

**Community Based Tourism in Kimmirut, Baffin Island, Nunavut:
Regional Versus Local Attitudes**

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ABSTRACT

Nunavut has experienced significant growth in tourism since the 1980s, and ecotourism has all but become policy in the region. With the recent thrust in tourism literature suggesting that tourism research furthers the industry's development in communities, it is timely that more studies examine the tourism industry in the changing face of 'Nunavut'. This thesis is a case study presentation of a Nunavut community's experience with tourism. The research examines the changes and restructuring that have come about in the tourism industry since the signing of the Nunavut Land Claims Agreement, and whether community-controlled tourism is facilitated by these changes.

The results of this research indicate that the basic needs of Kimmirut residents are not being met by current tourism policy. The community's entrepreneurial spirit and willingness to host tourists are not being fully recognized by industry and government, although the desire on behalf of the latter exists.

RÉSUMÉ

Depuis les années '80, le Nunavut a connu une importante augmentation de l'affluence touristique sans pour autant qu'une politique concernant l'écotourisme dans la région ait été adoptée. Avec la grande attention accordée ces derniers temps par la littérature spécialisée sur l'hypothèse que la recherche en tourisme fait avancer le développement de l'industrie dans les communautés, il est grand temps que plus d'études examinent l'industrie du tourisme dans le nouveau contexte du Nunavut. Cette thèse consiste en une étude de cas portant sur l'expérience du tourisme vécue par une communauté du Nunavut. La recherche porte plus précisément sur les changements et la restructuration survenus dans l'industrie du tourisme depuis la signature de l'accord sur les revendications territoriales du Nunavut, et si un tourisme contrôlé par les communautés se trouve facilité par ces changements.

Les résultats de cette recherche montrent que les besoins essentiels des résidents de Kimmirut ne sont pas considérés par la politique actuelle sur le tourisme. L'esprit d'entreprise de la communauté et sa volonté d'accueillir des touristes ne sont pas complètement reconnus par l'industrie et le gouvernement, bien qu'il existe une volonté de le faire de la part de ce dernier.

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This thesis brought more to me than I had ever envisioned, it was also far more of a learning experience and a challenge than anticipated. Much like the experiences of many tourists to the North I suppose. And like them, I have many people to thank for having been fortunate enough to learn and study in the North.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

ABSTRACT/RÉSUMÉ	2
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS	3
TABLE OF CONTENTS	4
LIST OF FIGURES	6
LIST OF TABLES	6
GLOSSARY OF ACRONYMS	7
CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION	8
1.1 TOURISM GROWTH IN THE NORTH	8
1.2 THE RESEARCH	11
1.3 KIMMIRUT: THE COMMUNITY	12
1.3.1 Tourism in Kimmirut	14
1.3.2 Katannilik Territorial Park	17
1.4 METHODOLOGY	21
1.5 STRUCTURE OF THESIS	22
CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW	24
2.1 INTRODUCTION	24
2.2 COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT AND TOURISM	24
2.3 A CHANGING TOURISM INDUSTRY	27
2.4 THE NUNAVUT LAND CLAIM AGREEMENT	30
2.5 NUNAVUT: TOURISM DEVELOPMENT	34
2.6 NUNAVUT: TOURISM, CULTURE AND COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT	37
CHAPTER 3: LOCAL ATTITUDES TOWARDS TOURISM	39
3.1 INTRODUCTION	39
3.2 RESIDENT ATTITUDES TOWARDS TOURISTS	40
3.3 ATTITUDES TOWARD THE CURRENT STATE OF TOURISM IN KIMMIRUT	42
3.4 PERCEIVED BENEFITS OF TOURISM	44
3.4.1 Perceived Positive Economic Benefits	45
3.4.2 Perceived Social benefits	48
3.4.3 Environmental Benefits	49
3.5 IMPACT ON CULTURE AND COMMUNITY	50
3.6 ATTITUDES TOWARDS WHAT TOURISTS SHOULD LEARN AND DO	53
3.7 ATTITUDES ON LOCAL TOURISM INFRASTRUCTURE	54
3.7.1 Visitor's Centre	54
3.7.2 The Economic Development Officer and Tourism Committee	55
3.7.3 Accommodations	56
3.7.4 Country Food and The Local Carving Industry	58
3.7.5 Cruise Ships	59
3.7.6 Katannilik Territorial Park	60

CHAPTER 4: REGIONAL LEVEL ATTITUDES TOWARDS TOURISM	63
4.1 INTRODUCTION.....	63
4.2 GOVERNMENT	63
4.3 <i>NUNAVUT TOURISM</i>	65
4.3.1 Foci of <i>Nunavut Tourism</i>	66
4.3.2 Product Development.....	68
4.3.3 Community-Based Tourism	71
4.3.4 Regarding Katannilik Territorial Park.....	72
4.3.5 Sports Hunting	73
4.4 THE NEW 'TOURISM AUTHORITY'	75
4.5 INTERNET	77
4.6 CHANGES SINCE NUNAVUT.....	78
4.6.1 Inuit hiring	79
4.7 CED AND TOURISM – A CONFERENCE	80
CHAPTER 5: CONCLUSIONS	86
5.1 INTRODUCTION.....	86
5.2 NUNAVUT AND COMMUNITY EMPOWERMENT: IMPLICATIONS FOR TOURISM....	86
5.3 THE COMMUNITY LEVEL.....	89
5.4 NUNAVUT LEVEL CONCLUSIONS	94
5.5 GAPS IN COMMUNICATION.....	97
5.6 TOURISM'S FUTURE OPPORTUNITIES AND CHALLENGES IN NUNAVUT.....	99
BIBLIOGRAPHY	104
APPENDIX 1	113
APPENDIX 2	114
APPENDIX 3	117

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1.1. The Nunavut Settlement Area	10
Figure 1.2. The Baffin Region	11
Figure 1.3. Katannilik Territorial Park and the Heritage Soper River	18
Figure 3.1 Chart of tourism expenditure in Kimmirut	43
Figure 4.1 The Three Regions of Nunavut	68
Figure 4.2 The Tourism Product Development Process	70

Photo 1.1. The Community of Kimmirut. Taken July 1997.	13
Photo 1.2. The 'Heel'	13
Photo 1.3. Soper River and Katannilik Territorial Park.	19
Photo 1.4. Soper River as a Canadian Heritage River.	19

LIST OF TABLES

Table 3.1. Positive Responses Regarding the Benefits of Tourism.	44
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GLOSSARY OF ACRONYMS

BBDC Baffin Business Development Centre
CEDO Community Economic Development Officer
ED&T Economic Development and Tourism
EDO Economic Development Officer
GNWT Government of the Northwest Territories
HTA Hunter's and Trapper's Association
MHTA Mayukalik Hunter's and Trapper's Association
MTRG McGill Tourism Research Group
NHSP Nunavut Hunters Support Program
NTI Nunavut Tugavik Incorporated
QIA Qikitaaluk Inuit Association
RWED Resources, Wildlife and Economic Development
WWF World Wildlife Fund

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

1.1 TOURISM GROWTH IN THE NORTH

The marketplace in general is becoming more environmentally sensitive and consumers' actions are beginning to reflect this (Wight 1993). Consequently, governments, industries and businesses are increasing their desire to operate in "environmentally benign and socially positive ways" (Fenge 1994:1). Given that tourism will likely become the largest sector in the global economy in the next century, the potential for tourism to contribute to sustainable development from local to global scales is significant (Hunter 1997).

It is estimated that by the year 2000, the tourism industry will be the largest and fastest growing economic activity at a global level (Whelan 1991; Harrison and Price 1996; Tooman 1997). Recent figures show that in 1998, 625 million tourist arrivals occurred worldwide and tourist receipts reached US\$ 445 billion (WTO 1999). In 1997, tourism receipts accounted for 34% of the total global trade in the service sector (WTO 1999). Many countries are taking advantage of this trend by including tourism as a major part of their economic development strategies (Lovel and Feuerstein 1992). Moreover, indigenous peoples worldwide are becoming more involved in the tourism industry (Zeppel 1998).

Over the past decade, a growing body of literature identifies tourism as a potential avenue for both the fulfillment of sustainable economic development goals and the empowerment of local peoples (Boo 1991; D'Amore 1993; Sims 1994). A number of studies indicate that the active involvement of local people in tourism operations can provide significant benefits, including a broadened economic base in which cash income supplements the subsistence economy and reduces welfare dependency (GNWT 1990a; Nickels *et al.* 1991). Tourism is also argued to aid in the development of an enhanced sense of community pride, the

provision of opportunities for cross cultural exchange and cultural preservation (Johnston 1997a). Ideally, tourism development should be accomplished without compromising the cultural and ecological integrity of the hosts' lifestyle and traditional lands (GNWT 1990a; Rye and Grasse 1991; Zeppel 1998).

Tourism is but one option for community development, one that has not always demonstrated positive benefits. The experience of many communities around the world with tourism has been one of exclusion and exploitation, sometimes resulting in the degradation of their land, resources and culture, often with little compensation and no regard for traditional owners (Légaré 1991; Whelan 1991; D'Amore 1993; Walle 1993).

This thesis will study some of these issues using the case of Nunavut, Canada's newest territory (see Figure 1). It is hoped that some of the negative aspects of tourism development in other regions, such as exclusion and exploitation, can be avoided by the newfound Inuit control gained through the unprecedented Nunavut Land Claims Agreement (see also Smith 1996). Cross-cultural exchange and an enhanced sense of community pride are promising benefits of tourism development in Nunavut since Inuit have remained resilient after having been inundated by the 'south' (Harrison and Price 1995), albeit not without its problems and conflicts (Johnston 1995).

Tourism to the Baffin Region (see Figure 2) of Nunavut relies upon those types of activities commonly referred to as 'alternative', 'green' or 'eco'-tourism. In fact, over 70% of those Baffin tourists surveyed in 1997 identify themselves as 'ecotourists' (Lee and Woodley 1997a and b). Tourism products in Baffin Island focus on landscape, wilderness and culture activities such as: hiking, camping, photography, wildlife viewing, sea kayaking, river trips, Inuit culture and art, sports hunting and dogsledding.

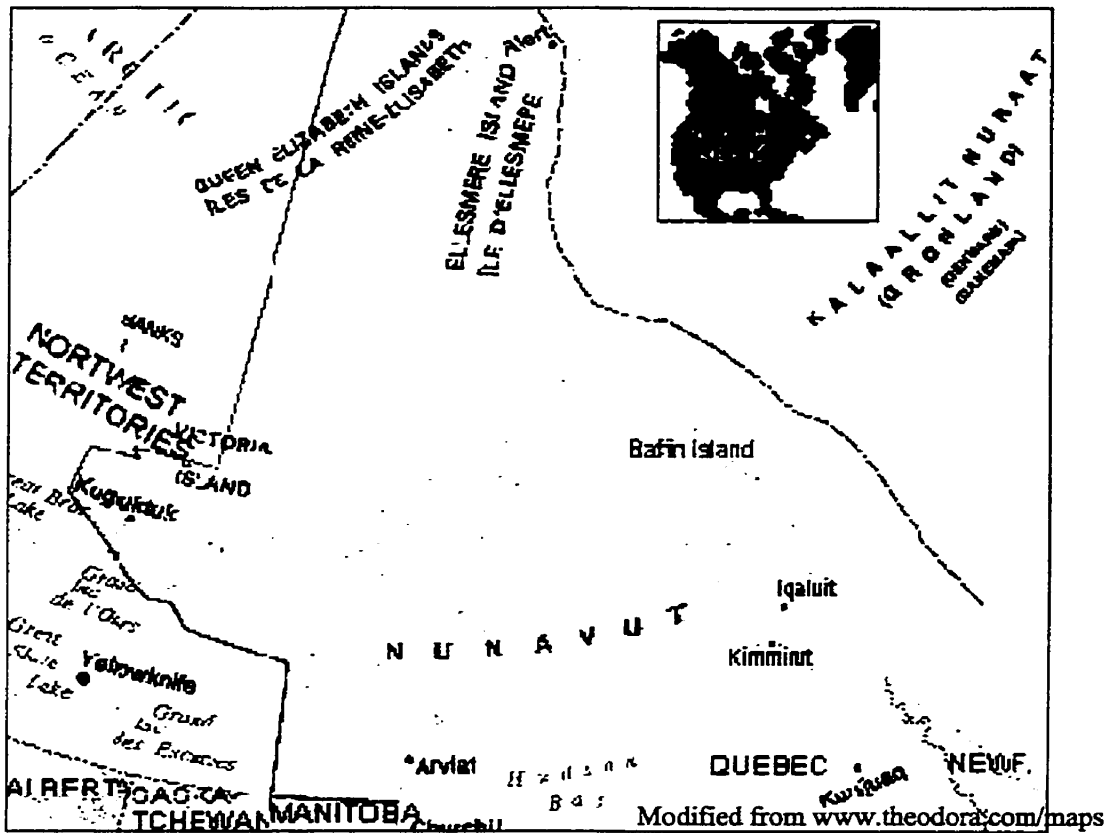


Figure 1.1. The Nunavut Settlement Area.

Tourism has been a source of much needed employment and income for the Baffin region of Canada's North since the early 1980s. Moreover, the Nunavut government places tourism among its top priorities in terms of community and economic development (R. Hamburg, pers. comm. 1996). Devolution of power from territorial government to communities is also a priority, albeit more for those with populations over 1000 (B. Rose, pers. comm. 1997). Generally, there should be more money and control given to 'smaller' communities for other development projects such as tourism (R. Hamburg, pers. comm. 1996).

