape Dorset, Pond Inlet and Igloolik which have populations between 700 and 900 (Statistics Canada, 1981). The total population for the region is approximately 8,300 (Statistics Canada, 1981), of which about 85% are Inuit - the remainder being predominantly southern Canadians (NWT Databook, 1984).

4.3.4 Tourism in the Baffin Region: An Overview

Little information is available regarding the numbers and types of tourists to the Baffin region prior to the 1980s. No studies were conducted specifically on the Baffin region. Indeed, the area was only considered as a distinct tourism region following the recommendations made by Balmer, Crapo and Associates (1980).

Of the estimated 7,000-7,700 visitors to the Baffin region in 1981 (including both businessmen and vacationers), it is estimated that 25% were from Ontario, 10% from Quebec, 10% from

Western Canada, 15% from within the NWT, 25% from the United States and 10% from Europe. The remaining 5% came from a variety of countries (Marshall, Macklin, Monaghan, 1982). For the summer of 1984 (June-September) an estimated 3,250 people visited the Baffin region, spending \$3,500,000 (GNWT, 1984: 39). This expenditure was calculated using the methodology described earlier in Section 4.2.1. This visitation figure, the report notes, reflects an increase of tourists from 1982 to 1984 of .37% and an increase in total visitor expenditure of 13%.

The GNWT (1984) survey indicated that of the 1,673 people surveyed in the Baffin region, 47% were from Ontario, 22% from Quebec, and 11% from the United States. Only 35% (585) people were in the region for vacation purposes only. The remaining percentage was composed of business people (57%) or visitors for family reasons (7%). Travelers were noted to most likely visit Frobisher Bay (92%) and Pangnirtung (18%).

Keller (1982: 67) presented the following table (Table 4.4) to illustrate the seasonal variations and potential and actual tourism opportunities possible in the different seasons (Appendix Two lists the variety of activities available in the respective Baffin communities). Clearly there are defined periods of the year when tourism is more viable than others. Predominantly, tourist numbers peak in the summer period from June to August when there is twenty-four hour daylight, the weather is the warmest of the year and it is also the time when many people take summer vacations. Keller has omitted the

Table 4.4

The Tourist Seasons of the Barfin Region

<u>Season</u>	<u>Climate</u>	<u>Mobility</u>	<u>Opportunities</u>
APRIL - MAY	Dry, good visibility. Ample daylight. Temp. -17 to -1 C.	Ground and water frozen allowing mobility by snowmobile or ski.	Snowmobile tours, photography, sight- seeing, skiing.
JUNE	Some precipitation, poor visibility due to frequent fog, 24 hours daylight, 0 to 6 C.	Melting makes transport across land and water increasingly difficult.	Watching emergence of the Arctic spring, photography, sight-seeing.
JULY - AUGUST	Considerable rain in late August) frequent fog. Temp. 4 to 11 C.	Open water allows travel by boat, land water- logged and marshy.	Hiking, fishing, camping, boating, mountaineering, skiing (in mts.) etc., touring.
SEPTEMBER - OCTOBER	Considerable precipita- tion, darkness sets in. Temp. 0 to 6 C.	Freezing and ice formation period makes travel across terrain difficult.	Opportunities very limited.
NOVEMBER- DECEMBER	Cold and dry, 24 hours of darkness. Temp. -8 to -30 C.	Ground and water frozen allowing mobility by snow- mobile and ski.	Snowmobile tours, skiing, experiencing the Arctic winter

NOTES: The above is based on the opinions expressed by local tour operators and tourist entrepreneurs.
Temperature readings are based on those recorded for Pangnirtung.

Source: From Keller (1982; 67)

months of January, February and March when conditions are inhospitable. There is little, if any, daylight, temperatures are cold and no tourist activities are organised. One of the considerations presently being explored by the Territorial government is how to spread tourism over more of the year.

Two Baffin Region communities, Frobisher Bay and Resolute, receive inbound flights from outside the region. Through the regional airline Nordair, Frobisher Bay receives daily flights from Montreal, and over summer every second day, flights from Ottawa. First Air and Greenlandair fly from Frobisher Bay to Godthaab in Greenland. Further north and west, Resolute receives scheduled flights from Edmonton and Yellowknife via Pacific Western and from Montreal via Frobisher Bay with Nordair and Kenn Borek Air Ltd. Flights internal to the region are run by Nordair in the West and First Air in the east. To convey some idea of costs a list of airfares is provided in Appendix Three.

In December 1985, First Air began scheduled flights to Frobisher Bay from Ottawa. Another airline, Austin Airways has expressed an interest in scheduled flights to Frobisher Bay via Timmins, Ontario, but has yet to make any formal applications to do so (personal correspondence with First Air officials).

First Air have a monopoly on community flights on the east coast of Baffin Island, flying twice a week at present. First Air proposes to increase this service to three times a week. Presently First Air has no intention of lowering airfares but airline officials did state that they may be forced to do so if new competition for their scheduled flights emerges (personal

correspondence with First Air officials).

Accommodation is available in all communities with the exception of Lake Harbour and Nanisivik. For modest food and lodging (often sharing a room) for one night, the prospective tourist can expect to pay, on average, between \$85-\$140 a night. There is a choice of three hotels in both Frobisher Bay and Resolute, and in some other communities campsites have been provided.

Hotel owners interviewed in Frobisher Bay note that while an increase in the number of holiday makers would help business, the hotels primary concern is to serve the large quantity of business people that come to the area for a few days, and construction workers flown up from southern centers.

Baffin region tourism is overseen by the GNWT Department of Economic Development and Tourism and the Baffin Tourism Association (BTA) - a branch of the Baffin Regional Association, affiliated to the Travel Industry Association (TIA). The Territorial Government is concerned with large scale tourism related projects while the BTA operates on a smaller scale with greater contact with the local people, promoting and developing specific projects. It is generally felt by outfitters and tourism entrepreneurs that the BTA is more effective than the territorial government.

The government of the NWT is extremely interested in increasing tourist numbers and revenue from the tourist industry and has provided opportunities for people to conduct research and establish tourism related activities in an effort

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to get the industry off the ground.

To date there is limited information on tourists and tourism in the Baffin region.

Generally, studies pertaining to travel in the north provide a disjointed picture because of the breadth of land ranging from the Eastern Arctic/Baffin Island to the Western portion of the Northwest Territories, the Yukon and Alaska...Very few deal with travel and tourism specifically in the Eastern Arctic (Marshall, Macklin, Monaghan, 1982: 5).

According to researchers, the Baffin region has considerable tourism potential (Balmer, Crapo and Associates, 1980; Butler, 1975; Keller, 1982; Marshall, Macklin, Monaghan, 1982). How then, may the region realise this potential for the benefit of the fourteen communities? What degree of involvement do they, and should they have in the tourism planning process? Before these questions can be answered several issues must be examined--in particular, what are the barriers to tourism growth, and what development strategies have been formulated in both the past and the present day? The following chapter discusses problems inherent in tourism development in the Baffin Region. Some of these problems may be overcome with appropriate tourism planning, while others will always remain.

CHAPTER FIVE

PROBLEMS FOR TOURISM DEVELOPMENT IN THE BAFFIN REGION

5.1 . Introduction

There are many problems associated with tourism development in the region. This short chapter outlines the main problems that are significant to tourism development in the future. Often the barriers to tourism growth are the very reasons that tourists are attracted to the area. Before assessing development plans in the Baffin Region it is important that these barriers are considered. In many instances, the problems outlined are inter-related. The following sections are a combination of field experience and author observation, and potential problems as outlined by Balmer, Crapo and Associates (1980); Butler (1975); Keller (1982); and, Marshall, Macklin, Monaghan (1982).

5.2 Seasonality

An indication of the seasonality is given in Table 4.4 of Chapter Four. The most hospitable time for tourists is July and August and it is in this period that most tourist activity

takes place. There are obvious attractions. As noted earlier, the days are long (in most places between twenty and twenty-four hours of sunlight), snow has left the communities and little, if any ice, remains in the coastal waters (the extent of ice cover varies among the communities). The warmest temperatures occur in this period and it is also the time in which most tourists spend their holidays. Caution is given to potential tourists when planning their visit as the unpredictability of the weather can leave people stranded in communities, as no air transport may be available.

In direct contrast, however, the winter days are very short and in the more northern communities (for example Grise Fiord and Pond Inlet) there is no sunlight. While lack of sunlight may be an attraction for some tourists, the majority of people would be expected to wish to see the area they are visiting. Winters are severe, with very cold temperatures and cold arctic winds (Appendix One).

In the months between winter and summer there is a transition period with the addition or reduction of ice and snow, longer/shorter days and associated temperature changes. Presently, tourism is focused on the summer months, though there is also a limited amount of interest in the April-May period when temperatures are not so cold but the ice is still thick enough to support snowmobiles and dog sled teams. To have an increase in the number of tourists, most likely to occur in summer, there must be an associated increase in the number of tourist facilities to cater for the increased

demand. With a high capital investment in more accommodation facilities, however, the economic return will be very low in the nine months outside the summer period. Naturally there is a hesitancy among investors to build, or greatly enlarge, existing accommodation facilities. There is a trend at present though, which suggests that upgrading is taking place in most communities.

Seasonality is a major barrier to increasing the numbers of tourists. From field observations and interviews with territorial government officials, however, it appears that greater emphasis is to be placed on promoting the months of April and May, and November and December when water is frozen and temperatures warmer than in the middle of winter.

5.3 Infrastructural Requirements

The term 'Infrastructure' refers to the supply side of the tourism industry. More specifically in this section, infrastructure refers to accommodation and eating facilities in the Baffin Region.

Crucial to the potential increase in tourists, this supply side factor incorporates a multitude of considerations.

Firstly, if we assume that increased development of tourism means an increase in the number of tourists, then not just the quality of the infrastructure becomes a factor but also the quantity. Thus at the same time as an improvement in such factors as accommodation, eating establishments and transport are advocated, demands are made to increase the infrastructural

carrying capacity.

The underlying assumption for tourism developers, is that 'more tourists' are desirable - primarily for their economic spin-offs, for we must consider that infrastructural change for tourism will be intended to reap the economic rewards. As touched upon in the previous section, an increase of infrastructure may not be economic, over a twelve month period. Is it likely that an increase of tourists in summer will be enough to offset the initial capital investment and the operating costs for the off season periods?

If there are a small number of facilities, and those facilities are small, then economic returns will also be low. In the non summer seasons, however, the overall costs will be less for the small existing operations and small number of facilities than for the larger establishments. Over a twelve month period, therefore, it may be more economic to maintain existing small establishments rather than develop new facilities.

Marshall, Macklin, Monaghan (1982) note for the Baffin Region:

The infrastructure, cultural and information related tourism projects generate little or no revenue and therefore are not able to cover their potential expenses. As a result, from a financial perspective there is little likelihood of attracting private sector investment and management interest in these projects....The GNWT really has little alternative but to build and operate such facilities themselves (Marshall, Macklin, Monaghan, 1982: 77).

They calculate that there would be 264-347 construction jobs created as a result of \$14.5 million investment in

construction associated with tourism projects around the Baffin region. Where would these employees come from, and how would communities accommodate and accept the change in social life and the short-term nature of such a 'boom period'? These questions will be discussed shortly.

At present, due to the limited number of accommodation and eating facilities, establishments may charge near monopoly prices for their services. Prices can be justified to a large extent when consideration is given to the costs of transporting food to the Baffin Region. A competitive market, however, may reduce prices that tourists have to pay, though in the long run the local entrepreneur may suffer as tourist numbers and profits are shared amongst establishments. This idea, though, assumes that there would be an increase in tourists to be shared. The profitability of one facility may disappear as the result of another entering the market. The end result may be one where there is a return to what is already present today - a limited number of facilities throughout the region.

Upgrading existing facilities may appear the best alternative. Upgrading or construction costs can be very expensive. Costs of equipment and building supplies in the area may be very expensive and even unobtainable from within the region, and may have to be brought in from other centers, most likely Montreal. Additionally, provision would have to be made for the accommodation of construction workers, and specialised technical requirements of building on permafrost would also add to costs. The building season may also be limited by seasonal factors.