More abstractly, a vital aspect to the territory's tourism industry is the positive attitude local Inuit have toward the industry, with little evidence that it is perceived as disruptive to Inuit culture and environment (Reimer and Dialla 1992; Grekin and Milne 1996; Milne *et al.* 1998). This is the case even if the resulting economic benefits are less than expected,

perhaps because of the known potential benefits (Nickels *et al.* 1991; Milne *et al.* 1998).

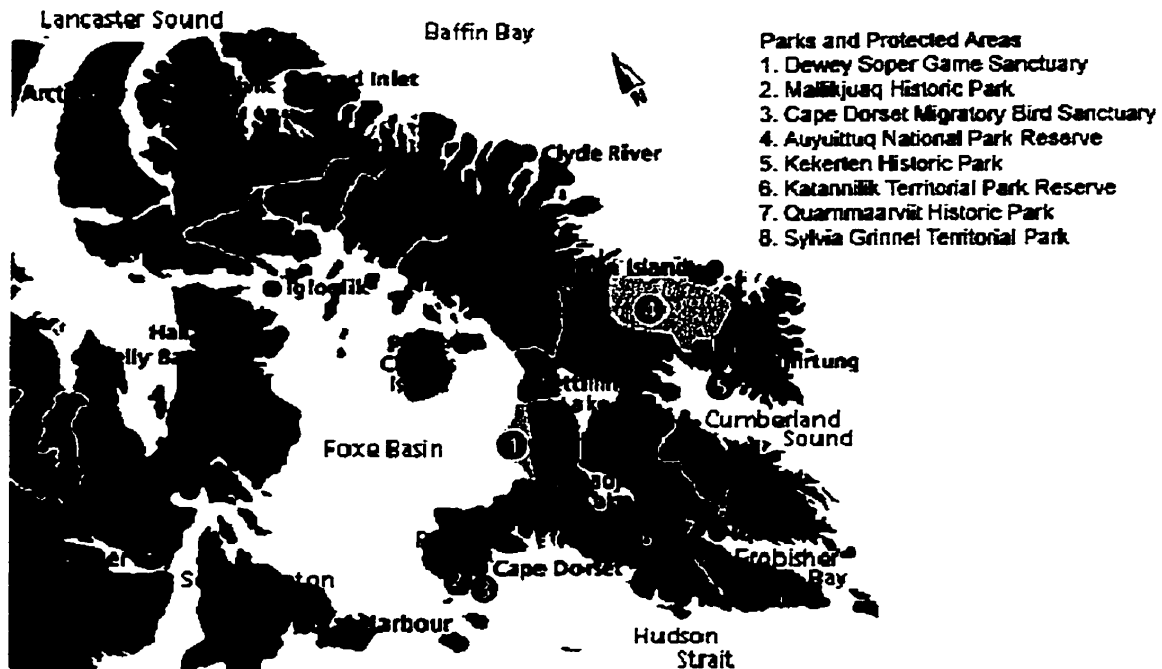


Figure 1.2. The Baffin Region

Modified from <http://www.arctictravel.com/map/greenarea.html>

1.2 THE RESEARCH

This thesis will study how the establishment of the Nunavut Territory (see Figure 1) and the ratification of the Nunavut Land Claims Agreement may restructure the tourism industry, at both regional and local levels. Since 'Nunavut' implies an Inuit majority, Inuit ownership and especially, Inuit control, this thesis examines if these effects have (or will be) filtered into the tourism industry.

A key objective of this thesis is to examine how the tourism industry is affecting local development and vice versa. In this regard, the research focuses on the issue of local community control over the tourism industry. Through a case study approach of the community of Kimmirut, on southern Baffin Island (see Figure 1.2), the implications of 'Nunavut' become clearer at the local level.

The third objective is to explore how community initiatives will be realized by the tourism industry in Nunavut. This materialized as a profile

of tourism attitudes and activities in Kimmirut. As a case study, the primary concern was how the local and regional levels communicate on tourism policy issues. This approach also contributes to the general understanding of community tourism, especially in remote and indigenous contexts. Moreover, the thesis adds to the methodology of community-based research, especially regarding tourism.

1.3 KIMMIRUT: THE COMMUNITY

"The settlement of [Kimmirut] ... is situated at the end of a scenic fiord on the south shore of Baffin Island." (Marshal *et al.* 1982:2-1) (see Figures 1 and 2, and Photo 1). It should be noted that Kimmirut was previously known as Lake Harbour and has followed the trend among Nunavut communities by reverting to its Inuktitut name. The name means "the heel" and refers to a large limestone formation in the community's harbour, which resembles a human heel (See Photo 2). Archeological evidence suggests human settlement in the area for over 4000 years, with today's Inuit preceded by the Pre-Dorset, Dorset and Thule peoples (Bone 1992; Coughlin 1997). Continuous residency in the community began in 1900 with the establishment of a summer whaling station (Coughlin 1997). This event coincided with the emergence of seasonal wage labor among Inuit near the community (Jaffray 1995).

Like many 'Native' economies, Inuit began with a subsistence economy, which shifted to one comprising wage employment, transfer payments and hunting (Wenzel 1983). The latter also provides cash income and food. In fact, the major activities listed as constituting the Kimmirut economy are marine mammal harvesting, hunting/fishing and carving (*NWT Data Book 1986/87*). The economy has been 'mixed' however, for over 30 years, with a traditional hunting economy being combined with wage labour (Graburn 1963).

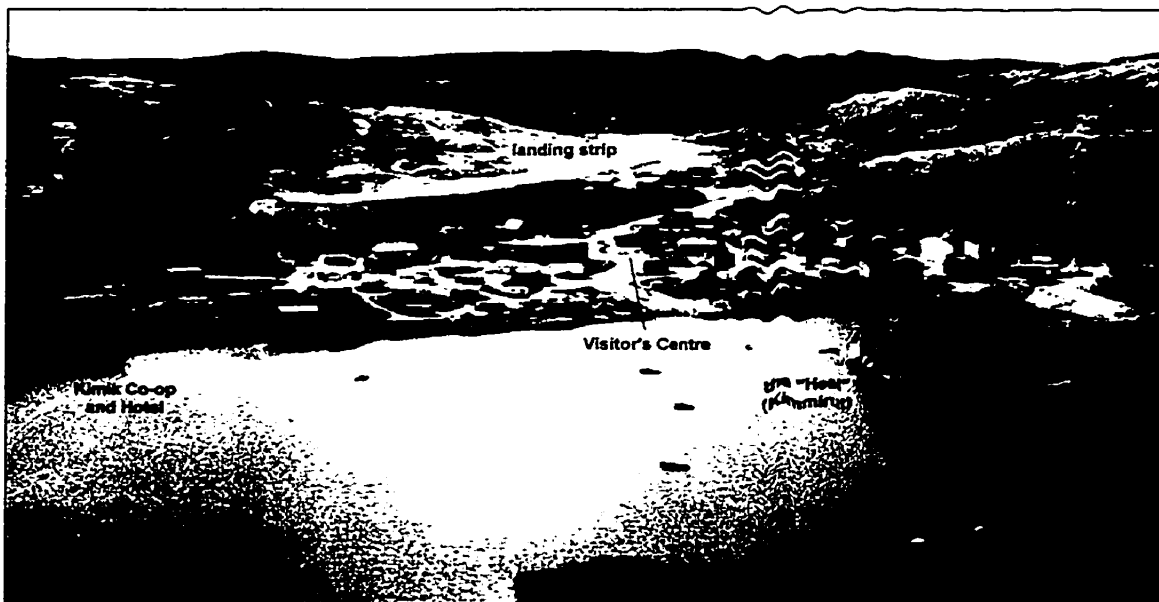


Photo 1.1. The Community of Kimmirut. Taken July 1997.



Photo 1.2. The 'Heel' (centre) for which Kimmirut is named. Note the white line indicating the water is at high tide. Taken July 1998.

The current labour force of Kimmirut is estimated at 50% of the population or 78% of those 15 years old and older. An estimated 87% of the labour force are in formal sector employment. This is higher than the Baffin Region, where on average, 80% of the labor force are employed. Data from 1995 Income Tax Returns indicate that the average income in

Kimmirut has increased to \$19,426 in 1995 (Bureau of Statistics 1999a). It appears that the average income in Kimmirut is lower than the Nunavut average (Bureau of Statistics 1999a,b). Moreover, Kimmirut was one of the only Baffin communities to show a -5.5% decline in average income between 1990 and 1994 (Hicks 1997).

Over 50% of those employed in the community work for 'essential services' such as the GNWT, Hamlet (municipal) government, First Air, the Power Corporation or other local agencies (Coughlin 1997). At present, Kimmirut is largely a government-based service economy. The Hamlet and Territorial Governments account for a majority of the community's employment (Downie and Monteith 1994). The remainder of the community receives roughly \$1,100 annually in social assistance per Inuit adult (Hicks 1997). Moreover, the local carving industry contributes roughly \$80,000 to the community economy (Downie and Monteith 1994; *Nunavut Handbook* 1997; R. Jaffray, pers. comm. 1997). The Nunavut Hunter's Support Program provides a further \$70,000 per annum (NTI 1998). As NHSP applies primarily to Inuit who are full-time hunters, these numbers illustrate the mixed nature of the Kimmirut economy, and reflect the split between wage and 'traditional' economies.

1.3.1 Tourism in Kimmirut

In the 1960s, when the fate of Kimmirut was being determined due to its 'economical unviability', it was suggested that there may be a large expansion in arts and crafts activities and tourism in order to boost the local economy (Graburn 1963). Since then, there are at least two factors significant to tourism development in Kimmirut. First, the community is only 120 km from Iqaluit (Graburn 1963; Kemp 1976). This proximity reduces the cost and time required getting to the community by commercial airline from Iqaluit relative to other Baffin communities (Marshal *et al.* 1982). This is significant when the number of tourists who visit only Iqaluit is considered. According to Milne *et al.* (1997), most

tourists, with the exception of cruise ship passengers, pass through Iqaluit, as it is the region's gateway. Kimmirut's relative closeness to Iqaluit means the community is accessible via means attractive to adventure tourists: snowmobile and dogteam, hiking, and rafting.

Correspondingly, Kimmirut's Economic Development Officer (EDO) surmises that Kimmirut will get more visitation since Iqaluit is now the capital of Nunavut and thus the "big city". It is likely that Iqaluit residents may venture to Kimmirut to get out of the hustle and bustle. Kimmirut also has the potential to act as a conference location alternative to Iqaluit and is moving toward developing this (R. Jaffray, pers. comm. 1997).

Second, Kimmirut is a small community where "fairly traditional Inuit skills can still be readily viewed ... In this regard, because of the proximity to [Iqaluit], [Kimmirut] could provide economical access to traditional Inuit skills for visitors..." (Marshal *et al.* 1982:2-1). Moreover, the community and its surroundings offer a wide range of landscape, geology, flora and fauna, and historical attractions to visitors, as well as a microclimate that is 5-10 degrees warmer than Iqaluit (Jaffray 1995).

The first regional study done by on Baffin tourism (Marshal *et al.* 1982) assessed the potential for tourism development in Kimmirut based on local attitudes and infrastructure. According to the study, "the available infrastructure, skills and plans of the community have a major role in the future potential of the tourism industry in [Kimmirut]" (*ibid.*:2-4).

Marshal *et al.* (1982) identified the GNWT transient centre as the only accommodation in Kimmirut at the time, and that there were no 'restaurant' type food facilities. Also, at the time of the study, no infrastructure for provisioning, guiding and hosting tourists existed. As a first step toward future development, the GNWT supported the construction of a hotel with restaurant facilities. The Kimik Co-op (see Photo 1.1) now supplies these services, where all community members share the decisions and revenue. Second, with the advent of Katannilik Territorial Park neighbouring Kimmirut, three outfitting enterprises have

been incorporated and many individuals offer *ad hoc* water- or land-based guided trips, homestays and traditional "country food" meals. Last, carvings are as much a part of the tourist product in Kimmirut now as in 1982.

In 1982, Marshal *et al.* (1982:2-5) noted that "[t]he existing 'tourism market' ... is limited to individuals travelling on their own as hikers and campers, government personnel, construction workers and study teams" (*ibid.*:2-5). While this is still largely the case, there are new additions. Since 1996, cruise ship visitations have occurred at the rate of 1-2 each summer. Southern- and Iqaluit-based outfitting groups still take small groups on overland trips from Iqaluit to Kimmirut, although more frequently than in 1982. Tour groups are limited to 14 people by aircraft constraints. Kimmirut now receives three weekly commercial flights, whereas only one weekly flight was the 1980s norm. Most tour groups however, charter private flights.

Previous consultations done with community groups, residents and leaders, expressed hope that tourism would provide employment in the community (Marshal *et al.* 1982). These consultations also elicited the opinion that local people "felt it was important that any new tourism industry started in [Kimmirut] should be controlled by residents." (*ibid.*:2-6). There has been little change in how the community feels about tourism since the Marshal *et al.* study. In 1982 however, it was understood that Kimmirut had not experienced significant tourist activity and therefore, not surprisingly, expressed few negative concerns. But as the study noted, the 'friendly atmosphere' of the community would be an asset to future tourism development.