5.4 Transportation

Except for a few weeks in summer, when sea travel is possible, the Baffin Region is accessible by air only. There are two main problems associated with transportation. First, and most obvious, is the cost factor. Aside from the long distances involved, costs are relatively high, as in many instances there is a one way destination of goods - predominantly north. One airline official related the story that flights returning south have, in some instances, required containers of water to be placed on board to adequately balance the plane. Airlines in the region transport food and materials primarily, and then people. When return flights south are under capacity, profits decline - hence the high cost of airline tickets in the north. The high costs of transportation is one of the principal obstacles to increasing the numbers of tourists (see Appendix Three for air travel cost examples).

The second major problem is the unreliability of air transport owing to the variance of day to day and seasonal weather conditions. Weather conditions vary from community to community. Regional airline officials state that conditions which may result in postponement or cancellation of flights are high speed wind, fog (in late summer especially), blizzards, darkness (in winter) and mud on airstrips (for example, at Clyde River and Broughton Island). Flights cannot always be guaranteed to arrive or depart on time. There may be a difference of hours or days. As a result, tourists must always be prepared for a change in plan and should be able to cope

with this change both economically and mentally. The unreliability is largely due to external factors. The added costs of delays may be high to the tourists but these costs are unavoidable.

5.5 Labour Force Considerations

The tourist industry is predominantly service orientated and thus, labour intensive. This labour has, or at least should have, a variety of skills ranging from top level management and policy formulation to domestic hotel worker. In the Baffin Region there is a shortage of trained personnel to supervise and determine development strategies.

One of the contentious issues at present to local people, is why should outsiders (predominantly southerners) come into communities, be paid, and assume supervision of projects? In the case of the Pangnirtung Community Tourism Plan, however, the southern consultants work in close consultation with the Community Tourism Committee and the Community Tourism Manager. It is inevitable, as in many other areas without tourism experience, that until local Inuit become aware and are adequately trained in matters of business and tourism development, an influx of southern consultants will continue.

Construction workers, if new facilities are built, will add another dimension to the problem of labour. They too may possess skills which the local Inuit do not have, and this factor may increase social antagonisms between migrant worker and Inuit. Even if Inuit were to be employed for the short

term, structural unemployment would only return in future years.

Apart from traditional activities in the Baffin region, employment is limited to mainly administrative functions, a few stores, and the mine at Nanisivik. Tourism is a mechanism by which local people may receive gainful employment. The seasonal nature of tourism, however, may negate the overall benefits to a certain degree. In Pond Inlet in the summer of 1985, for example, three of the four licensed outfitters made a joint total of \$20,000 dollars. For the remainder of the year they may only obtain some part-time employment if they are lucky. The rest of the time is spent on welfare.

Most tourists are demanding (expecting to get value for money) and so to be effective hosts the Inuit must be fully aware of their critical involvement in tourist/host interaction. The Inuit concept of time is different from the southern ethic of the '9 to 5 job' and this difference may create difficulties between manager and worker and between visitor and local, which may create a feeling of resentment.

Keller (1982: 92) notes that employment in the tourist industry is perceived by Inuit as 'a low status poorly paid and unpopular occupation'. In addition, there is a communication problem - especially when there is a non-native manager and Inuit worker. Although most Inuit under the age of thirty speak English, the Inuit language (Inuktitut) dominates the Baffin communities.

Another important consideration is that the traditional activities of the Inuit over summer may conflict with the requirement to remain in the communities for the tourist season. Many Inuit go on the land in the summer for varying lengths of time. Hunting and fishing are the popular activities for both recreational and economic reasons, and the idea, it seems, is to make best use of the long daylight hours. Obviously an immediate conflict emerges when the Inuit's own recreational time is to be sacrificed to maintain the tourist industry. Resentment of tourists may only be increased by such a sacrifice. How is this conflict to be resolved?

Finally, one of the main reasons for increasing tourism is to give some hope to those seeking employment. Encouragement is given to local enterprise to become involved in tourism as any additional employment would be welcome in the communities. Of paramount concern is the growing labour force. The population pyramid of the Baffin Region is such that in five-ten years time the unemployment problem will have become much worse. Tourism is seen as an option to ease future unemployment problems (see Figure 5.1).

Figure 5.1Population Pyramid of the Baffin Region

Baffin Region, Population pyramid 1981

5.6 Cultural Barriers

As touched upon in previous sections, tourism development may create a conflict between traditional and modern activities. The modern, southern culture of working allotted hours in a day at specific times is in contrast to the

traditional hunting and gathering lifestyle of the Inuit. The adjustment is taking place at the moment with greater emphasis being placed on a 'southern way of life' and wage labour being encouraged. Tourism is just one element in this change.

Increased tourism involvement will only accelerate this rate of change. Whether the transition is good or not is debatable.

Associated with this change, however, may be the commoditisation of traditional culture. Although the Inuit culture may be reinforced by this commoditisation, the meanings behind various aspects of the lifestyle may be lost. The Inuit must decide between economic benefits, or traditional activities remaining as traditional activities. To what degree then, should traditional activities be exposed to tourists?

Land-use conflicts may also arise. With the creation of national parks and wildlife sanctuaries, and the increased involvement of mineral, gas and oil exploration companies, the extent of traditional hunting and fishing areas may slowly diminish. With increased tourism such as more fishing camps, proposed nature reserves and sanctuaries, archaeological sites, summer camp displays and walking trails around the communities, careful consideration must be given to the extent to which these activities restrict traditional lifestyle. Community involvement in the planning process is essential to minimise these impacts. The communities must decide to what extent potential tourist activities should be allowed to intrude on their way of life.

Community Awareness programmes sponsored by the territorial

government have begun in some communities with the intention of making residents aware of the good and bad effects of tourism (for example, Clyde River, Frobisher Bay and Pangnirtung). In addition some clean up programmes have been implemented to make the communities more visually appealing to tourists. The Inuit have traditionally had a throw-away nomadic lifestyle, hence today there is a lot of rubbish lying around the communities.

5.7 Environmental Considerations

The scale of tourism development may be determined to a large extent by the environment in which it takes place. The Eastern Arctic environment is fragile and sensitive to any change that may occur. The impact of increasing numbers of tourists must be given consideration, especially in the national parks and reserves, and wildlife sanctuaries.

As previously mentioned, technical/engineering problems associated with construction on permafrost have largely been overcome but at high cost. This environmental constraint is an important factor when considering whether to construct new facilities or not.

The extent to which sea ice occurs around the communities has an important effect in determining when specific activities take place. In Pond Inlet for example, the ice between the community and the federal bird sanctuary on nearby Bylot Island is absent for only two or three weeks in August, thus severely restricting the number and timing of boat trips that can be made to the Island. In the colder months, however, when the

ice completely covers Eclipse Sound, the island can be reached by snowmobile or dogsled. Tourists, therefore, must be made aware of what activities are available to them and when during the year they can participate in these activities.

Accordingly, there is an element of danger in the north with the extreme temperature and the presence of polar bears. In some communities (for example Broughton Island, Pangnirtung and Pond Inlet), polar bears are known to be nearby and there is always a chance of meeting a bear along the coast. For example, trail construction was temporarily halted this summer near Pond Inlet through such a meeting. Auyuittuq National Park staff make a specific point to advise park users of the danger of bears in the eastern section of the Park. Consideration then, must be given to the safety of tourists and the specific locations where tourist activities take place.

5.8 The 'Arctic Image'

One of the problems of an arctic image is that the image conveyed when visiting often represents exactly the opposite of tourist expectations. Smith (1977) notes

Tourism is seasonal in summer when warm sunny days, flowering tundra and ice-free seas are nearly the antithesis of tourist expectations (Smith, 1977: 51).

Considerable changes of the environment may occur from one season to the next. Those tourists interested in snowmobile touring would be best advised to go in April and May when there is abundant snow and ice, warmer temperatures and sufficient daylight (see Table 4.4). Hikers and climbers would prefer the

month of July when there is optimal daylight and accessibility to the remote areas.

The 'image of the arctic' should be understood as representing a variety of different images at various times of the year. A holiday can then be planned accordingly. It is vitally important that those people involved in the selling/promotion of the Baffin Region tourism product be aware of possible misconceptions and they must make it clear to potential tourists that there is a variety of different seasons to choose from; each offering different activities, and that all expectations cannot be met at one time. The essence of a good holiday is when experience meets or exceeds expectations.

This kind of awareness on behalf of tourists and entrepreneurs is vital for a successful tourism program. Southern travel agents must also be aware of the variation in 'arctic image' so that they can accurately describe the tourism product to potential visitors.

In an interesting, albeit slightly biased survey of first year geography students at the University of Western Ontario, Keller (1982: 100) asked for the students' images of the north. Out of 299 students, the top seven features commonly associated with the north were Inuit (65%), Snow/ice (62%), Cold (50%), Tundra (39%), Permafrost (37%), Oil Industry (32%) and Polar Bears (30%). These common associations reflect an image of the Baffin Region which is quite different from that gained when visiting the area in July or August.

Butler (1975: 91) surveyed United States and Canadian

travel agents asking them to identify those factors that they considered acted as deterrents for people choosing to travel to the Canadian North. The travel agents identified climate as being the primary deterrent followed then by the cost of the trip, lack of facilities and awareness of what is available 'up north'.

The appropriate arctic image which fully indicates the temporal and spatial diversity of the region is vital to a successful tourism planning policy. It also relates directly to the question of marketing.

5.9 Marketing

To draw tourists to the area requires an appropriate marketing strategy. Nevertheless, there still remain fundamental problems for marketing. Markets for the Baffin region are very limited. It is an expensive holiday travelling in the north and one that few families could afford. Most activities are resource oriented whereas family activities are predominantly facility oriented (Mieczkowski, 1974). Most activities, aside from photography and sightseeing require a certain level of fitness and ability to cope with potentially adverse weather.

Owing to the high cost of transportation there is a limited number of markets - the main ones being Ontario, Quebec and the northeastern seaboard of the United States (Marshall, Macklin, Monaghan, 1982; GNWT, 1982). What those geographical constraints suggest perhaps, is that marketing should be

directed at specific segments (for example, climbing clubs and high income groups) and that the quality of the tourist is more important than the quantity. A large marketing campaign may be relatively ineffectual with such a limited market.

Further emphasis needs to be placed on appropriate marketing strategies. Markets in Europe, for example, provide an opportunity to increase the number of tourists entering the Baffin Region.

The issue of appropriate marketing will be examined in greater detail in the following chapter.

5.10 Inuit Land Claims

One important issue for northern development at present is the Inuit land claims. Native peoples of the north are presently negotiating with the federal government as to the ownership of land. The Inuit, in particular, have proposed the establishment of a region known as NUNAVUT (essentially the area north and east of the treeline). Inuit negotiators propose that there be three types of land in Nunavut: Municipal, Crown and Inuit land. All three would be owned and administered by the Inuit people through appropriate organisations (Inuit Tapinsat, 1985).

It is anticipated (from personal correspondence with the Tungavik Federation of Nunavut, the Inuit body concerned with the formation of Nunavut) that a land claims settlement will be effected within the next three or four years. To help control the creation and growth of the Nunavut region, Inuit

development corporations have already been established to provide the initial economic inputs into the new region.

Early writers (Balmer Crapo and Associates, 1980; Keller, 1982), have noted some uncertainty towards development in the north on behalf of residents due to the land claims issue though Marshall, Macklin, Monaghan (1982) and the Government of the NWT (1983) pay no attention to the issue. The land claims issue may be discouraging some entrepreneurs from investing capital in tourism development projects though the extent to which this discouragement is occurring may only be realised when the issue is resolved. Irrespective of the uncertainties regarding land claims, however, the Inuit Development Corporation in the Baffin region 'Qigittalleuk' is very interested in the potential of tourism development. Their involvement in tourism will be discussed in greater detail in the following chapter.