Marshal *et al.* (1982) proposed a Community Tourism Development Plan based on their assessment of the current state of the industry in Kimmirut, declaring that Kimmirut should be developed as a "destination area" and "outfitting post". The former is an area offering one or more

major opportunities for the development of tourism products and a place where visitors can spend part, or all, of their trip, in this destination area.

This is not the case today. Kimmirut is rarely a "destination area" according to the definition. Rather, it is a 'transition' or 'stop-off' place, although local people would prefer to see "destination" development occur. At present, however, the community is an "outfitting post" giving tourists access to the land with guides, transportation, maps, information and/or food. Therefore, when compared to the early 1980s, the community is well equipped and prepared for these activities.

As mentioned earlier, Kimmirut's proximity to Iqaluit should be emphasized in tourism development, especially for those visitors who wish to experience a smaller, more 'traditional' Inuit community. This stage of development is still being actualized. The attractions the community has to offer, in addition to natural attractions, have yet to be adequately linked to tourism packages.

1.3.2 Katannilik Territorial Park

Kimmirut is the host community to Katannilik Territorial Park that includes the Heritage Soper River, Panorama Falls, much wildlife viewing and a gentle climate (see Figure 3, Photos 3 and 4). Tourism to Kimmirut was considered negligible until the Park began operations in 1993 (Downie and Monteith 1994). The experience of Pangnirtung with Auyuittuq National Park (see Figure 2) shows that park designation raises the visibility of the overall local area for tourism (Milne *et al.* 1997), and it is expected that Katannilik will draw tourists to Kimmirut in the same way.

Katannilik Territorial Park provides the impetus for many of the tourism-related jobs in Kimmirut. Katannilik, meaning "place where the water falls", covers more than 1500 km², and the Soper River, which lies between Iqaluit and Kimmirut. The Park includes a hiking trail connecting the two communities with small cabins and Inukshuks marking the way.

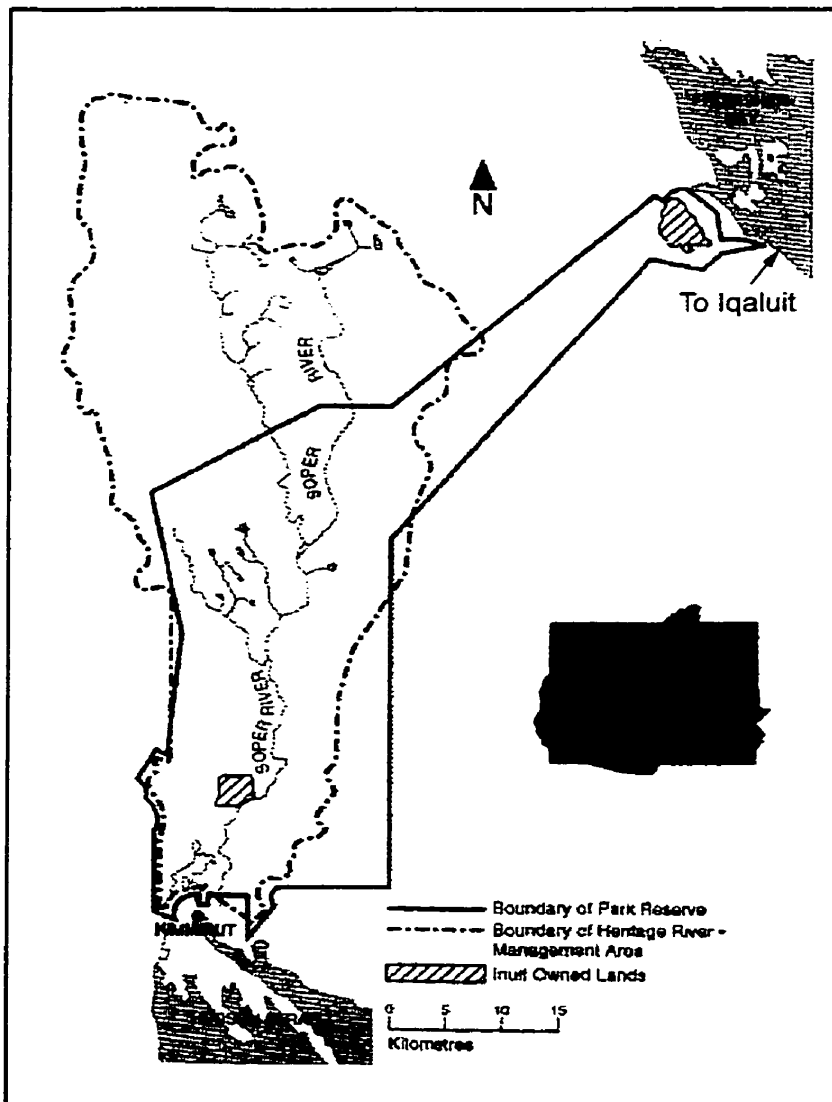


Figure 1.3. Katannilik Territorial Park and the Heritage Soper River

Katannilik was integral in increasing tourist flows to Kimmirut. As tourist survey data has revealed, Katannilik is considered a better destination by some Baffin tourists than Auyuittuq National Park near Pangnirtung because it offers easier access to the average tourist in cost and logistical terms (Tarbotten 1995; Bureau of Statistics 1999a). At present, tourists travelling on package tours spend between 21% and 22% of their total nights in the parks. Independent tourists, on the other hand, spend 28% of their total nights in Auyuittuq compared to only 5% in Katannilik (Lee and Woodley 1998a). This could be caused by the increased publicity associated with Auyuittuq's national park status.

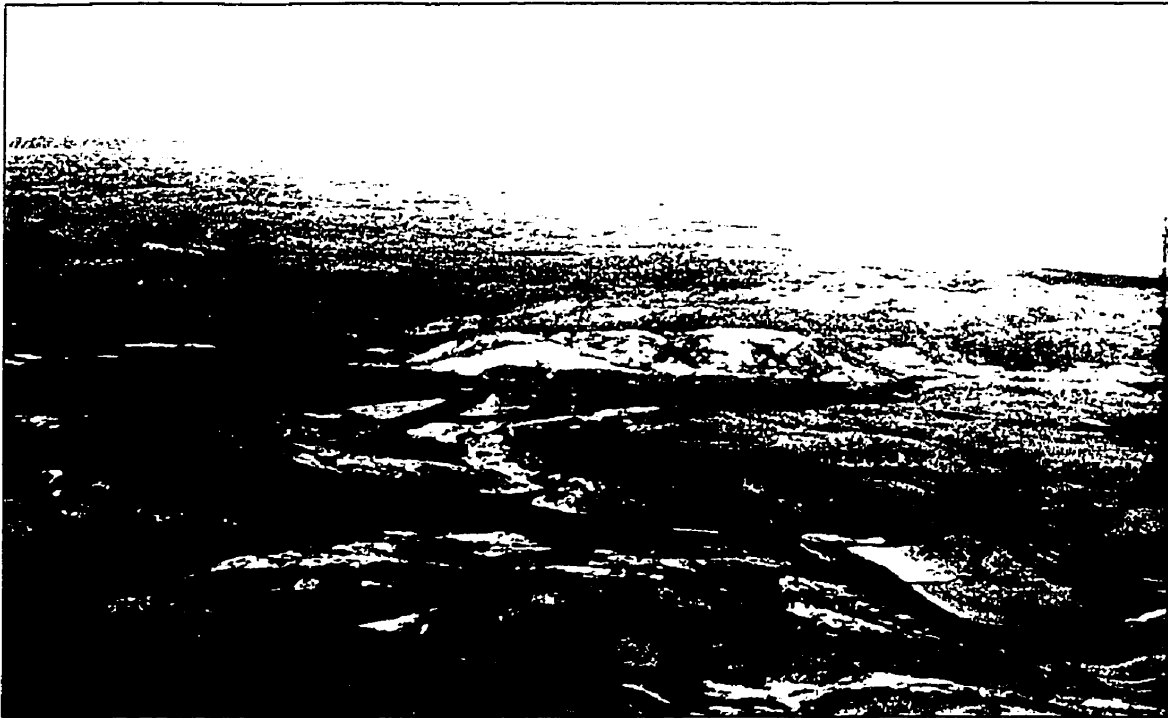


Photo 1.3. The beginning of the Soper River and Katannilik Territorial Park, as viewed from a twin otter from Kimmirut to Iqaluit. Taken August 1998.

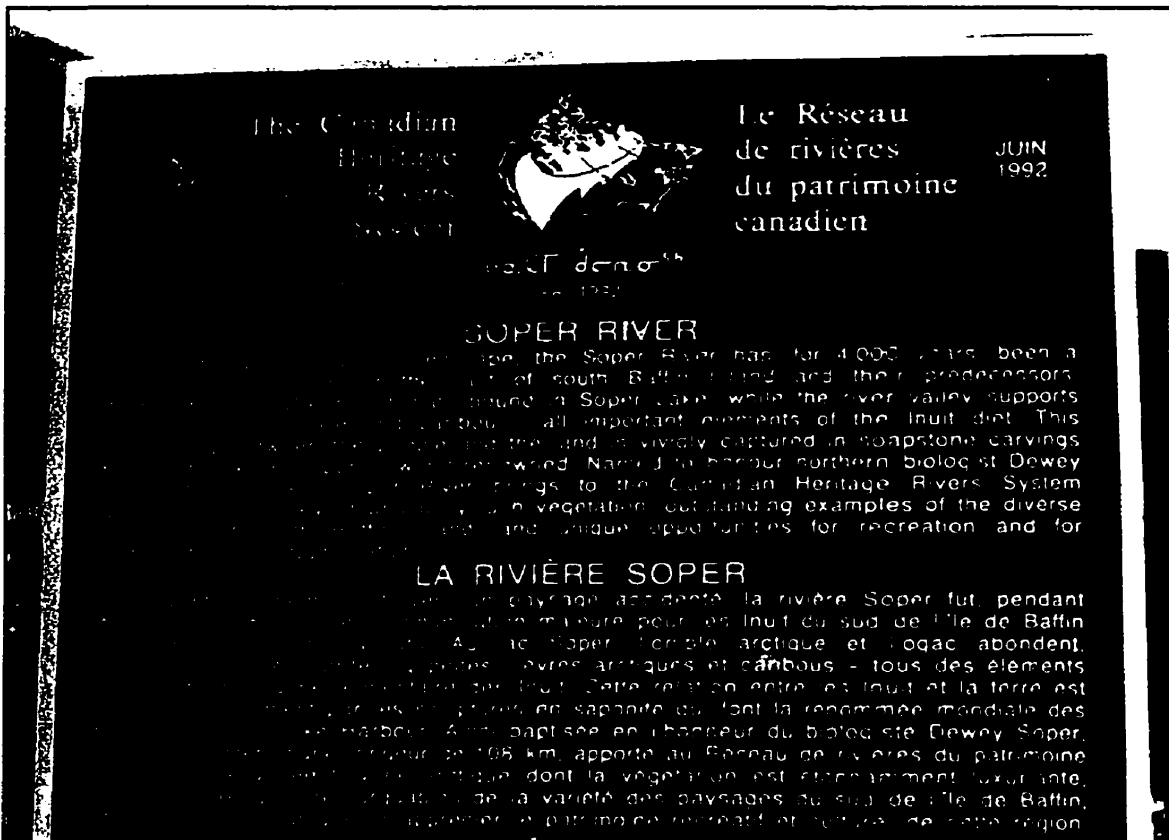


Photo 1.4. Sign designating the Soper River as a Canadian Heritage River. Taken August 1998.

Tourism to Katannilik has the potential to contribute significantly to the Kimmirut community, not least as the residents of Kimmirut were notably included in the Park's planning and development (Downie and Monteith 1994). The goal of this planning was to provide high quality recreation while sustaining the natural and cultural resources of the area. During the feasibility study and the preparation of the Katannilik master plan, the community formed a Tourism Committee to provide the residents with direction and to respond to development proposals. These proposals were recognized as a means of deriving both economic and social benefits. "These potential benefits would include not only tourism income but also direct employment of local people, particularly young people, in types of work compatible with their cultural values" (*ibid.*:8).

In addition to the apparent conservation and economic benefits, Downie and Monteith (1994) contemplate the various cultural benefits that the Park would provide to the Kimmirut. Essentially, the residents would gain a greater sense of identity and community pride. Other cultural benefits are gained from fostering local lifestyles by providing them with jobs closely linked to their traditional values and activities. For example, tour companies are encouraged to use local guides, and to instigate local control, all employment positions should be filled locally.

Prior to the signing of the Nunavut Agreement, Native rights were acknowledged in the Park. Inuit traditional camps, hunting, fishing and other activities can be maintained, and they have the right to refuse any business opportunities in the Park. As well, future development in the Park or tourism operation proposals have to go through the appropriate Nunavut structures, i.e. the Designated Inuit Organization and an Inuit Impact and Benefits Agreement.

The residents of Kimmirut have supported the Park's concept, and have encouraged government commitment through elected officials. Consultation with and education of tour operators have ensured that their

activities are suitable to local values and favor local involvement. Residents have taken measures in an effort to maximize local benefits.

1.4 METHODOLOGY

This research is part of a larger McGill Tourism Research Group (MTRG) project funded by the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada (SSHRC). Other research funded by the same grant was done in Clyde River, Cape Dorset, Iqaluit and Pond Inlet. These studies provide important background and examples relevant to the current research (Nickels *et al.* 1991; Grekin 1994; Milne *et al.* 1995; Tarbotten 1995; Grekin and Milne 1996).

The data for this study was gathered through interviews with several sources at both the local level and at the level of government and industry. Regarding the former, observations at the community level often help to enlighten and guide policies at the organization, government or even global levels (Go *et al.* 1992).

Interviews at the local level include Kimmirut residents and those who are in tourism related positions such as outfitter or hotel manager. These interviews were conducted during 4 weeks in July and August 1997, and 2 weeks in November of the same year. These interviews were semi-structured and had the objective of understanding how residents view tourism and what they consider important if it is to continue. The interviews were guided by a list of core questions (see Appendix 2). These concentrated on themes related to general impressions of: tourism in the community; social, economic and environmental impacts of tourism; Katannilik Territorial Park; ideas for tourism activities and tourist codes; Nunavut; and the future of tourism in the region. Discussions often focussed on what the respondent seemed most interested in, therefore omitting some questions in order to concentrate on others. In this way, the interview focussed on what the respondent deemed important.

Interviews, in the formal sense, were held with a total of 22 people, of which 6 held 'official' or tourism-related positions i.e. Mayukalik Hunter's and Trapper's Association (MHTA) Officer, the mayor, and the local Economic Development Officer (EDO)). This represents almost 6% of Kimmirut's population of almost 400 (Coughlin 1997). The other 16 people were selected either because they held some tourism-related position, or simply because they became acquaintances. Respondents, in the formal sense, were split evenly between men and women, and ages ranged from 20s and up.

It should be noted that much information was gathered in an 'informal' setting, either through participant observation or in casual conversation with Kimmirut people at the local store, on the street, or 'over tea'. The data gathered in this way exposes some general impressions of the research objectives, and is valuable in backing up some interview data. Cozzetto (1990) indicated that he used interviewees as "sounding boards" for his ideas. The in-depth semi-structured interviews used here are much the same.

Interviews were also done with government and tourism industry representatives in Iqaluit. These 18 interviews contributed not only to the understanding of various institutional mandates on tourism and community development, but also to individual opinions on these. The views on tourism gained from these interviews are purposely described in a language accessible to any local people who may be interested in reading or learning about the tourism process in Nunavut and their community.

1.5 STRUCTURE OF THESIS

Chapter 2 reviews the literature pertinent to the thesis. It examines community-based tourism development and the social and economic impacts of tourism in peripheral and indigenous regions. The chapter then situates the tourism industry in Nunavut by studying what 'Nunavut' means and how it differs from the Northwest Territories. The goal is to set the

premise that community control is essential for appropriate tourism development in the case community, and that the Nunavut Land Claims Agreement facilitates this control.

Chapter 3 presents the results of fieldwork in the case study community of Kimmirut. Essentially, the chapter reveals what the community's attitudes are to many aspects of tourism, including tourist numbers and behaviour; economic, social/cultural and environmental costs and benefits of tourism; local tourism development; and the impact of the Nunavut Land Claims Agreement.

Information on community perceptions in Chapter 4 lends to a comparison with the government attitudes to tourism development presented in chapter 4. Interviews with government and tourism industry representatives demonstrate the current attitudes to tourism in Nunavut, and how these organizations plan to proceed in the future.

Chapter 5 synthesizes the major findings by illustrating the differences between government and industry 'plans' versus what the community wants. Where possible, policy implications are considered and the conclusions derived from the comparison of local reality with government policy are explained with regards to tourism.

A list of those interviewed can be found in Appendix 1. The list of questions for community interviews is provided in Appendix 2. Appendix 3 contains a list of tourism development ideas for both local residents and tourism representatives to view and consider. In addition, business development processes are presented step by step so that local people might better understand them.

CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter reviews the literature pertinent to the relationship of ecotourism to community development in Nunavut. It begins with a discourse on the foundation of community economic development (CED). In this section, the concept of 'community' is defined as a group of people who share, and are linked by, commonalities including a geographical area, a cultural heritage, work activities and social interests (O'Neill 1994; Joppe 1996). 'Economic development' is defined by several factors. Economic growth is the first, and is defined by primary economic indicators (i.e. employment). Other include reorganization of the structure of the economy, such as changes in industry; improvements in social components; and the means used to achieve economic development which are ends in themselves, increased autonomy and empowerment especially as related to decision-making processes.

Next, I review how tourism is incorporated into community economic development. An examination of the changing tourism industry reveals exactly why tourism to regions such as Nunavut is becoming popular and what trends are emerging from both the supply and demand sides. Then the Nunavut Land Claims Agreement is discussed in order to give the necessary background into why the region and its tourism industry present an interesting case study. Finally, the Northern tourism industry is discussed generally, in order to better situate the community case study.

2.2 COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT AND TOURISM

According to the United Nations, community economic development is a method for creating conditions of economic and social progress for a community through active participation by the community (see Joppe

1996). It is a strategy that complements 'traditional' approaches, such as employment training, income supplementation, and social assistance (WTO 1981), and it should involve the active participation of the residents so that "consumers become producers, users become providers, and employees become owners of enterprise" (*ibid.*:476). Throughout the CED conference in Iqaluit (see Section 4.7 for more details), 'community economic development' was defined as:

A 'participatory' approach to economic development in which local people develop their own community economic development goals and objectives, their own community strategies to realize these goals and objectives, and design their own community evaluation framework to chart progress and maintain accountability at the local level (Community Economic Development Baffin Pilot Project Newsletter, May 12, 1998).

In fact, community economic development results from a lack of control over globalized markets requiring affirmation of community economic and social needs (Galaway and Hudson 1994). This is especially so in communities which are dependent on decreasing renewable resources and 'welfare', and which need to revitalize the local economy (Galaway and Hudson 1994; Thornton 1994).

Defined in terms of community problem solving, CED is "a process of addressing community needs through setting goals and objectives, identification of strategies and implementation of appropriate initiatives" (Galaway and Hudson 1994:xx). It is a strategy that involves resident participation and internal-external partnerships with the integrative goals of creating wealth, self-reliance and community control (*ibid.*). It can also replace similar strategies controlled by regional centres and territorial/provincial administrations (O'Neill 1994). Finally, CED solicits implementation of permanent institutions in the community so that, ultimately, the community gains a more active role with respect to institutions outside itself (i.e. at the regional/territorial level), and with the residents acquiring more control over local resources (Nutter and McKnight 1994).

Community tourism development is an integrated approach to community economic development that encompasses social, cultural and economic goals. This approach is pertinent since government rather than community interests usually control the tourism industry (Joppe 1996). Accordingly, community tourism development seems more favorable than 'traditional' community economic development when the two strategies are compared. For example, community economic development often occurs in response to a crisis, whereas community tourism development is more likely to arise from perceived opportunities and a willingness to control local resource use and entrepreneurship (*ibid.*).

Communities often support tourism as an economic development strategy since residents can easily understand most levels of the industry and it builds upon existing local resources. Moreover, tourism is often seen as a 'clean' and labor-intensive industry that requires unskilled workers, and is thus ideal for many rural areas (Tooman 1997). Tourism is linked to the principles of sustainable development in these ways, and by the role it plays in economic development that promotes human well being in general (Hunter 1997).

Communities just beginning to consider tourism for economic development are at an advantage in that they can learn from the experience of negative case studies (Mallari and Enote 1996). In a statement that still rings true today however, the benefits are often all that is seen:

Tourism, in its broadest, generic sense, can do more to develop understanding among people, provide jobs, create foreign exchange, and raise living standards than any other economic force known. (Kaiser & Helber 1978)

If this tourism ideal is joined to the possibilities offered by Nunavut's unprecedented indigenous land claim, there is strong potential for community-level tourism development in Canada's North that is socially and economically beneficial to the local people, while preserving their culture and their land. Northern tourism researchers acknowledge that the

possibility exists for tourism to contribute significantly to the economic development in remote Arctic communities, but that it also has the capacity to disrupt them (Anderson 1991; Hall and Johnston 1995). Moreover, tourism is thought to accelerate the social and cultural changes associated with the economic development from tourism (WTO 1981).

2.3 A CHANGING TOURISM INDUSTRY

Important changes in the tourism industry over the past ten years have also fed the increased supply and demand of Arctic tourism products and are directly linked to the emergence of community-based tourism development. On the demand side, after 40 years of rapid growth and development, and after decades of what is known as 'mass tourism', the tourism industry is thought to be entering a new phase (Poon 1989). For example, 'niche markets' and increasingly flexible and differentiated products are current trends in post-Fordist socio-economic restructuring (Sayer 1989) that have found transition in the tourism industry (Sessa 1987; see also Milne 1992).

The resulting 'new' tourism not only exhibits changes that facilitate travel to remote destinations, but which also coincides with the idea of 'alternative' tourism – or alternatives to mass tourism (Butler 1990). With the sociological phenomenon of a more 'ecological conscience' within post-industrial societies (Sessa 1983:1987), the tourism industry found an emerging concern for the effect of tourism development on host human values, traditions and behaviours (Butler 1990).

The tourism industry has therefore changed so that travel to remote regions for an 'authentic' experience has become a popular tourism trend. Correspondingly, culture, history, 'virgin' landscapes, and natural beauty have become requisites of travel destinations (Hall and Johnston 1995). Moreover, aboriginal culture is an increasing attraction for tourists and is used to promote travel to Canada and its North (Hinch 1995; *Nunavut Handbook* 1997). Canada's northern communities themselves see the

value of aboriginal culture as a primary attraction for tourists (RT & Associates 1992). In fact, Nunavut demonstrates all the essentials 'new' tourists seem to demand.

On the supply side, one of the results of this trend in the tourism industry is an increased awareness of the need for community control. The residents of tourist areas have increasingly become more involved in the emerging tourism industry by asserting their opinions on the benefits and problems relating to its development (Chalker 1994; Taylor 1995). Applying the premises of 'sustainable development' to tourism, a destination, by definition, must maintain its integrity, or that which has made it a destination to begin with (Murphy 1985), and 'sustainable' tourism development should also emphasize small-scale, locally owned activities (Cater 1994; Taylor 1995; Cochran 1997).

Nelson (1995) asserts that the long term success of a tourist destination is based on tourism developers' consideration of the host community's needs (see also Seale 1992a). Furthermore, according to Go (1992:103), "(r)esident responsive tourism is the watchword for tomorrow. Community demands for active participation in the setting of the tourism agenda and priorities for tourism development and management can no longer be ignored". In the same vein, Oliver-Smith *et al.* (1989) point to loss of control over local resources as a significant negative impact on the social and economic well-being of host communities.

One cannot ignore, however, the negative factors associated with tourism in small communities, especially in relation to cultural tourism (Smith 1996). Gunn (1988) believes that tourism imposes more social impact on communities than other forms of community development since it involves the "invasion" of outsiders, both as tourists and developers. Larger numbers of tourists tend to lessen the quality of the experience for tourists and residents alike, so that a community can become so popular as a host destination that local residents feel their community no longer belongs to them (Go *et al.* 1992). In a survey done in Baffin Island, Ward

(1995) discovered that one of the costs of tourism identified by Cape Dorset residents was a loss in control over the tourism industry (see also Milne *et al.* 1995). Moreover, Taylor (1995) asserts the difficulty associated with involving local people in the planning and operations of a sustainable tourism industry: these same residents are also expected to be *part* of the tourism product *and* to share the benefits as well as inevitably sharing the costs.

It is believed by many that Native land claims, like the Nunavut Agreement, will allow Native people to move toward the 'next economy' (Cozzetto 1990). Through community empowerment and the development of local private and public sector employment activities, Native people may be better able to retain their traditional values in this economy (*ibid.*). If managed appropriately, tourism may offer an avenue for Native people to participate in income generating activities that are compatible with their lifestyles.

Native communities are often at the fine edge of the conflicting ideals of tourism (even sustainable forms of tourism): those ideals being community-based tourism development on the one hand, cultural tradition and integrity on the other (Cochran 1997). Cochran (1997) explains that Native people often find tourism an appealing development option for many reasons. The first is due to the economic benefits associated with the industry. Another is because of the possible preservation of culture through creation of jobs for youth, performance of dances, story telling, self-esteem and pride in culture. Finally, there is the potential for local control of outsiders, tourism activities and hiring, among others. In this way, emphasizing local control is a way in which Native people have been able to assert their principles of 'ecotourism', for example to be respectful of local cultures and to allow the local communities to benefit financially from tourism (*ibid.*).

In essence, the literature points to the fact that local involvement can control the pace of tourism development and can also help integrate

tourism into the local economy (Murphy 1985). The view that tourism provides a quick fix to economic problems has been replaced by a more enlightened and realistic view (Gunn 1988). Although the effects of tourism are becoming increasingly complex, if a community wishes to develop a tourism industry, it must also accept the possibility of negative effects. Minimizing these effects and maximizing benefits makes local control of tourism of paramount importance (Go *et al.* 1992).

2.4 THE NUNAVUT LAND CLAIM AGREEMENT

The Inuit view their aboriginal claim settlement as the principal vehicle through which they will develop their own political, economic, and social institutions. They will no longer be dependent upon Ottawa or the private sector. Political and economic development will take place on Inuit terms, and the Inuit will have the political and financial powers to ensure that the traditional way of life co-exists with the industrialized economy of southern Canada (Cozzetto 1990:113).