5.11 Other Considerations

There are geographical complications regarding the structure of the Government of the NWT. The capital is Yellowknife, which is 2248 km from Frobisher Bay - and the government represents a variety of different groups - Inuit, Indians, non-natives, people of the west and east. With regards to tourism, development has been encouraged by territorial government and entrepreneurs, and indeed concentrated in the west with the construction of roads while little has been done in the east. There is a common belief

among businesses and development officers that 'the eastern' arctic is neglected in tourism policy and that more effective control should rest in the hands of those in, or at least closer, to the eastern arctic.

Essentially, east and west are two different areas completely. Differences in geography, people, infrastructure, accessibility, and resource base have resulted in different values and attitudes to regional development.

Of great importance to the Baffin Region is the allocation of finances for tourism development. The primary method of obtaining finance at present is through what is known as the Economic Development Agreement (EDA). The EDA is financed by the federal and territorial governments and funds are allocated through the EDA Secretariat in Yellowknife. A sub-agreement of the EDA - the Domestic Market Development Sub-Agreement is the source of most tourism development money for the Baffin Region at present. A more detailed discussion of the EDA is given in the following chapter.

5.12 Conclusion

It is apparent that there are a number of inherent obstacles to be overcome when considering tourism development in the Baffin Region. These barriers are compounded by factors whose extent of constraint will be determined by policy-makers in the tourism development process.

It is important to acknowledge that fundamental problems for tourism development in the Baffin Region do exist.

Development strategies must recognise these problems and plans for any development must take these into account. Similarly, the degree of involvement at community, regional, territorial and national levels must be considered. At what level is an appropriate planning strategy formulated? At any level there is a requirement for integration with other special units. In Chapter Seven an alternative strategy is proposed to that presently in operation, but that in itself, is a subjective outline of what development should take place and how.

In the following chapter, several tourism development considerations are reviewed, all of which have direct relevance to northern tourism development and the Baffin Region. Particular emphasis will be placed upon the Community Based Tourism Strategy (GNWT, 1983) and the Baffin Region Tourism Strategy (Marshall, Macklin, Monaghan, 1982). It is from these two development outlines that tourism development will likely proceed in the Baffin Region in the near future.

CHAPTER SIX

TOURISM DEVELOPMENT LITERATURE: NORTHWEST TERRITORIES

AND THE BAFFIN REGION

6.1 Introduction

Rather than provide a thematic account of development studies and tourism research in the arctic, this chapter will use a temporal perspective on the study area. Most work has been built upon previous studies, and in most cases, it is easier to understand the writers' comments when you consider the time period from which they were writing. Thus the present day situation will be reviewed at the end of this chapter. What will become apparent is that various themes are continually brought to light, and yet, little, if any, action has been taken based on these ideas.

6.2 Early Considerations

6.2.1 McConnell (1970)

McConnell outlined the basic structure of tourism in the north and emphasised the need to improve the supply side of the northern tourism industry:

The main problem lies with the Territories abilities to accommodate and service large numbers of people without losing their particular appeal and without damaging their physical resources and social structure (McConnell, 1970: 294).

He believed that the interaction and social change resulting from tourism were generally beneficial, though he realised that there is a potential danger of increasing negative impacts with increasing numbers of tourists in the small native communities.

Thus he stressed the first priority must be the economic and social interests of the NWT residents, noting also that a cautious, well controlled development process was essential. McConnell did not believe a 'master plan' for tourism development for the whole NWT was desirable as it would lead to inflexibility and would inhibit local initiative and innovation. To minimise the impacts of increased tourism activity he suggested the tourist season be extended to at least six months. By doing so, the volume of tourists would be spread over a longer time period and the employment season for residents would be extended.

6.2.2 Baker (1973)

This study, commissioned by the Territorial government, provided a comprehensive overview for tourism in the NWT. The general objective was to provide a framework of references from which policies and plans could be established. Baker compiled a detailed resource inventory, and analysed travel trends, existing and potential markets. Advertising and marketing, he felt, should be based on three distinct market segments; the

The third type of development could be oriented towards tourism as a tool for education. Butler suggests there may be a limited market for this type but overall it would be beneficial to both tourists and host. Increased awareness of the north could be passed on to those in the south who still perceive the north as some distant frontier. Butler added that:

A major consideration relating to this desirability of involvement in tourism by the Inuit is the aspect of impact and resulting change. If no change from traditional activities and lifestyles is desired, then involvement with tourism, as with most other non-traditional activities, is inadvisable (Butler, 1975: 77).

With this notion in mind, Butler advocated a segregation of tourists and traditional activities, as well as a segregation of tourist accommodation and local settlements. He noted that it would also mean the removal of one of the main northern attractions - contact with the Inuit in their own communities and environment.

Concerted and co-ordinated planning was needed, with the final decision on the nature and extent of tourism development being in the hands of the local residents and in accordance with their traditional lifestyle. Nevertheless,

Before any major developments could occur, however, it is necessary for market research and identification to be undertaken, with a view to clarifying the needs and desires of potential visitors, their motivation for wishing to visit the area, and their logistical requirements. Only then can development take place which would be reasonably certain of meeting the approval of the tourist attracted to the area (Butler, 1975: 34).

The current welfare syndrome in the North generates a heavy psychological and social burden which is much in need of being replaced by an atmosphere of creative participation (Mieczkowski, 1973a: 33).

Mieczkowski hoped that new tourism developments would bring tourism and recreation in northern communities closer together, both spatially and economically. Existing facilities would be upgraded and used by both tourist and resident. The growth of facilities outside northern communities should be kept at a minimum as their use would be limited to the short tourist season.

Tourism would form an integral part of development programs as a component in assisting diversification of the economy and protecting the environment. The advantages of concentrating tourist facilities and activities in communities would include: increased efficiency of the transportation system as the amount of travel required would be reduced, and there would be increased possibilities of visitors participating in regular cultural events and festivals.

He added that there should be a degree of optimism because of the north's location to the world air routes (over the Arctic) and that the concentration of facilities would enhance the family travel market. This market is facility, rather than resource, orientated.

Mieczkowski (1973b) proposed providing the same facilities in the north as you could get in the south. By doing so, the number of families travelling to the north would increase. There would be increasing employment opportunities, especially for women as the men were primarily involved in the resource

extractive industries..

He stressed the need for improved co-operation among the local, provincial, and territorial governments, and recommended four fields of research be pursued:

- 1) demand studies to determine potential demand and present patterns of tourist flows.
- 2) an inventory of the supply side of tourism in the north.
- 3) planning studies to establish the role of tourism in northern development and its social, economic and environmental effects.
- 4) a comprehensive cost/benefit analysis be completed.

Ten years later, the same research fields are still being suggested.

6.2.4 Butler (1975)

Butler was commissioned by Inuit Tapirisat of Canada to discuss development of tourism in the Canadian north and comment on the implications for the Inuit.

Adamant that there was potential for tourism in the north, Butler noted that as the North American population increased, so too should the number of tourists. Furthermore, the general profile of an average tourist, he claimed, is affluent and well educated, with interests in the environment and culture. Trends for North America suggested the population was becoming increasingly affluent and better educated, and more environmental, conservation conscious. Increasing media coverage of the north and the creation of three national parks

in the NWT helped increase the southern population's awareness of the north.

For the anticipated increase in demand there would need to be an associated increase in the number of facilities, and a greater distribution of services to allow an expansion of tourism spatially. If no major tourism developments took place, non consumptive activities such as canoeing, rafting, climbing and hiking (that are independent of facilities) would be expected to increase.

Butler claimed that three general types of tourism could be developed: spectator tourism, participatory tourism and an educational style of tourism.

Spectator tourism would include observation but no participation in the northern experience. Tourists would be relatively isolated in 'high class, relatively self contained accommodation and service facilities' (Butler, 1975: 60). Apart from sightseeing, art and craft shopping and perhaps limited exposure to local customs, activities would essentially be those found further south and would be indoors. This type of tourism would involve large investment and transportation costs. Local involvement would be minimal, as would employment opportunities and local economic benefit.

In contrast, participatory tourism would involve large scale contact between tourist and host and participation, if possible, in traditional activities. Tourists would have to be relatively fit and self-sufficient, which would limit market potential to begin with. Problems may also arise with personal conflict between host and tourist.

The third type of development could be oriented towards tourism as a tool for education. Butler suggests there may be a limited market for this type but overall it would be beneficial to both tourists and host. Increased awareness of the north could be passed on to those in the south who still perceive the north as some distant frontier. Butler added that:

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6.3 The Eighties

6.3.1 Balmer, Crapo and Associates (1980)

In 1980, Balmer, Crapo and Associates presented three reports for a Travel Industry Strategy and Action Plan for the NWT. It is beyond the scope of this study to detail the findings of the three reports, however, it is important that some idea be given as to their contents.

As in the past, facilities in the north were criticised for being both poor in quality and high priced. Information services were considered non-existent and business practices rarely efficient. To improve business operations the consultants recommended new management procedures, better marketing and staff training and the creation of workshops and courses concerning tourism hospitality and business management.

They stressed tourism should be encouraged for all times of the year, and that the attraction of the NWT should be diversified to include seasonal changes associated with activities. Three primary goals for tourism were stated: 'to optimise the contribution of tourism to the economic development of the NWT, to develop and maintain a healthy and profitable tourism industry and to improve social conditions in the NWT through tourism' (Balmer, Crapo and Associates, 1980: 10).

Certain aspects of development were recommended; new construction, diversification, expansion and upgrading of facilities and services, a first-class hotel with modern amenities (saunas, pool, pub), more fishing lodges, more information centers, beautification of communities, promotion

and marketing to be directed at special interest groups, and an emphasis on small numbers of tourists with specific interests (though this recommendation does not exactly follow on from the large expansionary policy previously mentioned).

This report initiated the NWT division into the six regional travel zones. It was a comprehensive study conducted at a crucial time for economic development in the NWT as the potential for tourism was increasingly being considered. It provided the foundation for the overall structure of NWT tourism and provided a general inventory of tourism resources available in the area.

6.3.2 Keller (1982)

As partial fulfilment of a Masters degree, Keller (1982) studied tourism in the Baffin region, regarding the area as a peripheral tourist destination. He observed that the development of tourism in the region was 'organic' in nature in that it has evolved out of market demand. At the time, he claimed that tourism in the Baffin region was:

...at a stage in development where lack of control and decision-making, and local initiative and input, will be replaced, in time, by an institutionalised form of tourism, involving control and decision-making from outside the local communities concerned (Keller, 1982: 117).

Keller considered tourism development to be at a stage preliminary to 'take-off' and that a tourism development strategy for the area, at the regional and local level must fit within the context of an overall national and territorial development strategy.

He added that the Territorial government and the Travel Industry Association were calling for growth and increased tourism development with southern quality standards in mind and that the Inuit feared the north was turning into a 'playground for southern tourism' (Keller, 1982: 129). Inuit interviewed felt the present state and quality of accommodation and facilities to be adequate for the low level of tourism at the time.

He distinguished three different settlement typologies: destination point, trans-shipment point and tour point. Destination points were considered the most attractive to tourism. Examples Keller used were: Broughton Island, Clyde River, Grise Fiord, Igloolik, Pangnirtung and Pond Inlet. These communities contained the most 'Inuit culture and tradition' and are the least spoiled by southern influences...They are quiet, peaceful and scenic' (Keller, 1982: 71).

Trans-shipment points (Frobisher Bay and Resolute) were regarded as less attractive as southern influences were dominant and some visitors had been disappointed and dissatisfied with these settlements. Tour points were those communities where little, if any, tourism had developed though they could be an attraction for the educative type of tourist interested in northern mining operations. No direct mention was made of Arctic Bay, Cape Dorset, Hall Beach, Lake Harbour or Sanikiluaq.

Around the same time, however, increasing GNWT attention was given to tourism in the north, and more specifically, the Baffin region. In 1982, Marshall, Macklin and Monaghan (consultants)

prepared the Baffin Region Tourism Strategy - an indepth community by community review of tourism resources and potential for the area, culminating in a strategy outline and balance sheet for future development. A year later, the GNWT presented the Community Based Tourism Strategy, providing a blueprint for future NWT tourism development. It is on these two reports that tourism development, at present and in the near future, is based. It is worth discussing these two reports in some detail.

6.4 The Baffin Region Tourism Strategy, 1982 (BRTS)

6.4.1 Introduction

The Marshall, Macklin, Monaghan study can be divided into five main planning phases, as outlined by Mill and Morrison in Chapter Three. The development strategy concentrates on the later stages of the planning model. Initially, the Background Analysis phase is covered by summarising the various studies and reports that have been done on tourism in the NWT and to a lesser extent the Baffin region. With respect to northern tourism studies, they note:

Very few deal with travel and tourism specifically in the Eastern Arctic. Many of the reports caution against conclusive statements because of weaknesses in the survey design, small sample size, or collection of both (Marshall, Macklin, Monaghan, 1982: 5).

Based on previous studies they conclude that Baffin Region visitors on average have above average incomes, and are likely to stay in a hotel/motel or lodge, although camping is popular (Marshall, Macklin, Monaghan, 1982: 8). There are not many

other accommodation alternatives!

Popular activities in the region, they add, include photography, sightseeing, shopping for handicrafts, backpacking/hiking, visiting historic sites/museums and hunting/fishing, and would most likely be for adults under the age of forty.

Public meetings were held in the communities in an attempt to receive resident attitudes towards tourism. With the exceptions of Clyde River, Resolute and Sanikilusq, most initial community responses were neutral to positive.

Greater emphasis is given to the other four phases of tourism planning. The following subsections provide a critical review of the study based on the distinct phases of Mill and Morrisons' planning model.

6.4.2 Detailed Research and Analysis Phase

Past studies have stressed the need for detailed research on resources, activities, competition and particularly the tourism market. The BRTS, however, provides little insight into potential markets.

Basing their Canadian market potential areas on the changing demographic structure of Canada's population, they note there will be an increase in numbers of people between the age of twenty and thirty-nine. By 1992 this age group will show an increase of 7.6% and will include over nine million people. With a presumed increased in domestic tourism, promotional campaigns should first be directed at Ontario, Alberta and British Columbia. No mention is made of the province of Quebec

other than the fact that 'various sources' felt interest in the north was not increasing there as it was in other provinces. Nevertheless, of the estimated 7,000 visitors to the Baffin region in 1981, ten per cent were estimated to be from a Quebec origin (Marshall, Macklin, Monaghan, 1982: 7). Alberta and British Columbia combined could only make up another ten per cent.

The report adds that although interest shown by Alberta and British Columbia is primarily directed towards the Yukon and the Western Arctic, with 'proper tourism facilities' some of this interest could be directed towards the Baffin region.

Regarding the United States, promotional campaigns should initially be directed to the states of New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Wisconsin, Ohio, Illinois, Michigan and Indiana. It is from these areas that over 50% of United States tourists to Canada have come in the past. These states also represent a large proportion of tourists visiting the Yukon. Again, the BRTS notes there is no geographical reason why this market cannot be re-directed to the Baffin region. It appears from these observations that the Yukon is considered a major competitor.

The four leading overseas countries to visit Canada are France, Japan, the United Kingdom and West Germany. Before any promotional activity is directed to the overseas market, it should be directed at one country to assess its effectiveness. Again, this suggestion is based partly on the experience of the Yukon.

Two important considerations were raised. Toronto is the inbound Canadian city for 57% of overseas charter airline passengers. In addition, 53.3% of overseas travellers enter Canada via the United States. Toronto would appear to be an obvious point for a large promotional campaign and could act as a base for future Baffin Region tours.

With regards to specific market segments, the Baffin Region is noted to attract the 'off-the-beaten trail' type of tourist, who, as the report states, prefer 'out of the way places', tend to avoid first class accommodation and prefer outdoor recreational activity - essentially Plog's (1972) aflocentrics.

Two specialised future markets were the hunter/fisherman (over 40 years of age with a middle to upper income) and the middle-age sightseer (upper income, over the age of forty and interested in the arctic though expecting some degree of comfort). Neither of these categories, however, fit into the typologies given of current tourists outlined earlier. Obviously some clarification of the type of tourist to be planning for is needed.

Instead of clearly outlining existing and potential markets the BRTS appears a little confused as to what market segment marketing should be directed - all, some or none of the above? Similarly, if the Yukon is considered a competitor then obviously the tourist product needs to be clearly differentiated. The similarities between Yukon and Baffin are not readily apparent, and some concern must be given if a marketing campaign is to be directed on the assumption that the Yukon is a major competitor.

The resource analysis consisted of four steps:

- identification of possible tourism activities
- development of activity criteria for resource specific activities
- resource inventory and analysis
- evaluation of the feasibility of resource specific activities (Executive Summary Report, un-numbered).

It is considered by many people directly involved with tourism in the region that the resource inventory and mapping classification of tourism resources is the strength of the entire study. The inventory and analysis mapped and assessed the natural, physical, cultural and historical resources of the Baffin region. From this analysis the consultants concluded the following:

- selected geographic areas in the Baffin region contain specific tourism resource opportunities that will appeal to special tourist interests if properly planned and managed.
- existing physical tourism resources lack the critical mass necessary to provide the quality tourism services demanded by future visitors.
- tourism accommodation facilities are of poor quality.
- the region as a whole and its individual communities lack a distinct image to attract and hold tourists.

This phase of the planning model is strong in resource inventory but very weak in market analysis. How can tourism planning proceed when no indication other than general speculation (which is often misleading) is given as to the type

of tourist to attract and where promotions should be directed? Thus a vital part of tourism development and planning theory has been largely neglected. It is essential that a comprehensive market study be conducted before any large scale development proceeds.

6.4.3 Synthesis Phase

A synthesis phase is not readily apparent in the BRTS other than statements regarding the amount of problems facing tourism development in the region. The study suggests that tourism development so far has been on an ad hoc basis. The consultants add that the strategy recognises the evolutionary process of the tourism industry and the underdeveloped nature of the tourism infrastructure at present.

Twenty planning principles were prepared in the formulation of alternative tourism strategies for planning, development and management in the region. It is beyond the scope of this study to assess each of these but it is useful to highlight the prominent principles, notably:

- the strategy will not aim to place priority of tourism over resource developments
- there should be minimal destruction of traditional lifestyles
- there should be Inuit control over the rapidity, scale and direction of tourism related developments
- Community Based tourism is considered to be the most appropriate form of tourism for the Baffin region

- local people should be educated so they can make informed decisions over tourism's future in the community
- priority for the allocation of resources will be to those communities that are interested in being involved in the industry and which have a positive potential for growth (Marshall, Macklin, Monaghan, 1982: 23-27).

These principles provide the basis for identifying alternative tourism strategies and are pre-requisites for the fourth phase of Mill and Morrison's planning model.

6.4.4 Goal Setting, Strategy Selection and Objective Setting Phase

According to Marshall, Macklin and Monaghan, the main goal is to,

define a strategy, a course of action for the eighties that will guide tourism development throughout the Baffin by identifying investment opportunities for the private, and public sectors that will allow for maximum contribution to the economic well-being of individual areas within predetermined social carrying capacities (Marshall, Macklin, Monaghan, 1982: 2).

Three alternative regional strategies were proposed, each providing a different perspective on how development should proceed.

One strategy proposed the creation of 'an integrated, complementary system of small/simple to large/complex destination areas centered on or near communities of the Baffin region' (Marshall, Macklin, Monaghan, 1982: 20). The second strategy sought to select specific resources and develop and promote these to specific market segments. The third strategy

aimed for the communities to prepare their own tourism development plans and to control the day-to-day activities related to these developments. Thus the 'tourism industry' in the region would be a function of the competition and complementarity of decisions and actions of the communities.

From these three outlines, the following focus for the strategy was derived:

To stimulate the development of predominately non-consumptive, community-centered tourism in an integrated network of tourism destination areas and destination communities that are linked together by air transportation corridors or boat tours (Marshall, Macklin, Monaghan, 1982: 28).

Nineteen primary characteristics were outlined for the strategy. The most notable of these are:

- the strategy is based on a hierarchy of tourism destination areas, attractions and facilities which define the role that each community will play
- the quality and diversity of tourism resource potential will determine the role assigned to each community and these resources will be developed/preserved to the level necessary to create a high quality experience
- the strategy will stress non-consumptive forms of tourist activities
- the strategy will aim at carefully selected market segments with an emphasis on package tourism
- the strategy will try and make tourist opportunities available year round

- there will be impacts on traditional lifestyles, and although these will be minimised as much as possible, residents must be aware that some impacts will exist
- management and operations will be run by the community council or tourism sub-committee, by the co-op or by private entrepreneurs through concession arrangements
- in the long term it is expected that operations and management of tourism will be in the hands of local residents though initially some external assistance may be required
- private sector investment will be stimulated via technical and financial assistance for the upgrading of community infrastructure, accommodation and eating facilities and their initial operation (Marshall, Macklin and Monaghan, 1982: 24-34).

On the face of it, the strategy appears well thought out and considerate of community needs and aspirations. In the plan development phase, priority areas are distinguished and communities assigned roles under which they would play in the Baffin Region Tourism Strategy.

6.4.5 Plan Development Phase

The designations given to each community and area can be summarised in Table 6.1

Table 6.1

Community Roles and Priority

Community	Area Priority	Overall Priority	Assigned Role
Fangnirtung	1	1	Destination Area
Broughton Is.	1	3	Outfitting Center
Cape Dorset	2	2	Destination Community
Frobisher Bay	2	1	Regional Service Center & Gateway
Lake Harbour	2	2	Destination Area
Arctic Bay	3	3	Destination Area
Hall Beach	3	4	Stopover Community
Igloodik	3	3	Destination Community
Pond Inlet	3	3	Destination Area
Grise Fiord	4	2	Destination Area
Resolute Bay	4	3	Regional Gateway/ Outfitting Center
Clyde River	5	5	Outfitting Center
Saᓃikiluaq	5	5	Outfitting Center

Source: Marshall, Macklin, Monaghan, 1982.

Definitions:

Destination Community: community containing one or more tourist attractions.

Destination Area: Distinct community centered geographic area containing one or more attractions and tourism opportunities reflected through developments of one or more of the dominant tourist themes.

Regional Service Center: Community offering a full range of services to the tourist.

Regional Gateway: where visitors commence their visit to the Baffin region.

Stopover: community offering a range of day-use facilities and services.

Outfitting Center: offering particular services by providing equipment, guides, information, etc.

The strategy notes that each community's role highlights a basic theme and that by doing this, competition between various communities for similar market segments can be reduced. But one must consider how different the market segments are in the first place. After all, if a discerning visitor is prepared to pay a large sum of money to visit the Baffin region can we honestly assume that he/she is coming to the area for a very specific purpose? Furthermore, the market segments may be so small that any differentiation may only result in very few tourists coming to each community. Aspirations of high tourist turnover may not be realised. No comprehensive market study has yet been completed to accommodate such a strategy. The consultants have therefore established a strategy without adequately assessing the potential demand for the Baffin region tourist product.

And yet, extensive economic/financial analyses have been completed to upgrade and develop tourist infrastructure, services and activities. The Executive Summary report concluded 'Where the ten year present value of the annual operational component is added to the construction component, an estimated \$49.7 million (1982 figures) in income is infused in the Baffin region from the capital investment of \$14.5 million' (Marshall, Macklin, Monaghan, 1982: 78). For each community, capital costs of programs, resultant operation and maintenance costs, and employment generation were calculated for a ten year period. For an example of these calculations, we will use Hall Beach, which in overall priority is given the level 4, and is regarded as a 'stopover community'.

In 1983 dollars, the consultants estimated capital costs would amount to somewhere between \$610,000 and \$950,000 with the upgrading of airport facilities still to be determined. Over the period it would require an estimated \$193,000 in operations and maintenance, with a projected revenue of \$176,800. A total of 4-6 part-time year-round, 7-10 seasonal and 7-10 part-time seasonal workers would be employed. No mention is made of the numbers of tourists required to make this community an economically viable tourism destination (or rather, stopover).