On May 25th, 1993, the Government of Canada and the Inuit of the Nunavut Settlement Area ratified the Nunavut Land Claims Agreement. As part of this unprecedented agreement, the Nunavut territory ("Our Land" in Inuktitut) was formed. In addition to, but included in the Land Claims Agreement, the territory of Nunavut will be formed according the Nunavut Act. The region will form Canada's third territory (see Figure 2), eventually to become a province (Purich 1992; Cameron and White 1995), and will be larger than any other province or territory, encompassing almost two million square kilometres (Fenge 1993; Smith 1995; Smith 1996).

The territory and its new government was officially 'born' on April 1st, 1999. Government restructuring began a few years before and changes will continue to be made into the early 21st century (Cameron and White 1995; Stout 1997; Bureau of Statistics 1999b). It is the first time a provincial or territorial government will speak on behalf of a large group of Native people (Pelly 1993). Of the 24,000 people living in the region, almost 18,000 are Inuit. This implies that although there is no

constitutional self-government, there is *de facto* self-government due to the 85% majority of Inuit in the population (Pelly 1993; Cameron and White 1995).

The Nunavut Agreement is based on Inuit traditional and current use and occupation of the land, water, and ice, and is in accordance with their own customs (DIAND and TFN 1993). Among the objectives of the Agreement are (*ibid.*:1):

- to provide clear rights to ownership and use of land and resources;
- to provide rights for Inuit to participate in decision-making regarding the use, management and conservation of land, water, and resources;
- to provide Inuit with financial compensation and motives for gaining economic opportunity;
- to encourage self-reliance and cultural and social well being of Inuit.

While the Agreement does not mention tourism *per se*, its emphasis on land-use rights and planning, park and protected area establishment, and structures aimed at providing Inuit with greater control over resource, economic and other development, will undoubtedly affect the tourism industry (Woodley 1996).

The population of Nunavut is only 24,000 residing in 28 communities that range in size from 20 to 4000 (Pelly 1993). Some pertinent demographics of the region are that 44% of the population are under the age of 15. Also, 31% of the Inuit labour force are regularly involved in hunting activities, and 16% are involved in arts and crafts (Imrie 1997; Bureau of Statistics 1999b). Further, only 25% of the population have post-secondary education, 61% receive some type of social transfer, and the unemployment rate in the territory is 18%, which may be considered an underestimation as many people are not actively seeking employment (Smith 1995; Imrie 1997).

Under the Agreement, Inuit will receive title to 350,000 square kilometres of land and \$580 million in financial compensation. They will also acquire shares in resource royalties, guaranteed wildlife harvesting rights, and participation in decision-making processes for land and environmental management (Fenge 1992; DIAND 1993; Cameron and White 1995). It is also important to note that the signing of the Agreement was contingent upon the establishment of at least three new national parks (Fenge 1993).

The Nunavut Agreement stresses political development, land ownership, natural resource conservation and management, while it barely addresses cultural and social issues (Fenge 1992). These policy areas, however, will come under the jurisdiction of the new Nunavut government. "It seems reasonable to predict *dramatic* change in these and other policy areas when this government takes over the reins of responsibility" (*ibid.*:120, emphasis added). Moreover, the land claim establishes public government structures that guarantee Inuit control over important aspects of both 'traditional' and modern economic activity (Cameron and White 1995). In this way, Inuit will have political control over everything from education to job training to hunting quotas.

Previous examinations of the Nunavut Land Claims Agreement have found no explicit mention of tourism. Potential exists for sustainable tourism development however, in many structures and institutions which involve Inuit in decision making, and which will likely affect land and resource use as well as tourism (Hinch 1995; Woodley 1996). For example, two of its central structures (Designated Inuit Organizations (DIOs) and the Inuit Impact and Benefits Agreement (IIBA)) apply to most land-use and decision-making and take into account Inuit traditions and well being. Through these structures, Inuit are assured inclusion in government and community representation for decisions regarding land-use and development planning (Woodley 1996). The implications of these structures for community-based tourism relate directly to the amount of

Inuit and community control that has emerged as a result of the Agreement.

Another important condition of the Nunavut Agreement is the establishment of three national parks in the region. This has obvious implications for increased tourism as Canada's national park system is a major draw for North American and European tourists. Inuit found the park concept foreign to their culture and language and have interpreted it to mean, "where white man came to play" (Marsh 1987:309). But Inuit have also decided that the establishment of these parks and protected areas will provide many opportunities (Fenge 1993). In particular, the tourists attracted to parks can provide both economic and socio-cultural benefits, while also preserving local resources and heritage (Seale 1992a).

The potential for Inuit to appropriately govern themselves in a manner which provides employment compatible with traditional activities and which improves social and cultural policies lies in the method of government that is adopted (Cozzetto 1990). Essentially, the new Nunavut political institutions should be representative of Inuit interests, thus making its political economy unique. In fact, Smith (1996) suggests that the Inuit of Nunavut have an opportunity to control and manage their tourism industry to a higher degree than most other Native regions: "The Nunavut people as a whole can choose to encourage, limit, or even disallow tourism; and within that framework, individual communities can creatively develop local tourism to reflect their resource base and their social preferences" (*ibid.*:33).

Everyone expects the government of Nunavut to be an innovative institution, one that will reflect the predominantly Inuit polity it serves (Pelly 1997). According to the former Nunavut Interim Commission, Jack Anawak,

I would hope – and I will do my best to make sure – that this government is user-friendly, that the people who use it felt comfortable with it, and the people who are in the government understand that they work for the people of Nunavut (ibid.:7).

The ambition is for the people of Nunavut to have more input into their governance. In the future, the majority of politicians will have to be Inuit. At present, 44% of the government employees in Nunavut are Inuit, but they occupy mostly lower pay positions with less responsibility (*ibid.*).

2.5 NUNAVUT: TOURISM DEVELOPMENT

Tourism should be targeted as potentially the most important primary industry in the Northwest Territories. A greater and more consistent effort should be made to develop and market our tourism products. A greater commitment should be made by government to support investment in tourism infrastructure.
(GNWT 1989:7)

The Inuit of Nunavut have struggled to gain greater control over their social and economic destinies. Exploitation of the region's natural resources by companies from outside the area have created few linkages with the local economy and have failed to generate significant local employment (Grekin and Milne 1996). But as Oliver-Smith *et al.* (1989) point out, when local populations and governments better understand the economic, political and social importance of tourism, they begin to take more active roles in the industry. Government and services jobs dominate Nunavut's economy, but tourism also plays an important role in the economy in the region (Cameron and White 1995). In fact, Nunavut is looking to tourism as a significant means to achieve economic development in the region (R. Hamburg, pers. comm. 1996).

Global trends indicate increased interest in nature-based and cultural tourism and adventure travel (Jacobsen 1994). Consequently, there is a definitive market for appropriate products in unique destinations such as Canada's North (Hall and Johnston 1995). At present, Tourism Canada acknowledges that a wide range of such tourism products is available throughout Canada, some in the North, and the number of tour

operators catering to this, and their profits are increasing (Higgins *et al.* 1995).

Nunavut is rich in Inuit history and culture, as well as natural habitat, all of which are appealing to the tourist market. Further, the signing of the Nunavut Land Claims Agreement also provided 'good press' and 'free advertising' for the region (R. Hamburg, pers. comm. 1996; S. Roberts, pers. comm. 1997), having received press coverage around the world.

Tourism in Nunavut began in the 1940s with organized hunting and fishing expeditions, or what is now referred to as 'consumptive tourism' (GNWT 1990b). These relatively wealthy tourists flew to isolated lodges and left after acquiring their 'trophies'. Although visitors spent large sums of money, virtually none of this reached the communities, nor did tourists generally have any contact with their Inuit hosts (Seale 1992b). Provoked by both a tourism industry changing from mass tourism to smaller scale, or alternative tourism (see Poon 1989, 1990), and northern communities' realization that tourism's benefits were not reaching them, tourism in the region began to grow and undergo a metamorphosis.

Before the 1960s, Arctic Canada was relatively inaccessible due to weak North-South transportation links. Since then, however, significant growth has occurred and this trend is predicted to continue (Jacobsen 1994; Johnston 1997). The estimated number of tourists to the Eastern Arctic in the summer of 1994 was over 3,500, or 11% of the total visitors to Canada's North (Bureau of Statistics 1999a; Notzke 1999). Likewise, there have been marked improvements in the tourism infrastructure of communities catering to tourism: hotels, restaurants, airlines, charter companies, tour operators, travel agents, and in the communities themselves (GNWT 1990).

Today the Baffin region of Nunavut offers a variety of tourism products and packages. There are several Arctic cruise trips offered. There are also many package tours focussing on hiking, camping,

photography, bird watching, and Inuit culture and art, as well as 'harder' adventure tours with hunting, fishing, rafting, kayaking, skiing, sledding and snowmobile 'safaris' (Nickels *et al.* 1991; Milne *et al.* 1995; Milne *et al.* 1997).

Some tourists come with package tours or expeditions, others come for independent experiences (Imrie 1997). Those travelling on package tours tend to be more exposed to Inuit culture and spend more money on arts and crafts and other such expenditure that benefits the communities. Those travelling independently tend to partake in relatively more rigorous adventure tourism and spend less money in communities (Milne *et al.* 1997). The typical tourists to the North are generally highly educated, older and often seeking intellectually stimulating destinations for their vacations (Higgins *et al.* 1995; Milne *et al.* 1997).

Recent studies of visitors to Nunavut have found that they travel in small groups (2-3 people). They rate value for money very highly. They expect service and quality and are willing to pay for it (Imrie 1997). They choose their destinations for safety, convenience as well as intellectual stimulation and extraordinary scenery (Milne *et al.* 1997). Upon arrival to the North, however, tourists did not previously understand the operational costs of northern Canada. Transportation costs of food, energy, building supplies and general high costs of living inflate the cost of what is usually considered 'adequate' facilities and services elsewhere (R. Enns, pers. comm. 1997).

Tourists often research and organize their trips well in advance in order to eliminate as many unforeseeable events as possible. Whether the tourist has planned their schedule themselves or takes part in a pre-packaged itinerary, most are interested in spending 'free time' in communities. This is considered time when they may interact with local residents, as well as shopping for locally made carvings and other goods (Imrie 1997).

In compiling the content of the new *Nunavut Handbook*, the 'bible for tourists coming North', the publisher of the *Nunatsiaq News* notes that it represents a conscious effort to increase the culture content as that is what tourists want (S. Roberts, pers. comm. 1997). To create this cultural content, residents from the region's communities contributed to the sections on food, culture, arts and crafts, and community profiles.

2.6 NUNAVUT: TOURISM, CULTURE AND COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT

Clearly, tourism development in Nunavut should be approached in a holistic manner as a result of the potential contribution it can make to community wellness. Tourism compliments and links the traditional Inuit lifestyle to business, by potentially creating employment opportunities that will sustain the culture, traditions and environment of Nunavut and its people. (Imrie 1997:2)

In 1983, the GNWT adopted a formal "community-based tourism" policy to guide the industry's growth. This strategy aimed to further tourism development which is environmentally and culturally sustainable, which is distributed equally between communities, and which yields an optimum level of economic benefits for residents, especially those in small and medium sized communities (GNWT 1983; Hamburg and Monteith 1988). This policy's goal was to develop an industry that is largely planned, owned and operated by Northerners, and which reflects community needs and aspirations (GNWT 1990a; Tarbotten 1995; Milne *et al.* 1995).

More recently, the formation of a new tourism institution in Nunavut, a 'Tourism Authority' (see Chapter 4), has been reviewed and the conclusions are thought to reflect what local people have recommended. According to this review, "Tourism is very much a part of the community development process. It, therefore should be community based, driven and supported" (Imrie 1997:2). This would be the foundation of the new 'Tourism Authority'. In addition, the reality of tourism development in Nunavut is that it is neither appropriate nor practical that it occur in all

communities, thus departing from the 1983 "community-based tourism strategy".

To develop a strong and sustainable tourism industry in Nunavut, the current view is that a long term commitment is needed, one that is built on current strengths by targeting communities which have tourism potential and willingness. While the 'community-based' aspect is still present, the reality is that tourism development distributed in all communities, such as proposed by the earlier strategy, is theoretically plausible but not practical.

CHAPTER 3: LOCAL ATTITUDES TOWARDS TOURISM

3.1 INTRODUCTION

Community case studies and interviews with local people have provided valuable information into the workings of the tourism industry in Nunavut. Generally, these studies revealed that local attitudes towards tourism activities in communities have been positive (Nickels *et al.* 1991; Grekin 1994; Reimer and Dialla 1992; Tarbotten 1995; Grekin and Milne 1996). In Pond Inlet, Grekin (1994) found that 95% of respondents were in favor of tourism. Similarly, 92% of respondents in Clyde River (Nickels *et al.* 1991), 95% of residents of Cape Dorset (Milne *et al.* 1994) and 82% in Pangnirtung (Reimer 1989) reported support of tourism in their respective communities. Similarly, among Kimmirut residents (*Kimmirumiut*) who participated in the current study, no one was adverse to tourism.