The cost of it all seems very high. Even then, social factors come into consideration. Who will be involved in the construction phase of the new activities and facilities? Is the skilled workforce available locally or will there be an influx of southern workers? How will the community respond to this new development and what will be their extent of involvement?

Considering the same type of capital investments are made for all of the Baffin communities, the idea appears totally inappropriate to the scale of tourism that exists at present and the scale of tourism that would be desired in the future. Yet

The government needs to be sold on the idea that substantial investment into the tourism industry will result in short and long term economic and social returns that will make investment desirable (Marshall, Macklin, Monaghan, 1982: 40).

The report calls on both federal and territorial governments to provide financial resources to allow implementation of the strategy. Private organisations and communities must also provide an input into the development process and at all times full co-operation of all concerned is essential.

The Baffin Region Tourism Strategy has provided an inventory of tourism resources and has provided a strategy outline (albeit an unconvincing one). Admirable in that it attempts to provide a basis from which tourism development can proceed it only clouds the issue further. Little consideration has been given to marketing - a factor crucial to a sound tourism plan. Moreover, capital investment is considerable given the present numbers of tourists in the area and the fact that no specified desirable number of tourists has yet been established. Further consideration must be given to the 'type' of tourist the region wishes to attract.

As yet, little has been done with their suggestions although the community of Pangnirtung is presently in the midst of a five year development plan, acting as a pilot study for the Baffin region.

The second strategy outline which the Baffin region has is the very general Community Based Tourism Strategy prepared by the government of the Northwest Territories.

6.5 Community Based Tourism Strategy (CBTS)

Of far greater significance than the BRTS, this strategy has become the blueprint for tourism development in the NWT. It is the document by which funding is allocated to research and entrepreneurial activities related to tourism. It is this document which dictates the future of tourism in the Northwest Territories.

Introduced in 1983, the intention of this five year strategy

was to provide a basis for budgeting and planning for the territorial government. At the time there was no overall long term strategy to direct tourism development. Basically the strategy has philanthropic overtones with an express desire to redirect tourism and its benefits to all parts of the NWT, especially the smaller communities, and to involve more people of the NWT in the tourism industry.

The aim of the government, and the strategy, is

...to assist communities and their residents across the NWT in achieving their tourism revenue and employment objectives in a manner compatible with their lifestyles and aspirations (GNWT, 1983: 9).

The strategy outlined the major deficiencies with tourism at present, noting those factors mentioned in Chapter Five. In keeping with their overall development plan they note approximately forty-five communities require an upgrading of their accommodation facilities. But will tourism reach out to all communities in the NWT, and even if so, will the number of tourists that enter these communities justify areas upgrading all their facilities?

The CBTS is a very optimistic strategy which extolls its own virtues. With the intent of focusing on the economic benefits and associated opportunities for communities, the strategy adds 'with the relative isolation of our communities, this type of nodal tourist development can work' (GNWT, 1983: 16). Emphasis is placed on non-consumptive activities where tourists learn by observation and experience, with these activities being either in or near communities, establishing a need for guided or self-guided tours.

Together with the Baffin Region Tourism Strategy, the Community Based Tourism Strategy has formed a platform for tourism growth in the Baffin region. Both strategies stress the need for community approval and involvement. Both strategies provide optimistic perspectives on the future of northern tourism. Both, however, have based their strategies on the assumption that markets do exist. What these markets are, has only been speculated upon. These strategies may suggest collection for tourism in the Baffin region but we cannot consider their benefit any further than this.

Yet to be formulated is a comprehensive integrated planning strategy along the lines of Mill and Morrison (1985) - one that looks at all aspects of tourism planning in a logical sequence - one that can help determine the direction and extent of tourism development in the future.

6.6 The Present Day

'Create Your Own Adventure' is a phrase that the GNWT Department of Economic Development and Tourism is hoping to establish to promote tourism in the Baffin Region. The Department's tourism officers have outlined eight short term objectives for the region:

- create a regional image
- development of more attractions/activities that operators can, and will use
- training of tourism industry participants
- upgrade accommodation facilities

division between 'hosts' and those people considered unsuitable for the role? Would there be an increasing degree of social dualism as a result? Would there be an over-expectation with regards remuneration as not all tourists have the same spending capability? Would antagonisms develop as a result of the difference in this spending ability? There are many factors that have to be given important consideration.

Regarding finances, the strategy states that funding to the Travel Associations would not be committed for more than one fiscal year. In addition, associations would only give funding proposals to the government that could be accomplished in the same fiscal year. This approach can only create instability and uncertainty for tourism development. Assurances need to be given that the government is fully committed to tourism development. By limiting budgets to fixed one year terms there is a hint of a lack of confidence and commitment.

Despite the aspects of the strategy that need to be reconsidered the over-riding concern is that of the basic outlook which hopes to use tourism as an economic stimulus for all communities.

To have its full impact community based tourism should be applied to all communities across the NWT, and, programs are required to encourage tourists to visit many communities (GNWT, 1982: 22).

So, is that community based tourism in all communities with the tourists in just some? The statement is imprecise, and even if it were to mean all communities, is that economically feasible? Would residents be anticipating a massive influx of tourists? Will the tourism product be differentiated enough

among the sixty-two Northwest Territories' communities to create a demand to visit each different community for one reason or another? Moreover, priority for tourism development, according to the strategy, will be given to communities that have few, if any, economic development opportunities available to them. But would that necessarily result in a tourist industry (even on a small scale) being established?

One positive feature of the strategy is that control of tourism would be in the hands of the communities themselves, with residents managing, and employed in the businesses. Initially, however, there will be a dependency on those people with the necessary skills and expertise to get tourism 'off the ground'. Predominantly these would be southerners with previous experience in the tourism industry. Would the southern perspective be compatible with the native concept of tourism and development? Who should decide on what direction to take?

Generally the CBTS has been well received, primarily because it provides a direction for tourism development and a basis from which this development may proceed. It may be too critical perhaps to identify weaknesses and ambiguity in this proposal but it is, at the same time, important that such analysis be made.

Weaknesses in the strategy highlight the extent of understanding associated with tourism. Such optimistic outlines may create a false image with the extent to which tourism can help solve unemployment and societal hardship in communities.

Can the altruistic philosophy of the CBTS be applied to all NWT communities?

Together with the Baffin Region Tourism Strategy, the Community Based Tourism Strategy has formed a platform for tourism growth in the Baffin region. Both strategies stress the need for community approval and involvement. Both strategies provide optimistic perspectives on the future of northern tourism. Both, however, have based their strategies on the assumption that markets do exist. What these markets are, has only been speculated upon. These strategies may suggest a direction for tourism in the Baffin region but we cannot consider their benefit any further than this.

Yet to be formulated is a comprehensive integrated planning strategy along the lines of Mill and Morrison (1985) - one that looks at all aspects of tourism planning in a logical sequence - one that can help determine the direction and extent of tourism development in the future.

6.6 The Present Day

'Create Your Own Adventure' is a phrase that the GNWT Department of Economic Development and Tourism is hoping to establish to promote tourism in the Baffin Region. The Department's tourism officers have outlined eight short term objectives for the region:

- create a regional image
- development of more attractions/activities that operators can, and will use
- training of tourism industry participants
- upgrade accommodation facilities

- encourage operators to offer more prepared packages at competitive prices
- support of Baffin operations and their marketing efforts
- locate appropriate target markets
- lower transportation costs (Unpublished GNWT Strategy Outline, 1985).

In the long-run these objectives will be continued, along with an increase in tourism awareness by Baffin residents and an increase in total market share. Also stressed is the need for the territorial government to continue appropriate assistance programs for the industry.

The tourism officers in Frobisher Bay note that many accommodation facilities are receiving some degree of upgrading (Frobisher Bay, Broughton Is., Hall Beach) while some have, or are recently completing, new establishments (Clyde River, Pond Inlet, Arctic Bay). Others, however, are still in need of repair (Pangnirtung, Igloolik, Cape Dorset). They stress the need to encourage all inclusive tour packages to take the elements of uncertainty out of the industry for both hosts and tourists.

One of the problems facing this Department of Economic Development and Tourism is a lack of funding for tourism projects. As earlier mentioned, this problem has been alleviated to a certain extent with the Economic Development Agreement.

The federal and territorial governments made this joint agreement in 1983. Designed to last three years, it is from the sub-agreement of this document, the Domestic Market Development

Sub-Agreement, that most money for tourism related projects is received.

The sub-agreement is designed to:

- 1) - increase business opportunities in the Territories by providing financial support for initiatives by new or existing businesses
- 2) - support tourism associations at the Territorial and zone levels in the development and carrying out of marketing programs
- 3) - develop or improve facilities, activities, attractions or services that reflect the northern travel experience
- 4) - develop tourism awareness and hospitality programs
- 5) - help communities prepare their own plans for economic development activities (Economic Development Agreement, 1983).

To stimulate employment and income opportunities a total of \$10.75 million dollars has been allocated by the federal and territorial governments to programs relating to small business and tourism development over the 1983-1986 period (Economic Development Agreement, 1983). More specifically, tourism development receives \$3.05 million dollars (\$2.7 million from the federal government and \$305,000 from the territorial government). There is considerable bureaucratic red tape to be overcome but nevertheless, the money is available for the creation of various tourism programs.

Applications for funding are reviewed by the Economic Development Agreement Secretariat in Yellowknife which decides

what programs are worth the investment. Competition for funding is not based on specific regions. Those people who have a worthwhile project are given assistance. Essentially, for this money to be directed to the Baffin region, someone, or some group must be committed to developing tourism projects in the area. In some respects, for some development to occur in the region, proposals must be made now before the agreement expires. And yet, does the region have sufficient knowledge of market potential and supply demands to determine accurately what the money should be used for?

Presently, negotiations are underway by federal and territorial governments to create a new agreement which would be directed at large scale capital investment. Social concerns are addressed only to prevent disruption of the potential economic benefits to be derived.

Inuit Tapirisat (Inuit Brotherhood) have no official policy on tourism other than a few statements in 'Basic Objectives of a Comprehensive Blueprint for the North' (Parnagujuk, 1980), which stress Inuit fear of major tourism development in the NWT.

In the Baffin region itself, the Inuit development corporation 'Qigitalleuk' considers tourism as one of the development potentials for the area. Set up by the Baffin Region Inuit Association (BRIA), its aim at present is to establish a development plan for the next ten years. Tourism plays an integral role in this overall plan. Indeed, several projects have been recommended for research - funded by the Economic Development Agreement, the Baffin Tourism Association

and the Department of Economic Development and Tourism of the GNWT. For example, a tourism awareness study, a tourism management strategy and an Ottawa Winterlude Baffin tourism promotion. Other research groups have shown similar interests in establishing tourism related projects.

People managing or owning tourism related businesses in Frobisher Bay were interviewed in July 1985. Fifteen businesses were contacted and of these almost all agreed that as many tourists as possible should be encouraged to come to the Baffin region. Almost all agreed that tourists were unaware of the northern lifestyle and added they would like to be more involved in the tourism planning process. In addition, they emphasised the community should be made aware of both the good and bad effects of tourism. Financing, they stressed, should come from a contribution of federal and territorial governments and the local businesses themselves.

The businesses also voiced concern regarding the need for greater liaison between private and public sectors. For example, a boardwalk had been built by the Territorial government at the Peale Point historic site close to Frobisher Bay, with no consultation given to the outfitters who take tourists to the site.

6.7 Conclusion

The studies and strategies reviewed here show a consistent understanding of the problems facing tourism development in the Baffin region. In a sense, it is a pity that some of the

problems faced today are the same as those found in the late 1960s, for this suggests that little has been done to circumvent these barriers to development.

And now, in the mid 1980s, some direction is finally being considered. Even though inappropriate, as earlier outlined, these strategies provide a refreshing change from the low key ad hoc development of the previous decade.