When Inuit did voice concern regarding tourism, they felt that tourists forego interaction with locals and community life by directing their activities straight onto the land and into the wilderness (Milne *et al.* 1998). As will be seen in this chapter, *Kimmirumiut* hold the same view. Moreover, similar to other communities, Kimmirut residents surveyed want tourists to learn more about Inuit culture in order to gain more rounded and accurate impressions of northern life. In order for this to be achieved, Inuit must be able to develop tourism products according to their desires, “to commodify the Arctic landscape in such a way that it helps create a tourism industry that meets local needs and expectations (*ibid.*:112).

Previous studies done in Kimmirut found that residents held positive attitudes towards tourism. Marshal *et al.* (1982) identified that since the community had not experienced much tourism then, residents did not have any negative comments against its development. They added that residents deemed local control over any new tourism development important and envisioned future tourism development.

Of the 22 interviews done in Kimmirut, ten of the respondents (45%) worked directly in tourism, for example: Visitor's Centre employees, participants in cruise ships activities, the EDO, the MHTA officer. Four of these ten were carvers, who for the sake of argument are considered as working directly in tourism. A further seven of the local people interviewed (32%) worked indirectly in tourism, i.e. at the Northern Store or Kimik Co-op. The remaining five people (23%) did not work at all in tourist related activities at the time. Two people however, mentioned that they would like to be more active in tourism activities. It is a possible implication that resident attitudes are shaped by the way in which they are exposed to tourists.

Overall, an analysis of the *Kimmirumiut* interviews reveals some bias in attitudes towards tourism. What may be more interesting is that the sum of the interviews presents a thorough range of thoughts, perhaps due to the scope of people interviewed, i.e. young, old, directly and indirectly related to tourism. These attitudinal trends and scope will be presented throughout the chapter. All quotes in this chapter are from Kimmirut residents, unless otherwise specified.

3.2 RESIDENT ATTITUDES TOWARDS TOURISTS

Most participants were questioned, often as a way to begin an interview, as to who constitutes a tourist. The majority of Inuit define a 'tourist' as *Qallunaat* (non-Inuit) "who come to visit, to look around". This includes cruise ship passengers and people coming through Katannilik Territorial Park. Other definitions include more specific characteristics such as people who come to learn about Inuit culture and language. A few respondents believe there are essentially two categories of tourists: those who spend money and buy carvings, and those who spend no money in the community. Some even considered visiting relatives as tourists.

As a researcher, I was rarely considered a tourist. Construction workers and geologists, since they spend so much time in Kimmirut in the

summer months, are also rarely considered tourists unless it is their first time to the community and they do some looking around. However, most admit that construction workers/geologists are too busy to participate in community activities, which is a strong indication in itself of what *Kimmirumiut* characterize as a tourist.

Following the definition of who is designated a tourist, questions were asked on resident attitudes towards tourists themselves. The most common issue raised by local people is simply that tourists should spend more time in the community. This may perhaps be directed at one particular outfitting company or cruise ships, but it applies generally to current tourist behaviours. In fact, one of the concerns of the community's past Tourism Committees was that tourists were not spending enough money or time in Kimmirut, since they usually come through only to catch their planes back to Iqaluit. There is agreement that different activities should be promoted to tourists with the hope of encouraging them to stay longer and spend more money, i.e. homestays, boat trips, day hikes (see Appendix 3 for the full set of ideas).

Moreover, many comments were made regarding tourists leaving soon after arriving in town from the Soper River and Katannilik Park. One local person commented that tourists should stay overnight more often: "It is vital that people stay here a little while so that they can experience a little bit of life here, learn a bit, have an opportunity to see many carvings and carvers and choose what suits them". Upon observation of tourists in the community, and as my experience as a tourist, it appears that while *Kimmirumiut* are very pleasant to tourists, they are more apt to talk to an outsider who has been seen around for longer than a few hours. Moreover, a few tourists complained they could not find the carving they wanted, a comment that is warranted given their abbreviated stay in the community.

Because of these views, residents appreciate tourists and tour groups who, after travelling through Katannilik, stay in town for 2 to 5

days. They can afford to meet and speak to several people, buy many carvings after looking around, and give carvers and local people the opportunity to get to know them as well. In fact there was mention that tourists should stay a minimum of 3-4 days and that some local people do not speak to tourists merely because they are not in town long enough.

In sum, with respect to tourists not staying long enough but also referring to what tourists most often experience with a non-Kimmirut outfitter, a resident aptly stated,

As it is now, tourists come off the Soper, they come to the community for only a short time, they see some garbage, a dead dog, some smiling Inuit, and their stereotypes of the North and the Inuit are only reinforced.

3.3 ATTITUDES TOWARD THE CURRENT STATE OF TOURISM IN KIMMIRUT

As described by a local outfitter, one impetus for tourism development in Kimmirut came from its frailty as a 'one-industry town': carving. It was hoped that tourism would contribute economically when carving sales were low. Since then, perhaps *Kimmirumiut* increasingly recognized tourism's merit and chose to continue developing the industry.

Presently, tourism has grown to occupy an important role in the community's economy. The local EDO feels that the summer 1997 tourist season is as successful as the previous year and hopes to see it grow in coming years. He defines tourism 'success' as a function of how much money is dropped into the community. Figure 3.1 illustrates previous years' tourist expenditures in Kimmirut (Jaffray, pers. comm. 1997).

The Kimik Co-op manager is also enthusiastic about tourism in Kimmirut, not only because it is an attractive place but also because "tourism is the biggest growing industry in the North". He also associates potential infrastructural problems with an increase in tourists. There are not enough rooms in the hotel, nor are truck-dependent water delivery and sewage removal reliable. He adds that tourists often do not understand

these realities of life in Kimmirut so he has posted signs in the Co-op hotel warning people to use water sparingly.

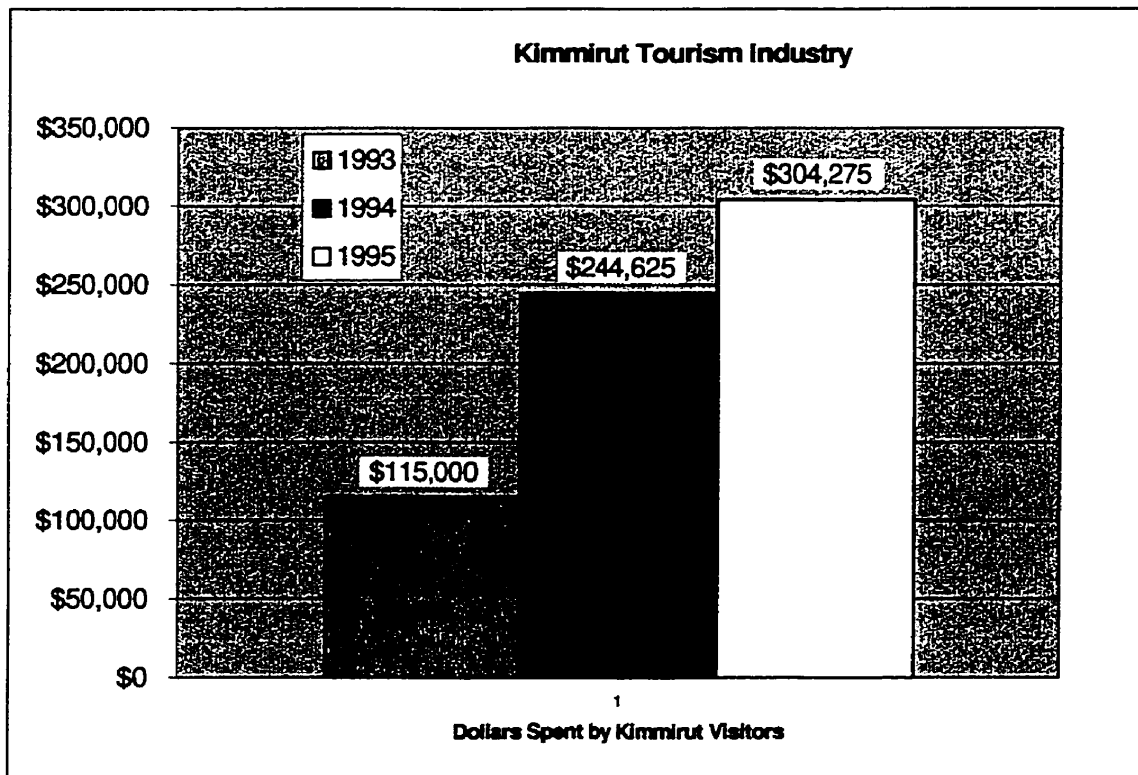


Figure 3.1 Chart of Tourism Expenditure in Kimmirut. Source: R. Jaffray, 1997.

A few people mention general changes in the tourist numbers over the last few years. One person states there was no change in tourist numbers, two said there were more tourists, and another two indicate there were less (one of whom specifically meant sports hunters). Another person indicates that there are fewer tourists in winter than in summer. It could be that residents do not always see the tourists if they are there only a short time, or that residents are out on the land when tourists arrive. Clearly there is a lack of consensus on arrival trends.

One of the most obvious, often unsolicited, attitudes expressed was a desire to see more tourists in Kimmirut. Numerous people outside the survey generally feel "the more tourists the better". Some even elaborate that "tourism growth in Kimmirut is O.K., if it is good for the people then it is good to have more tourism", where 'good for the people' usually means economically and/or socially beneficial.

In the same vein, several people indicated that there should be more facilities for tourists, such as hotel rooms, and that more tourists would bring more carving sales. Such comments illustrate that local people understand the links between tourists and their economic impact and see the merit of increasing tourist arrivals. In addition, a need for more advertising to increase in tourist flow to the community and to encourage these links was widely mentioned.

Lastly, one respondent presents an interesting attitude towards tourism. She admits to being more involved with raising her family than in tourism development and thus feels perhaps there should not be more tourist flow to Kimmirut. Several others interviewed and spoken with informally exhibited this same subtle attitude. In essence, many residents seemed more concerned with their daily lives than they did about tourism, unless of course tourism touched their lives in some way. This point will be discussed further in the final chapter.

3.4 PERCEIVED BENEFITS OF TOURISM

Table 3.1. Positive Responses Regarding the Benefits of Tourism.

Type of Benefit	Kimmirut, n=22		Pond Inlet, n=41	
	# of mentions	% of respondents	# of mentions	% of respondents
Economic	22	77%	35	88%
Social/Cultural	13	64%	15	38%
Environmental	3	23%	1	3%
Total	38		51	

According to Table 3.1, the benefits of tourism can be broken down into three main categories: economic, social/cultural, and environmental. The table indicates the number of times Kimmirut respondents mention

¹ Grekin 1994:42

each benefit throughout the interviews, allowing for multiple mentions on behalf of one person. Also presented is what percentage of respondents refer to each benefit, either in response to direct prompting or spontaneously. The Kimmirut data is compared to the Pond Inlet case study, also done under the auspices of the MTRG.

Both Kimmirut and Pond Inlet evidently show that economic benefits are the most popular among respondents. In corroboration, 63% of a Cape Dorset resident sample also refer to economic benefits (Milne *et al.* 1995), along with 94% of Clyde River respondents (Nickels *et al.* 1991). Both case studies also show the same prioritization of benefits. It should be noted that when one Kimmirut respondent mentions multiple benefits, as in the case of economic benefits, they indicate several different ways the community profits from tourism. The following sections provide more detailed breakdown of each of these three types of benefits in Kimmirut.

3.4.1 Perceived Positive Economic Benefits

While tourism should not be the sole impetus for economic or social change (Shaw and Williams 1994), there is no doubt that tourism impacts the host economy (Mathieson and Wall 1982). First, buildings may be erected for tourists' benefit, but which may also benefit local people (i.e. a Visitor's Centre or lodge). Second, infrastructure may be improved in the community, which also benefits residents. Third, tourism creates employment, often in jobs requiring little training or skills (Shaw and Williams 1994). Moreover, economic considerations have been found to be the primary forces motivating indigenous people to become involved in tourism development (Butler and Hinch 1996).

There appears to be a widespread belief in Kimmirut that tourism is good for the local people. For example, the MHTA officer says simply that "tourists help bring in money and since there are few jobs in Kimmirut, it gives local people a chance to learn skills related to the tourism industry".

The mayor also states that “tourists are good for the local economy”, using the half-day demonstrations for cruise ship tourists as a good example for local people to earn good money, as do traditional dinners and of course, the sale of carvings (see also section 3.8.7 for more information on cruise ships).

The EDO obviously believes in the economic benefits of tourism since a large part of his role focuses on tourism development. It would appear he tries to distribute tourism’s economic benefits in an equitable manner among community members by hiring ‘appropriately’ for various activities such as ‘cruise ship day’. By ‘appropriately’, he hires those who may need money, those not on the Tourism Committee, or those referred by Tourism Committee members. He also sees the value of tourism as a social benefit more tangibly since he is an active member of the community. In this way, he may offer a broader point of view on tourism and community economic development than his regional counterparts in Iqaluit.

When *Kimmirumiut* were asked who benefits most from tourism economically, responses range from ‘the community as a whole’ to specific people. Almost 33% of formally interviewed participants see carvers as the prime beneficiaries of tourism’s economic impact. The other two thirds identify: those who work on cruise ship days; homeowners (for homestays); guides who have good equipment; and local businesses (including outfitters, the Northern Store and the Co-op) as the prime beneficiaries. According to the MHTA officer, who does most of the homestay, dinner and sports hunt bookings, the most revenue is derived from: 1) homestays, 2) boat trips, 3) sports hunting, and 4) community tours. However, this order of importance varies depending on the season and the year.