A gradualist approach, as noted by De Kadt (1979), appears to be the appropriate strategy to take from this point. Even today the number of tourists (excluding businessmen/women) is very small. In 1984, June 25th to September 4th, 585 tourists arrived in Frobisher Bay for the purpose of a holiday (GNWT, 1984). In Pond Inlet, the Economic Development Officer estimates the total number of tourists for the 1985 summer to be somewhere between 25-50. These are not large numbers, and certainly not large enough to justify massive capital investment in each of the Baffin communities. Moreover, there is no guarantee that there will be a massive demand for the Baffin region tourism product even if the supply side of tourism is further developed.

There is still a great deal of hesitancy towards tourism by the Inuit people. With so many reports and studies being completed they are possibly being convinced that there is something in their communities that will ease the existing economic hardship. There may not be. False expectations may lead to increased antagonism towards anything remotely concerned with tourism. Potential social impacts are to an extent

described by way of Community Awareness programs in the communities, but even these do not receive total community support or attendance.

With regards to communities managing and directing their own degree of tourism development, one person involved with tourism development in the region presented the following analogy:

'Imagine you have a group of five year olds in a room and you give them food and cooking utensils for a week....'

At present there is not the expertise available to successfully guide future tourism. Pangnirtung has employed tourism consultants over the past two summers to help with their development plans. Obviously this approach must apply to all those communities who have the necessary resources to promote tourism. Presently much of the tourism development that has taken place has been supervised by Economic Development Officers around the region. The Economic Development Officer of Pond Inlet, for example, is responsible for Arctic Bay, Clyde River, Resolute and Grise Fiord. These officers cannot commit themselves solely to tourism. With southern consultants employed at an early stage, however, development may proceed in the appropriate places in the appropriate manner, in accordance with community desires.

Clearly then, problems still exist. As development is further encouraged, these problems will take on new meaning. There is a need for an appropriate, comprehensive, integrated, continuous plan to be established. The following chapter outlines measures that should first be taken and then details a

regional strategy which emphasises the strong potential tourism resources of the area. It is a strategy such as this that should be implemented in the Baffin region - the earlier the better for all concerned.

CHAPTER SEVEN

A STRATEGY OUTLINE FOR BAFFIN TOURISM

7.1 Introduction

The previous chapters have outlined the obstacles to and the nature of tourism in both the Northwest Territories and the Baffin Region, and the extent to which tourism development proposals have been put forward. Academics, consultants and the territorial government have consistently identified problems that the region, and indeed, territory, face.

As a peripheral tourist destination (Keller, 1982), the Baffin Region is susceptible to the impacts discussed in Chapter Two, and these must be realised and compensated for in subsequent planning outlines. The Baffin Region has the advantage of being able to assess the experience of other areas in the world where tourism has been imposed on a traditional lifestyle. Some aspects of the planning/development phases, as noted in Chapter Three (especially marketing), need further elaboration in order to understand each of the three components of tourism; demand, supply and linkage of the two (Leiper, 1979).

The following outline is a strategy formulated on the basis of the previous six chapters. The intention is not to provide an elaborate breakdown of all tourism components and discuss their relationship with one another. Rather, what follows is a general outline for future tourism development. Although not given explicit discussion in this chapter, potential impacts of tourism are given priority in this formulation. It is assumed that such a proposal would provide an overall strategy that would form the basis of a planning outline such as that presented in Chapter Three. It must also be assumed, therefore, that there will be skilled personnel to manage and implement the strategy and there will be a controlled flow of tourists demanding the Baffin tourism product. Indeed, assumptions form an inevitable black box in the planning process.

7.2 A Gradualist Approach

There are several factors that suggest a gradualist approach is the desired development route to take for this area.

As a peripheral tourist destination, the Baffin Region is in a vulnerable position, - at the whims of the core's tourist demand. As such, Baffin Region policy-makers cannot fully control the number of tourists that should come into the region. External factors such as increased costs of transportation, economic recession and greater demand for alternative types of holiday may lead to a depressed market long before the potential has been realised.

Similarly, despite the calls for market studies to be

completed, the potential markets are yet to be fully defined and understood. The cautionary nature of a gradualist strategy appears the logical approach. Even if these markets are understood the potential market segments are likely to be small, and in large part, a function of whoever can afford to make a financial commitment to travel to the eastern arctic. For example, a married couple from Montreal interested in 'experiencing the arctic' as opposed to 'creating their own adventure' may choose to spend three days in each of Frobisher Bay, Pangnirtung and Pond Inlet. Without including the price of outfitters' tours, shopping for arts and crafts and souvenirs, our prospective tourists would be faced with spending at least five thousand dollars.

Return airfare from Montreal to Frobisher Bay would total \$860 each and return airfare to Pond Inlet, via Pangnirtung, would cost another \$696 each. Nine days accommodation at an average of \$110 each per night would total \$990 each. The total cost of the Baffin Region holiday for the married couple would be at least five thousand dollars (Personal Correspondence, NWT Explorers Guide, 1985).

As well as these 'demand' components, factors on the supply side need important consideration.

Presently, the number of skilled personnel in business and tourism management is very limited. If a massive investment and commitment was placed on tourism would there be the required expertise to manage development? The Inuit Development Corporation 'Qiqitalleuk' and the Baffin Regional Inuit

Associations have few skilled personnel to guide potential growth. If tourism development is to be determined by the Inuit communities it is vital that they have skilled personnel who understand the complexities of tourism, the costs and benefits, and the management of day-to-day activities. A total commitment to developing tourism must be evident.

There is a hesitancy in most Baffin communities regarding tourism. Anything other than a gradualist approach would be detrimental to the overall well-being of the communities. The uncertainty of communities necessitates more time before people decide to encourage tourism. It is understandable that a traditional culture that has for so long been totally separate from the rest of the world would want time to consider future implications of new development.

At present, communities know very little about tourism. Community awareness programmes have been conducted in various communities but further discussion is needed. The benefits of tourism (primarily economic) in these meetings must not override the costs - particularly the social/cultural implications.

It is at this point that an understanding of studies presented in current tourism literature be acquired. If communities are to dictate the extent of tourism development they must be fully aware of the potential consequences.

With a small number of tourists, negative impacts may be minimal (in accordance with the observations of Butler (1980); Doxey (1975); and Plog (1972)). A gradualist approach appears optimal both for minimising tourism impacts and allowing a high degree of community involvement in the decision-making process.

Unfortunately, the present state of financing for tourism in the NWT does not augur well for a gradualist approach. EDA funds are allocated according to proposals put forward from all over the territories and no arbitrary amount has been allotted to each of the six zones. The Baffin region, therefore, is competing against others in a bid to get a bigger piece of the pie. If the new agreement presently being negotiated is allotted the same way, then, even if the region did want to proceed with tourism development in a cautionary manner, there may not be sufficient funding available.

Under the current GNWT and EDA structure for tourism financing, there is an imposed necessity to establish quickly a comprehensive strategy that recognises the needs and aspirations of the regions' communities. At present, if there is an undisclosed strategy operating as a guideline, its comprehensiveness must be questioned. Such a strategy would not have fully taken into account community attitudes nor been guided by established, extensive market studies.

A gradualist approach is required - one that is based on comprehensive detailed background research.

7.3. An Alternative Strategy

7.3.1 Introduction

One important assumption here is that there will be effective marketing and an increase (though only small) in the number of tourists. Based on available tourism resources in the region and profiles of existing tourist markets for the area we can identify three types of activities (similar to Butler, 1975) that may

attract tourists. They are:

Physical activities: Mountaineering, climbing, canoeing, hiking, white-water rafting, hunting, fishing, skiing, dog-sleding and snowmobile tours.

Spectator activities: photography, sightseeing, purchase and study of arts and crafts, archaeological and historical interests.

Educational activities: based in both communities and camps within the region to improve the understanding of the regions' people, present commercial activities (e.g., mining), flora, fauna and historical background.

With these activity categories we may then consider which areas of the Baffin region have comparative advantage over others. Thus it is possible to distinguish three sub-regions, summarised in Table 7.1 together with their priority level for each of the three activities. The distinct sub-regions are shown in Figure 7.1

Table 7.1

Priority levels for Sub-regions in a Dualist Approach

Sub-regions	Priority Levels: 1 denotes highest priority be placed on this tourist activity		
	Physical Activities	Spectator Activities	Educational Activities
<u>Sub-Region 1</u>			
Frobisher Bay, Lake Harbour, Cape Dorset	2	1	2
<u>Sub-Region 2</u>			
Pangnirtung, Broughton Is. Clyde River, Pond Inlet	1	2	3
<u>Sub-Region 3</u>			
Resolute, Grise Fiord, Arctic Bay, Nanisivik, Hell Beach, Igloolik	2	2	1

Note: The case of Sanikiluaq will be discussed separately.

Source: Author.

Figure 7.1

Sub-Regions of a Baffin Region Tourism Strategy

There are four important reasons for establishing this hierarchical restructuring (Platt, 1970) of community sub-regions:

- 1) compatability with present airline schedules
- 2) availability of priority resource activities
- 3) to establish a sense of direction regarding what resources to develop in the region
- 4) though dispersing the tourism product away from one or two communities, there is enough product differentiation between sub-regions to ensure a continual flow of tourists.

Within each of the three sub-regions a decision would have to be made as to the role of each community. The objective of this restructuring is to make tourism available in some, but not all communities. There is simply not enough tourism product diversification to accommodate successful, economic tourism activities in every community. With three distinctive regions based on potential tourism activities there will be a profitable dispersion of tourists, social impacts will be minimal with no threat on carrying capacity and tourism resource development can be oriented with a sense of direction. Furthermore, from the tourists' point of view, they may be provided with a selection of alternatives when planning their vacation. The sub-regions do not have to consider their number 1 priority solely, but greater emphasis should be placed on improving this activity for tourism development. Other activities, it should be stressed, still provide an integral link in this restructuring process.

7.3.2 Sub-Region 1: Southern Baffin

This region would emphasise the spectator activities with Frobisher Bay as the pivotal point for either, or both, Lake Harbour and Cape Dorset. Focus would be on arts and crafts, particularly in Cape Dorset, which is internationally renowned for the production of prints and soapstone sculptures. In addition, there are several archaeological sites located near the community. Although arts and crafts would be the main theme for this area, other potential resources such as walking trails and campsites would continue to be developed.

In Frobisher Bay, particular emphasis should be placed upon its role as gateway to the Eastern Arctic. As such, the creation of a Circumpolar Cultural Center would be an added attraction.

A Circumpolar Cultural Center would be based upon the successful experience of the Polynesian Cultural Center, as discussed by Stanton (1977). The centre would be both culturally reinforcing for all arctic cultures, and at the same time provide a major tourist attraction. Not only could eastern arctic culture be viewed but also the Greenlandic, Central Arctic, Alaskan and possibly Soviet Union cultures. Other themes could include the history of exploration in the area and the different types of lifestyle and industry present today.

Displays and activities would be held in the summer months while during the rest of the year, participants (predominantly just out of High School) would work on activities related directly to the preservation, promotion and understanding of

circumpolar cultures. Such a center may stimulate further trips to the Arctic regions and this interest may be an incentive for the other cultural groups to be involved.

Frobisher Bay would act as information center for the Baffin region. Activities are presently available to keep tourists occupied. Required, though, is a greater awareness of these activities and an increase in the number of low cost activities around the community. Tourists are already paying considerable prices for transportation and accommodation and to be continually paying for 'minor' activities would not present an image of hospitality and goodwill.

7.3.3 Sub-Region 2: East Baffin

This region is based on the 'Milk Run' First Air flights which presently run twice a week. The prime destination point here is Pangnirtung - gateway to Auyuittuq National Park. Priority would be given to the creation and enhancement of tourism resources oriented towards physical activities. This priority is based on the National Park, the Bird Sanctuary on Bylot Island (close to Pond Inlet) and the variety of mountains and fiords stretching up the east coast. The plane flight to Pond Inlet alone is constantly a spectacular vista of the Davis Strait, the Penny Ice Cap, fiords and glaciers flowing into the sea.