A few people held the view that some residents make more money than others, and that some families have ‘monopolies’ on homestays and traditional dinners. In reality this is not the case. The MHTA officer

indicates that these opportunities are offered to whomever is willing, available and have proven good hosting skills, which includes speaking some English or having a family member or friend as language and cultural interpreter. The MHTA officer identifies four families who offer traditional dinners and said there are a few more than that who can offer homestays.

It is also believed that too little money stays in town. High leakage is known to diminish the economic performance of tourism, meaning that tourism in its present form, may be accomplishing less than its potential in terms of economic development (Mathieson and Wall 1982, Grekin 1994). Importantly, a high propensity to import products relates to a high degree of leakage out of the region (*ibid.*). In the case of Canada's North then, this would apply since they must import almost everything from the south, where transportation is costly. In northern Scandinavia, only one third of tourist expenditure was found to stay in the area because of leakages such as taxation and the purchase of goods from outside the area (Johnston 1995). One would estimate similar or increased losses for Canada's North. Moreover, high leakage associated with tourism in the North is a result of the little local employment that is generated by tourism since most payment goes to airfare and package tours (Johnston 1995).

Correspondingly, according to the EDO, airlines and southern outfitters are still the primary beneficiaries of tourism to the region. In his view, emphasizing local involvement in product development and training people in product delivery can only change this. Based on the observed costs of travel to Kimmirut and tourist activities, it is estimated that 4% to 20% of total trip costs for two people stays in the community. The lower figure is for two tourists on a package tour that includes a homestay, while the higher one is for two tourists travelling independently, staying two nights in the community, also in homestays.

Last, until recently, sports hunting had an important economic role in Kimmirut. The EDO explains that the economic impact of sports hunting

can be greater than that derived from 'ecotourism', with more equitably distributed revenue. The mayor believes that sports hunting should start up again for similar reasons: it is good money, there are lots of caribou, it can be done throughout the year, it gives opportunities for local businesses to develop, and sports hunters used to buy lots of carvings too.

For the last 3 years, the community has not offered sports hunts. There are guides willing to host sports hunters who come for caribou or polar bears, but the complication lies in the arrangement between sport hunting guides and a southern outfitting company. The guides feel they give too high a percentage to the company and would rather attract sports hunters directly into the community. This will hopefully be done in the future so that sports hunting can be resumed in Kimmirut. The increased use of the Internet by the community and by tourists may facilitate this.

3.4.2 Perceived Social benefits

As was the case with tourism's economic benefits, Kimmirut residents perceive the potential social impacts from tourism to be predominantly positive. The different ways in which people relate tourism to social benefits fall into two broad categories: 1) cultural interaction; 2) pride in community. The most prevalent theme is simply that tourism is a good opportunity for residents to meet new people and that contact between tourists and local people facilitates learning for both. Clearly, *Kimmirumiut* see such interchange as a reciprocal social benefit, where ultimately, more tourists bring more benefits. It is unsure whether or not they understand that 'too many tourists' usually relates to the 'law of diminishing returns'. In other words, social benefits might decline with a certain increase in tourists.

Cultural interaction through tourism is beneficial to local people, especially for the youth, because they learn to understand outsiders, although this perception encompasses all age groups. For example, older

people who give boat tours learn more about what it is that tourists are interested in doing and seeing and why. One person said her father-in-law has recently learned that tourists find icebergs and Thule sites interesting when he hosts boat trips. This was a revelation as *Kimmirumiut* may take such things for granted; this information also has had economic benefits. In addition, sports hunts, cruise ships and similar activities provide opportunities for young people in the community to learn various traditional, as well as tourism, skills, making tourism “an all around good opportunity for people here”.

A second type of social benefit is expressed as pride of community and culture because. One person says, “... pride in Kimmirut comes from the fact that it is such a beautiful place, very scenic and the people here know that, they take pride in knowing how beautiful it is”. The mayor also now sees that there are social benefits from tourism. He feels that because Kimmirut is often selected as a destination for cruise ships, the community is both proud of this recognition and accepts its worth.

Another aspect of the social validation that comes from tourism concerns carvers. Being sought out for one's work by tourists is clearly seen as highly positive. Carvers note that they like to meet the tourists who buy their work and that this affords them the opportunity to learn a bit about the market. Likewise, it was also mentioned that the tourists themselves receive social benefits by meeting the artists, rather than simply buying a piece in Southern or Iqaluit galleries, or even at the Kimik Co-op. There is intangible value attached to a carving bought directly from a carver, such as learning and observing how it is made and choosing its features.

3.4.3 Environmental Benefits

Comments regarding environmental benefits were frequently mentioned alongside social ones, illustrating the close ties between them. Several people believe that Kimmirut is cleaner since tourism became

more prevalent. The community often does a 'spring clean-up' in anticipation of cruise ships and tourists. In addition, the Katannilik area, the land surrounding Kimmirut, is also perceived as 'cleaner than before'. Local people keep these areas clean for the tourists, but also for themselves.

Almost a third of surveyed residents say they have no environmental worries about tourists around Kimmirut and in Katannilik. There are too few tourists to damage wildlife and environment, and if there are any problems, the park advisory committee is there to deal with them. Two people did mention, however, their concern with tourists leaving garbage around and other environmental degradation. Nevertheless most people feel that "Katannilik is there, so it should be used by people".

It is also believed that tour companies who bring tourists through the park are competent at keeping the park land and the Soper River clean. Moreover, of those residents who mention it, the type of tourists who come to Katannilik and Kimmirut are perceived as very environmentally minded. Finally, there was no mention of concern regarding archeological sites in and around Kimmirut, presumably since it would take a local guide to show these attractions to tourists.

3.5 IMPACT ON CULTURE AND COMMUNITY

When asked if they had worries about tourists, seven respondents indicated that they had no real concerns about tourists' present behaviour, but that they should keep respecting the land, the people, and the culture. Otherwise, respondents were concerned by displays of ignorance by tourists, such as asking seemingly irrelevant questions of carvers, and displaying discomfort at Inuit dietary practices. As one person puts it, *Qallunaat* who 'snub their noses' at how and what Inuit eat cause anger and unnecessary sensitivity.

Another area of concern is that tourists may bring alcohol into the community. This is a 'traditional' concern of local people across the Baffin Region. One solution suggested is to have an information package available for tourists before they come North. The EDO agrees there should be some education of tourists, as did several Kimmirut Inuit. The *Nunavut Handbook*, the Internet (i.e. the *Nunavut Tourism* website), and WWF guidelines for outfitters are several options presently available for tourist education. Whether tourists consult them is questionable. An MTRG survey of tourists (Lee and Woodley 1998a) in the summer of 1997 asked what types of sources tourists used in preparing for their trips. The 72 package and independent tourists surveyed indicated that the three most popular sources of pre-trip information, in order, were books (unspecified), the Internet, and the *Baffin/Nunavut Handbook*. Approximately 60% of tourists sampled indicated they consulted each of the first two sources, and 50% consulted the third. This implies that more tourists can and should be seeking information prior to traveling. The survey also revealed that the Internet seems to be an increasingly popular **source of** pre-trip information.

Inuit were also asked if they feel that tourism would affect their culture and lifestyle. All respondents indicate that tourism does not have an impact on their "Inuit-ness", adding that their culture was already changing before tourism. Many note that because of the seasonal nature of tourism to Kimmirut, tourists come in relatively small numbers and do not stay long. Therefore, that Inuit lifestyle might be altered by tourism is less of an issue.

Only two people indicated that while tourism is not eroding Inuit culture, it could have negative effects. There was also mention of overhearing others voicing this concern. While specific negative effects were not mentioned, they might include Inuit participation in traditional activities solely for the sake of tourists, rather than for themselves. An

example of this is how some young Inuit are carving for 'fast money' rather than to perpetuate the art form.

Presenting traditional activities for the benefit of tourists is often seen as a way to perpetuate culture, but one person expresses concern that once common practices are now done solely for the sake of tourism. This concern is not uncommon among indigenous people with regards to tourism, and is testament to a sort of 'zoo syndrome' (MacCannell 1973; Cohen 1996). This same person also feels that it is up to Inuit themselves to preserve their culture and that posturing for tourists is not actually living Inuit culture.

One respondent suggested that tourism may even bolster Inuit culture since 'traditional' activities involving art, community, food, and Inuit ways, are demonstrated for the benefit of tourists. To illustrate the need for cultural reinforcement, the MHTA officer sometimes believes that they are losing their culture. She herself cannot make *kamiks* (sealskin boots) anymore but her mother can and her husband cannot make *igloos* but her father can. When she hosts traditional dinners for tourists with her mother, **she helps** explain "Inuit culture" to tourists, and by doing so, often learns from **her** mother.

The relationship between tourist and local guide reinforces culture and promotes host learning. For instance, a son usually wants his father on the boat when he guides tourists (likewise, tourists often feel safer with the more experienced guide). He can still learn from and respect his father by requesting that he come along. At the same time, the father is learning what tourists want and is increasing his hosting skills, a process that is facilitated by having his son along since he likely acts as language and cultural interpreter.

The EDO discusses the community's learning curve regarding tourism and illustrated this with the success of recent cruise ship visits. The cruise ships help improve future tourism activities as local people who gain experience guiding tourists in other activities apply these skills to

cruise ship activities. Positive social impacts result in the sense that as tourist activity increases, local people learn more about the tourism industry and how to be better hosts. In turn, as more tourists arrive in Kimmirut, in part because of the success of previous tourism activities, the socio-economic impacts also increases.

3.6 ATTITUDES TOWARDS WHAT TOURISTS SHOULD LEARN AND DO

Local people were asked what they thought tourists should see or do while in Kimmirut in order to get a sense of what limits they might impose on tourists, and what they consider as important aspects of their community and culture to share with tourists. In 1982, Marshal *et al.* asked local people a similar question. Residents indicated then, that tourists who are interested in interpretation of natural and historical sites in the Arctic would benefit from the local attractions and the community.

In response to my own query, there were twelve mentions of cultural activities that tourists should partake in. One suggestion notes that tourists could gain a general sense of Inuit and Inuit culture/lifestyle through stories of the past and the present (like those already in the Visitor's Centre). Another idea is to hold demonstrations of how Inuit lived in the 'old days' and how hard they worked, as well as demonstrations of sports, carving and Inuit family lifestyles. Interactive activities such as sewing and skinning seals are also pertinent for tourists, rather than having them simply read about it. Two people say tourists should see and learn whatever it is they want to, both in the community and in Katannilik, with no competition between the two.

A few people feel that there are things that tourists should *not* do or places they should *not* go. While some indicate that country food should be shared, others state that tourists may be shocked at food practices and many feel uncomfortable when Inuit eat raw meat. All feel that tourists should respect Inuit ways. In fact, several people, including an elder, mentioned that tourists should read about Inuit customs and culture

before coming in order to ameliorate ignorance and facilitate learning. This is in tune with the concerns regarding tourists that were mentioned in the previous section.

One of the most surprising results from my resident consultations was the wealth of suggestions that were volunteered by local people. There were so many that they are too lengthy to incorporate here and are therefore presented in their entirety in Appendix 3. This list illustrates what Kimmirut residents find most relevant about their community and surroundings and how these can be shared with tourists. They also reveal more entrepreneurial spirit than is perhaps realized by those in government and the tourism industry.

These ideas range from activities that could be offered, to ways to improve local involvement in tourism either through funding ideas or inclusion of elders. Activities such as setting up tents for tourists across the harbour at the RCMP site, and having local guides to lead tourists through town are some of the ideas mentioned. In addition, more advance notice of tourist arrivals should be given to carvers, and a small carving store/coffee shop could be established. Local activities such as clam digging, berry picking and cod fishing could be offered to tourists, exemplifying an 'authentic' experience.

3.7 ATTITUDES ON LOCAL TOURISM INFRASTRUCTURE

3.7.1 Visitor's Centre

Local people were asked their opinions on the recently built Visitor's Centre. The EDO is concerned that perhaps local people may have thought the money could have been better spent in the community (e.g. for a skating rink or other activities for youth). Of those who responded, all indicate that the money was well spent and that they did not hear complaints from others in the community.

The MHTA officer feels that the Centre is beneficial for the community as a whole and is a good example of community involvement.

Local residents contributed to the Centre's contents by 'donating' stories for its walls and items for display. The Centre is perceived to adequately represent the environment and culture of the area and in such a way that is accessible to visitors. One member of a previous Tourism Committee during the construction of the Visitor's Centre says that the intention was to make it 'homey'. The in-door waterfall is meaningful as it reflects the park, and the history presented throughout the Centre is also an important aspect.

There were, however, some negative comments. These focus primarily on some quotes on the Centre's walls, which allegedly came from outside the community. Also, a few comparisons were made to the Visitor's Centre in Pangnirtung, which was felt to be more attractive.

3.7.2 The Economic Development Officer and Tourism Committee

One of the interview topics discussed was the role of the EDO, who is also the park manager. One person notes that the EDO is supposed to make sure Kimmirut attracts tourists. He sits regularly on the Tourism Committee to make sure that local people are involved in activities and, in this way, he is successful. Another comment is that the community has control of what information tourists receive about Kimmirut through the EDO and that he is receptive to corrections or suggestions. In addition, the EDO often consults the mayor and a local outfitter regarding tourism issues.