Pond Inlet and Pangnirtung will be the focal points for this sub-region. They already have reputations as communities with spectacular scenery and both have a greater array of

existing and potential activities than either Broughton Island or Clyde River.

There will be a demand from general sightseers to come to these communities for the scenery, thus development would also be encouraged to promote the spectator activities such as the sewing center in Pangnirtung.

Educational activities, although important in any tourism development, would be lower in priority than the physical and spectacular activities.

7.3.2 Sub-Region 3: Northwest Baffin

A strong emphasis would be placed on tourism with educational purposes. This activity would be run both in and away from communities depending on the specific type.

Mining activities could be of interest in Nanisivik and with day trips from Resolute to Little Cornwallis Island to view the Polaris Mine. Historical and archaeological sites are to be found in and around Igloolik and Hall Beach.

Arctic education could become a major growth point in the Southern market at the right price. Education could take place in isolated areas away from communities. For example, on the north coast of Devon Island (Figure 7.1) is Truelove research station. In 1960 the Arctic Institute of North America established this research station to study what is a biologically rich arctic area. More recently, the station has been used as a northern training school for native youth to come and gain practical experience applying scientific experiments.

Such a station could also be adapted to cater to southern tourists interested in learning more about the arctic.

Similarly, on the west coast of Baffin Island in Ikpiik Bay (Figure 7.1) the Inuit Youth Council conducted an education programme for circumpolar delegates and this was considered a success. The site could take on a multifunctional role and accommodate tourists at specific times of the year for educational purposes.

There are also physical and spectator activities but these would not have as high a priority as education. There is the case, however, of Grise Fiord, and to a lesser extent Resolute. Proposals at present ~~are~~ to increase the number of physical activities available in Grise Fiord (Appendix Two). Similarly, with the creation of a National Park on northern Ellesmere Island, Resolute will increase in popularity as it becomes a departure point for the new park. Officials note, however, that attendance in the first two years will be very small. One estimate is two to three expeditions per year with a group of six to twelve people in each expedition (personal correspondence with the Pond Inlet Economic Development Officer).

Tourism would only be developed in those communities which were interested and approachable. Each of the three sub-regions would promote their product aiming at specific market segments based on different interests, varied costs and duration of stay. Each would create a brochure with costs, types of activities and tours available. In these brochures some mention would also be made of the types of activities available in other

sub-regions. Tourists, as well as the regions, need a sense of direction.

In Section 7.3.1 reference was made to the case of Sanikiluaq, the island community of 385 people (Statistics Canada, 1981) at the bottom of Hudson Bay: throughout the study it has become increasingly apparent that Sanikiluaq forms no visible involvement with Baffin Region tourism. And why should it when it is closer to Quebec communities than those of the Baffin region?

An anomaly of the NWT Act is that all islands in the Hudson, James and Ungava Bays are considered part of the NWT. When drawing up the regional associations perhaps it may have been appropriate to link Sanikiluaq with the Keewatin region but even then, Quebec would have been a better alternative.

It is unfortunate that a boundary line such as that for the NWT can displace appropriate affiliations. The case of Sanikiluaq raises the question of why do tourism regions have to be defined within territorial and provincial boundaries of a country when it would be more efficient for tourism development to have boundaries defined by tourism resources? The discussion of this question is beyond the scope of the present study, however, the case of Sanikiluaq can be considered. This strategy outline would have the island community placed under the auspice of a Nouveau Quebec tourism plan. Its functional importance and relevance to the Baffin region is not readily discernible though it could play a role in Nouveau Quebec tourism planning.

7.4 Arrangements Commitments and Organisation

Presently, tourism in the region is directed by the Department of Economic Development and Tourism and the Baffin Tourism Association (which is under the direct control of the Baffin Regional Association and is regionally affiliated to the TIA). It is suggested here that a distinct tourism authority be established for the Baffin Region which would comprise of members representing each sub-region, the territorial government, regional airlines, outfitters, hotel owners and the Inuit Development Corporation, Qiqitalleuk. This authority would oversee tourism development and would be managed by what is presently the Baffin Tourism Association, in close liaison with the GNWT. A regional officer would oversee tourism development in each of the three sub-regions. Clearly a high degree of co-operation is required and such an authority would help to create this.

Federal government input would be provided through overseas promotion and a continuation of the EDA, though on a more localised level. Funding would be based on the six tourism regions of the NWT - each receiving an allotted amount for which they would have to apply for in the same manner as they do now. Such a policy would allow a more equitable distribution of federal government finance. Little importance is placed on the arctic at present in Tourism Canada promotions (for example Tourism Tomorrow, 1984). Greater attention should be given to the arctic's possibilities, especially in light of existing and potential European markets.

Having interviewed most tourism related businesses in Frobisher Bay, and speaking to tourism officials, it appears that everyone is interested in further development but no-one is willing to make the initial commitment. Most businesses feel that it is the territorial government's responsibility to initiate growth and to stimulate investment.

With this new strategy, marketing and promotion of the Baffin region, and its own image, is a fundamental element for successful tourism development. A greater awareness of the area by travel agents, travel writers and the general public is also vital. Special attention should be given to those travel agents who deal specifically with the 'elite' business people, for it is these people that have the financial means to stimulate early demand. The question though, is do they have the awareness of what is available to them?

Ideally, an office would be opened in Toronto and possibly Montreal to promote the Baffin Region. These offices would provide the basis from which marketing and promotional campaigns could proceed in North America and Europe.

Special arrangements would be introduced to encourage more tourists. Airline officials of Nordair and First Air have stated they have yet to be approached regarding special rates for tourists or concession group bookings. Package tours could be one avenue by which overall airfares could be reduced (after negotiation with airlines). Some consultation between airlines and tourist operators needs to be made as both groups would benefit, as would the region as a whole.

Other financial arrangements could be made with package tours to Greenland, joint promotions with other regions, GNWT negotiations with private industry regarding loans, and by increasing the extent of southern investment in the area (though keeping this investment in the Baffin region to prevent financial leakages from the regional economy).

As it has already been stressed in other sections, and by other writers, there is enormous potential for increased tourism activity. It is the scale of this activity which is the important consideration. The extent to which this scale evolves depends upon the commitment, arrangements and organisational capabilities of those presently involved in Baffin region tourism development. The communities play an integral role in determining the region's future. With regards to tourism, the final decision on development should be made at the regional level, but only after consultation with the communities. Thus the new tourism strategy will not be community based, but rather, community orientated.

7.5 Conclusion

This chapter has outlined in broad terms a strategy for Baffin region tourism. Its weaknesses lie in its generality. The lack of detail is imposed through both time and financial constraints. The strategy does, however, provide just one insight into an alternative course of action for tourism development. It is vital to the region as a whole that some overall framework other than the Community Based Tourism

Strategy and the Baffin Region Tourism Strategy be established. Equally important is a commitment by both communities and policy makers to effect an appropriate plan of action for the benefit of the entire Baffin region.

CHAPTER EIGHT

SYNTHESIS

The purpose of this study has been to examine the nature of tourism development in the Baffin Region. To this end, Chapters Two and Three examined the relevant characteristics of tourism planning, development and impact research, and these factors provided a framework from which to assess tourism development in the region. The following three chapters assessed directly the nature and problems of tourism development in the Northwest Territories and the Baffin Region in particular. In Chapter Seven a blueprint for future tourism development in the Baffin Region was presented, based on the previous sections of this paper.

Throughout this study, several assumptions have been necessary in order to discuss future tourism prospects for the Baffin Region. As in past studies, the assumption that there will be more people visiting the Baffin region in the future underlies what has been written in this study. Another assumption is that local people do want tourism in their

communities, having been told that the economic rewards are there for the taking. There is still a hesitancy in communities, however, towards tourism.. A third assumption is that the infrastructure at present is inadequate to cater for the perceived demand of the tourism product.

Concomitantly, however, these assumptions are based on a degree of uncertainty. Will there be a massive increase in the number of tourists? Will communities be 100% in favour of tourism development? Will there be sufficient funds to improve existing infrastructure?

There is also a danger when reading this, and previous studies, to consider tourism as already developed to a certain extent. It must be stressed that tourism development in the Baffin Region is very much at the grass-roots stage. There is still a basic lack of information, organisation and integration regarding the multi-faceted nature of tourism.

Pangnirtung is considered by the GNWT as the community which has the greatest potential for tourism development in the Baffin Region. Presently, Pangnirtung is in the midst of a five year development plan (there is debate as to what year it is in), and it is hoped that the plan will serve as a guideline for future community tourism development in the region. There are still problems, however, which Pangnirtung must confront.

There are problems with community respect and encouragement for tourism. The community's residents are very weary of southern assistance and would prefer local people to be controlling the extent of tourism development. Tourism in the

community has suffered through misinformation and mis-use of funds. There still exists an optimism towards tourism development, but it takes very little to decrease the contribution of tourism in the eyes of the residents.

Pangnirtung has become involved with tourism at an early stage which can only benefit the community in the long run, for, as Murphy (1981: 195) notes, 'if tourism is to develop within a community the hosts of the host industry must become willing partners'.

Presently, there is not a total willingness for a growth of tourism in the Baffin region. It is suggested in this study that a gradualist approach is the appropriate tourism development strategy for the future, with local participation in the planning decision imperative. Although time consuming, gradualist, community orientated tourism will provide the means by which local residents may grasp an understanding of tourism and decide, in time, just what level of tourism development they wish to have.

For community interests to be taken into account in tourism (or any other) development, it is essential that those interests be articulated from the moment potential projects are identified. That usually means that somehow local people have to be helped to grasp the issues from 'their' point of view, by a process of education and increasing self-awareness... (De Kadt, 1979: 25).

Government officials and southern operators, however, are aware that the more time given to deciding on tourism development, the greater the erosion of potential profits - it is basically an economic impetus that encourages tourism development. Indeed, money from the Economic Development

Agreement is given solely with the intention of maximising profit. Community Awareness programmes are based, therefore, on the desire to convince residents of the positive features of tourism although still indicating the costs that may occur. The costs (with resident dissatisfaction) of course, would have adverse effects on the growth of tourism in communities.

Social impacts of tourism for the Inuit should be given prime consideration. Smith (1977) notes that in the case of the 'Eskimos' in Nome and Kotzebue (Alaskan Arctic) there was conflict between traditional activity and tourism. Eskimo women working on the beach would refuse photographers and erect barricades to maintain a level of privacy they had previously not had to consider. Some, Smith adds, finally resorted to hiring a taxi to take seals and other game back to the privacy of their homes.

At the same time as awareness and respect of tourists is being given to Inuit communities, awareness and respect should be given to tourists to minimise conflict ~~in~~ tourist/host interaction and improve the understanding of the two cultures. Pamphlets, awareness programmes, information booklets, inflight films and tape recordings of what not to do, and what to expect, are essential for effective mutual understanding.

To increase such awareness involves the co-operation of travel agents, wholesalers, communities, governments, and the airlines. Increased tourism awareness is advisable for both the creation of a satisfying holiday experience for tourists, and for the host communities in the Baffin Region so that the local

people may know what potential impacts may eventuate.

Based primarily on the work of Gunn (1979), Kaiser and Helber (1978) and Mill and Morrison (1985), tourism planning should be appropriate, comprehensive, integrated and continuous. Tourism planning should be evaluated at regular intervals and should utilise and safeguard the lifestyle and attitudes of the people in the Baffin Region.

To be appropriate, planners must consider the uniqueness of the local people and the environment, the potential markets that exist for Baffin Region tourism, and the temporal and spatial barriers which development strategies must overcome. Consideration should be given to these factors and, indeed, the elements within these factors which may affect the demand, supply and linkage for Baffin Region tourism. This comprehensiveness is vital to the formulation of a successful tourism plan.

Integration of the actions and strategies from the various proponents of tourism development in the region is imperative. This co-ordination would help to minimise the political conflicts which may emerge as decisions are made at federal, territorial, regional and local levels.

Any plan that is initiated should be regarded as continuous - to create an atmosphere of stability and commitment, so that those people interested in becoming involved in tourism development have assurances of support from development policy-makers. Finally, there must be an awareness on behalf of the people in the Baffin Region that tourism is viable both

socially and economically for the communities. Concomitantly, tourism development should be designed for the benefit of the local people rather than external entrepreneurs (outsiders), interested solely in making a quick profit from the area.

An integral component of this ideology is the need for appropriate training in business and tourism for those community members interested in establishing an employment position related to tourism in the region. Similarly, there should be appropriately trained personnel to initiate tourism development strategies in the future.

The Baffin Region has an ideal opportunity to learn from other regions in the world and the impact research which has been highlighted in this study.

De Kadt (1979) observed that small, less developed areas are likely to experience more negative socio-cultural effects from tourism development than larger more developed areas. These negative effects should be known at an early stage of planning so that planning can help prevent, or at least minimize, their potential impact.

Planning then, should first and foremost be for the benefit of local communities. This planning, however, must be controlled at the regional level, after consultation with communities. Tourism affects the whole region and consideration should be given to communities other than those in which tourism development is presently active. Impacts of tourism will not just be felt in specific communities but over the region as a whole.

Central to the planning process is the role of the territorial government. Presently, ultimate power and authority is based in Yellowknife. The distance, spatially, and politically of such control, cannot be beneficial to the Baffin Region. Greater autonomy could be achieved by centralising planning in Frobisher Bay, with offices in Montreal, or even Toronto. There is greater north-south interaction with the Baffin Region than there is east-west. Most tourism market segments in the future would pass through either Montreal or Toronto, and there is a direct link to European markets.

There is a willingness to develop tourism in the area. Some direction of tourism is exercised at present, the extent of which is likely to increase in the future. It is advisable that communities be given as much time as possible to make a decision on tourism development. This decision should be informative, analytical and orientated on both social and economic implications. The spatial aspect of tourism development in the region should be reflected in a policy which recognises community aspirations and the region as a whole. If the Inuit are to become a territorially bounded people with the creation of Nunavut, they must consider the region as a whole first, and the community second. Communities need to recognise this fact and accept that the planning strategies which are formulated, are done so for the benefit of the region. Input from the communities, nevertheless, would form an integral part of policy formulation.

To date, there has been no accurate market analysis made to

determine the extent of demand for the Baffin Region. Assumptions without research have formed the basis of present strategies. 'Create Your Own Adventure' may sound a little inappropriate if it is retired couples interested in experiencing the north that form a solid core of market demand. If 'adventure' is advocated, then should that necessitate a change in the quality and quantity of accommodation facilities? After all, most adventures are conducted outside communities, away from communities.

The Inuit need to be educated in matters related to tourism and development. Inuit should be formulating the tourism development strategies in the near future. As well, tourism should be seen in the community as a form of worthwhile employment. If employment in tourism related activities is not considered worthwhile then one must consider what the feelings toward tourism are full stop! Improved education levels and administration capabilities are the prerequisites for greater local involvement in the decision-making process of tourism planning.

Greater interest should be placed upon planning theory and impact studies, for these research fields help to establish a basis from which appropriate planning on an appropriate scale can take place. One of the fundamental problems of tourism research is the lack of application in many cases, to present conditions and regions. Much of tourism research assesses what has already happened. Tourism research needs to be forward looking and concerned with future development. Indeed,

increased attention and application may be placed on tourism literature if it is to be future orientated.

Nonetheless, policy-makers should be aware of just what tourism research and theory exists. The juxtaposition of theory and practice will only be attained when researchers and practitioners realise the benefits that may accrue from each others involvement.

For the Baffin region, and for that matter, any tourism destination area, one may ask if tourism is to be encouraged at all?

The assumption is that it should be encouraged as its benefits are too great to be ignored. The question of who should, and who will benefit from tourism, is a function of time. Again, the assumption is that communities as a whole will benefit. Southern investment is seen by many as the best option available to increase tourism in the area. This laissez-faire approach, however, may only result in benefits for the few, and these few would create leakages in the economic framework of Baffin Region tourism.

Another consideration, related to impacts, is to ask whether the changes imposed by tourism would have been imposed anyway by another form of development? The negative impacts of tourism can often be attributed to any developmental process. Tourism then, should not be considered the sole source of undesirable change. In many instances, the negative impacts of tourism may not nearly be as great as those from another form of development. Any form of wage economy is likely to have effects

on an area such as the Baffin region - historically based on a traditional subsistence lifestyle.

The indigenous people of the eastern arctic are well aware of the southern lifestyle and the way it can, and has already, altered their own. Tourism is one mechanism by which this change may occur. Tourism growth, therefore, should be harnessed at an early stage, utilised for the benefit of the local peoples and organised and managed at an appropriate level which makes full use of existing facilities and resources. By doing so, the future socioeconomic costs of present tourism development will be minimised, and the traditional lifestyle of the Inuit people maintained.

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Appendix Three

Baffin Region Air Fares as at 31st July 1985

		<u>One Way Adult Fare</u>
(NA)	Toronto to Frobisher Bay	\$496
	Ottawa to Frobisher Bay	\$448
	Montreal to Frobisher Bay	\$430
	Montreal to Great Whale (Northern Quebec)	\$276
	Great Whale to Sanikiluaq	\$64
	Frobisher Bay to Fort Chimo. (Northern Quebec)	\$196
	Frobisher Bay to Hall Beach	\$223
	Frobisher Bay to Nanisivik	\$303
	Frobisher Bay to Resolute	\$363
(FA)	Frobisher Bay to Lake Harbour	\$79
	Frobisher Bay to Cape Dorset	\$157
	Frobisher Bay to Pangnirtung	\$129
	Frobisher Bay to Broughton Is.	\$182
	Frobisher Bay to Clyde River	\$269
	Frobisher Bay to Pond Inlet	\$348
	Frobisher Bay to Greenland	\$257
(FA)	Pangnirtung to Broughton Is.	\$99
	Pangnirtung to Clyde River	\$182
	Pangnirtung to Pond Inlet	\$308
	Clyde to Pond Inlet	\$158
	Clyde to Broughton Is.	\$158
	Broughton Is. to Pond Inlet	\$260
	Hall Beach to Igloolik	\$67
	Hall Beach to Pond Inlet	\$183
	Hall Beach to Nanisivik	\$196
	Pond Inlet to Nanisivik	\$106
	Pond Inlet to Igloolik	\$146

Note: Return fares are double that of the one way fares.

Special concessions can be arranged. For example, a ticket from Ottawa to Pond Inlet via Frobisher Bay can be obtained for \$730 instead of the \$796 calculated in this airfare schedule.

• (NA) - Nordair; (FA) - First Air.

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Appendix I

Paffin Region Community Profiles

Community	Location	Distance from Friedrich Bay	Climate		Population		Primary Major Activities
			July Ave.	January Ave.	Total (1981)	Distribution Male Female	
Avalche Bay	73°02'N 085°00'W	1,223 km NW	-5.6°C	-27.1°C	375	52% 48%	Fishing, oil and gas exploration, trapping, marine mammal harvesting, handicrafts/carving, quarrying
Broughton Island	67°33'N 066°02'W	483 km N	4.4°C	-23.9°C	275	52% 48%	Marine mammal harvesting, tourism handicrafts
Cape Dwyer	64°14'N 06°32'W	402 km SW	5.3°C	-26.1°C	780	50% 46%	Print-making, carving, sealing
Clyde River	70°28'N 068°36'W	740 km N	4.1°C	-26.4°C	445	52% 48%	Sealing, trapping, carving, silk- screening articles
Profisher Bay	63°45'N 068°31'W	-	7.4°C	-25.6°C	2,335	53% 47%	Government, communications, transpor- tation, fishing, sealing, carving/ handicrafts, tourism, service industries
Grise Fiord	76°25'N 082°54'W	1,498 km NW	6.1°C	-31.1°C	105	52% 48%	Hunting, trapping, fishing, tourism
Half Beach	68°46'N 081°13'W	840 km NW	5.3°C	-31°C	350	51% 49%	P/W line, government, marine mammal harvesting, hunting/trapping, fishing
Ikroolik	69°23'N 081°48'W	535 km NW	5.6°C	-28°C	745	50% 50%	Marine mammal harvesting, hunting/ fishing, trapping, handicrafts
Lake Harbour	62°31'N 069°53'W	120 km S	8°C	-23.6°C	750	50% 50%	Marine mammal harvesting, hunting/ fishing, carving
Manisavik	73°02'N 080°13'W	1,280 km SE	6.1°C	-30°C	260	52% 48%	Mining
Pourquering	66°09'N 065°43'W	298 km W	7.5°C	-31.7°C	840	52% 48%	Marine mammal harvesting, carving/ handicrafts, tourism
Pond Inlet	72°04'N 077°59'W	1,050 km NW	4.6°C	-31°C	705	53% 47%	Marine mammal harvesting, hunting/ fishing, trapping, oil exploration
Resolute	74°42'N 094°50'W	1,517 km NW	4.1°C	-32°C	170	50% 44%	Transportation/communication, oil and gas exploration, mining
Sanikiluaq	56°32'N 79°46'W	1,024 km SW	14.5°C	-4.8°C	385	51% 49%	Fishing, trapping, carving, quarrying

Source: 1981 Census of Canada; 1984-1985 NWI Databook.

Note: For population, 180 males have been classified in the 1981 Census as unorganized, not belonging to any specific community.

Appendix TwoAttractions/Activities of the Baffin Region Communities

	<u>Present</u>	<u>Developing</u>
Frobisher Bay	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - White water rafting (McKeand and Sylvia Grinnel Rivers) - Community tour - Museum - Walking trails - Peale Point Historical Site - Boat tours in the bay - Cross-country skiing - Snowmobile trips to Lake Harbour - Territorial campground - Dog team tours (spring) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Tourism information center - Ten minute plane rides in area - New airport terminal
Lake Harbour	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Arts and crafts sales - Community tour - Kayaking (Soper River) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Walking trails - Community campground - Snowmobile tours to flow edge (spring) - Boat tours - Geological ('rock-hounds') tours
Cape Dorset	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Arts and crafts center - Dog team tours - Boat tours 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Arts and History center - Malik Island historical site - Community campground - Walking trail
Pangnirtung	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Auyuittuq National Park - Walking trails - Sportfishing (Kingnait Fiord, Clearwater Fiord) - Boat tours - Territorial campground - Weaving Shop - Local museum - Tourism Information Center 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Three more walking trails - Traditional Inuit summer camp - Day use fishing site - Cross-country ski trails - Library, sewing group center - Kekerten Island historical site - Kekertulung sport-fishing camp

Broughton Is.	- Auyuttuq National Park - Boat tours	- Paddle Fiord sports fishing camp - Cross country ski trails - Tourism Information Center .
Clyde River	- New hotel	- Community campground - Boat tours
Pond Inlet	- Kuluctoo Bay Sports fishing camp - Arctic Wildlife Safari - Polar Bear sports hunts - Boat tours - Spring activities (flow edge trips, ice fishing, overland trips to Arctic Bay and Igloolik) - Walking trails	- Cross country ski tours - Walking trails
Arctic Bay/ Nanisivik	- Boat tours - Midnight Sun Marathon - Lead/zinc mine tour - Polar Bear sports hunt	- Traditional sod house - Dog team tours - Walking trails
Grise Fiord	- Muskox sports hunts - Snowmobile tours - Boat tours	- Walking trails - Cross country ski trails and packages - Spring activities (ice fishing, visit Inuit camp (Greenland))
Resolute	- High Arctic Exploration services/packages - Lake Hazen trips (Northern Ellesmere Is.) - North Pole packages - Magnetic Pole packages - Cresswell Bay sports fishing camp	- Outpost camp visit
Igloolik	- Dog team tours - Spring packages	- Hotel renovations - Stabilising archaeological sites - Museum - Sports fishing package - Snowmobile tours
Hall Beach	- Hall Lake sports fishing packages - Caribou sports hunts - New hotel	- Hall Lake naturalist tour - Boat tours - Spring packages (ice fishing, flow edge) - cross country skiing
Sanikiluaq	- Hotel services	

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