On a more detailed level, two people mention that there is a lack of information on funding for local business initiatives. A case in point being that at a trade show in Iqaluit, there was information about funding that the community did not know about and wanted to apply for. Another person says that there is money available for tourism and entrepreneurial development, but the problem lies in granting the money with no explanation how to use or manage it. Another person agrees that there is money for community projects involving tourism, but it is not being used

for the types of projects that are suggested by the community, such as funding for elder activities or other suggestions found in Appendix 3. These criticisms are relevant since they appraise the potential for lack of communication within the community, and between the community and Iqaluit. They also highlight how the roles of certain people are misunderstood.

Several people commented on Kimmirut's Tourism Committee in a predominantly positive fashion. The Committee organizes community activities, such as town clean ups and bingo fund-raisers. It is also central to the planning of tourism development, giving voice to local needs and dynamics. People appreciate being included in tourism related activities such as those offered on 'cruise ship days'.

Kimmirut's mayor is involved in the Tourism Committee and its agenda. In this way, he provides a link between the Tourism Committee and the Hamlet Council. He and the EDO are the only "carry-over" members of the Committee, thus providing some measure of continuity since all the other members are elected annually, with few re-appointments. Moreover, the EDO and the mayor meet often about tourism related issues. Since the community seems to feel that their concerns and needs are met by the Committee, the present link between them and the Committee is adequate, perhaps as a result of the Mayor and EDO's input and co-ordination.

3.7.3 Accommodations

Other than camping near Soper Lake or around the community, there are two available options for tourists who stay overnight in Kimmirut: homestays or the Kimik Co-op's hotel. Almost everyone who discusses homestays considers them to benefit both residents and tourists. The MHTA officer, who organizes the stays, feels they are positive because tourists gain exposure to local culture and food, while local people make money and acquire hosting skills. Others mention that it is definitely the

one thing tourists should experience. As was noted in the section on perceived economic benefits, many Inuit think homestay hosts are among those who benefit the most from tourism. In fact, one new home-owning family expressed interest in having homestays this coming season for that reason.

Negative comments related to the fact that only home-owners can operate homestays. Many people who rent their homes feel they could also host tourists, and that they should be able to benefit from this opportunity as much as anyone else. In addition, one person who has hosted homestays in the past feels that the fee received did not adequately cover the costs of having guests. However, homestays are generally considered economically beneficial for local people.

In expectation of a future increase in tourists, the Co-op and hotel manager uses the Pond Inlet Co-op as an example of what Kimmirut should do. In Pond Inlet, the hotel was unable to meet accommodation demands during tourist seasons. They coped by buying several houses in the community and renting them to tourists. This idea has appeal in Kimmirut since tourism is expected to grow and while the manager expresses a need to expand the hotel, this is unlikely to occur. Renting local houses to tourists would be the best option. It would also help keep more of the tourist revenue in the community.

Several people feel that the Kimik Co-op hotel costs too much for tourists. The high price of hotel rooms (\$180 per person per night including basic meals) results in tourists often expecting luxury conditions (i.e. one tourist asked if there was a pool). The Co-op manager notes that tourists often remark that the rooms must be very nice for the price. In fact, rooms are basic, comprising of single beds, shared bathrooms, and very basic 'southern' style meals. This is not surprising considering that the hotel caters primarily to construction workers. Rather, the high cost of accommodation reflects the cost of living differential between southern

Canada and the North. As the manager notes, “the food is flown in, it’s expensive to live here, therefore it’s expensive to visit here”.

3.7.4 Country Food and The Local Carving Industry

The MHTA officer feels that arts and crafts and country food are well linked to tourism in Kimmirut, especially through the homestays. The MHTA used to provide country food for homestays, involving elders in its preparation. Now this is less common, although for large groups coming through the community who stay for a 'traditional' lunch this arrangement may occur.

At present, the Co-op manager perceives little, if any, demand for country food by hotel guests, primarily because most are construction workers who want 'meat and potatoes' type meals rather than tourists wanting to sample country food. The MTRG tourist survey (Lee and Woodley 1998a) found however, that tourists want to at least try country food. Using seal consumption as an example, while 14% of the 72 package and independent tourists surveyed admitted they would never eat it and 56% ate none, 10% did eat it, and 19% said they would have eaten more seal if it had been available. An increase in tourism, therefore, would result in more demand for local foods. The manager adds that while there is presently no room for char, caribou, and other country food in the grocery store, he does inform visitors where they can buy such products (i.e. the MHTA).

There has been no notable increase in carving sales as a result of tourism; indeed, a few respondents mention a decline. The Kimik Co-op manager, who buys local carvings and sells to the South and to tourists, attributes this to a general decline in overall demand for Inuit carvings. Further, artists, especially younger ones, are 'mass producing' carvings to a certain extent, and because of this the quality of work is declining (see Dupuis 1992). Young people are said to “churn out” carvings quickly to get money for a weekend. As a result, the Kimik Co-op is only allowed, by the

Federation Cooperation of Canada, to buy a third the number of carvings that it formerly did, and then only from a select list of people. Among older, more established carvers, quality has not declined, so their work is still valued.

A major concern is that carvers do not receive sufficient warning of tourist arrivals in order to have their work ready to sell. While it is easier to anticipate cruise ship arrivals, it is more difficult to predict when groups or individuals may be coming through Katannilik to Kimmirut. Therefore, one suggestion is that carvers 'stockpile' pieces throughout the year rather than having to work at the last moment as is currently the case.

3.7.5 Cruise Ships

During the course of Kimmirut fieldwork, two cruise ships visited the community. This is a relatively new experience, having begun only in 1997. The 70 to 80 tourists per ship disembark for roughly four hours. In Kimmirut, many activities are organized solely for the ship, including community tours, special carving, and Inuit games demonstrations, Inuktitut lessons, and a traditional tent where women make *bannock* (fried bread) and skin seals. Roughly 20 people are employed for each 'cruise ship day' and are paid between \$40 and \$60 for their duties. Thus, cruise ships provide local people with immediate money and tourists are exposed to a sample of community life.

Residents surveyed about 'cruise ship days' note that "lots of carvings are sold in one day, they [tourists] get a tour, see some cultural activities." For tourists coming into the community by other means there are no such organized activities (other than meals for package tours) because of the unpredictability of their arrival and because they arrive in relatively small numbers compared to the cruise ship tourists.

To illustrate the impact of 'cruise ship days', the Co-op manager estimates that up to 45 large carvings can be sold in one day. This is significantly more than sales during a 'normal' week at peak tourist season

when maybe only a half a dozen carvings might be sold at best. Despite these sales, many tourists on the cruise believe they will see wall to wall carvings and are disappointed to find that this is not the case. This is also related to the aforementioned point regarding how carvers could be more prepared for tourists by stocking up on carvings.

Interactions between cruise ship tourists and residents beyond prepared activities appear to occur primarily through the local children who would meet visitors at the beach where tourists arrived. This contact seems generally to be pleasant and non-intrusive. The local people involved in organized tourism activities on these days seem happy to be participating and find tourists a form of entertainment. The tourists, on the other hand, appear pleased to be in Kimmirut, and enjoy the activities presented to them.

3.7.6 Katannilik Territorial Park

There are several issues that relate to tourism and/or tourists in Katannilik. These concern local resentment of outside outfitter package tours, tourist-local user conflicts, and community benefits from the park. In fact, these can be construed as interrelated since resentment towards outside outfitters influences the way *Kimmirumiut* feel about tourists in Katannilik. The most specific issue is that non-Kimmirut outfitters have begun to use the park for package tours, and in doing so, are taking business from local outfitters.

The EDO notes that the community feels it should be receiving the majority of economic benefits from the park. To not do so raises the question of why the park is there, especially as there are costs to local Inuit activities there. Kimmirut is supposed to have equal share in money earned from the park as it lies between Kimmirut and Iqaluit, but Iqaluit-based outfitters seem to be profiting disproportionately.

Because the park is one of the major attractions for tourists who come to Kimmirut, the role of Iqaluit outfitters is seen as detrimental to

larger local benefit. This especially relates to the length of tourist stay in Kimmirut after traversing the park. Also, cruise ship tourists do not visit the park. Including a park visit as part of the cruise package would mean the hiring of more local guides and thus greater economic benefits from the park. In trying to find answers to why the park is not benefiting Kimmirut economically, one resident thinks it is perhaps the fault of both the community and the tour operators.

According to the EDO, from mid-July to mid-August, tourists use Katannilik and the Soper River. Before and after this, Kimmirut Inuit use the area for berry picking, boating, skidooing, dog sledding and fishing. The mayor has described a number of tourist-local user conflicts surrounding Katannilik. Tourists on the Soper do not expect to see other people (meaning local people), but local people frequently use the land up river. He specifies a first hand account of one tourist who started an argument with him and his friends about this issue. The tourist was upset about the noise and the 4-wheeler (or ATV) tracks. The mayor admits that perhaps they were making a lot of noise at that time, but it still upset him that this tourist was angry with him being there. Accordingly, the EDO rightly mentions to tourists who do not agree with Inuit use of park land: "it's not park land that Inuit are allowed to use, it's Inuit land that *you're* allowed to use".

The issues of tourist versus local use and community economic benefits from Katannilik all relate to the way the local people see and feel the link between themselves and the park. If the economic benefits were greater, they might be more understanding of tourist use of this land. One of the ways in which this can occur is for tourists to spend more money in the community after visiting the park. The relationship can be construed as something of a vicious circle. However, with regard to Inuit land use rights, the Nunavut Land Claims Agreement is clear – *Kimmirumiut* have an uncontestable right to use the park and tourists are the ones who should be 'more understanding'.

One final issue surrounding the park relates to its maintenance and infrastructure. The structures in the park, such as its cabins, are adequate, but there is concern over a lack of clear guidelines laid out for both Inuit and visitors using the cabins. These concerns are relatively minor because the park is new and there are few tourists yet, but these should also be addressed before numbers increase. A local outfitter suggested a system that asks tourists when they come out of the park how the trail and cabins were. Generally, there seems to be a need for more communication and more information exchanged between the park users and its managers.

Local resentment against one outside outfitter does go further than the park user conflict. Seven people expressed a negative attitude toward one particular outside outfitter who was overheard telling tourists not to buy things in the community since it is cheaper in Iqaluit. Further, local guides were not used by the outfitter in the past, nor were homestays included in their itinerary, and their clients only stayed a few hours in Kimmirut (long enough to catch their charter). The Mayor believes that “the only answer to this dilemma is to take the business away from them by attracting tourists locally”. Fortunately, the outfitter has changed its activities and itineraries to favour Kimmirut. Local interpreters have started working on their tours through Katannilik, and homestays are now an option for their winter trips to Kimmirut. It will be interesting to learn if *Kimmirumiut* feel more economic benefit from Katannilik and feel more positively toward outside outfitters because of these changes.

CHAPTER 4: REGIONAL LEVEL ATTITUDES TOWARDS TOURISM

4.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter focuses on the second tier of the research: government and tourism industry perspectives on community and tourism in Kimmirut. Interviews were done with representatives of various government agencies, most especially the Department of Resources, Wildlife and Economic Development (RWED). This agency was formerly the Department of Economic Development and Tourism within the old GNWT regime.

Nunavut Tourism representatives were also interviewed in order to learn how their mandates affect tourism development in Kimmirut, and how their actions coincide with these mandates. Moreover, information gathered from other sources, such as representatives of Arctic College, Iqaluit hotels and the museum, are interspersed to help emphasize and illustrate some of the arguments discussed in interviews with government and tourism industry representatives.

4.2 GOVERNMENT

RWED has been very much involved in Kimmirut and in the development of Katannilik Territorial Park and is now responsible for managing parks and protected areas in Nunavut. RWED now works with *Nunavut Tourism* by involving itself in *Nunavut Tourism's* board of directors.

Regarding Katannilik, RWED's approach has been to seek community participation in the preparation and consultation surrounding tourism and the park's establishment in 1993-94. Kimmirut residents were initially very optimistic about both at the outset, but some opinions have changed now that reality has set in. Tourism and park operations have

gone into practice with issues regarding business opportunities and employment being brought to the surface.

Over the years there has been considerable outmigration from Kimmirut to Iqaluit as *Kimmirumiut* seek employment in the larger town. RWED believed tourism may provide one way of creating employment in Kimmirut an option, offering residents more opportunity to work there rather than moving to Iqaluit. However, RWED feels that the community's enthusiasm towards this initiative has declined over the last decade (D. Monteith, pers. comm. 1997), as social and especially economic expectations were higher than what has actually been experienced.

Regarding expected economic benefits for Kimmirut, even Iqaluit-based outfitters admit that Kimmirut was 'promised' that it would benefit from the establishment of Katannilik. In fact, tourist brochures advertising trips through Katannilik and a visit to Kimmirut promote homestays and 'traditional' dinners in the community. However, Iqaluit outfitters feel that there are not sufficient services to 'buy' in the community (McNair, pers. comm. 1997). Recently however, changes in package tour itineraries have increased their publicity and use of community homestays.

RWED is aware of the hostility *Kimmirumiut* feel regarding outside outfitters, but also understands that these companies do bring a considerable number of people into the community. However, conflicts remain, with one outfitter complaining of Inuit motor boats on the Soper River, although transports visitors into the middle of the park by airplane. The question of park usership conflicts extends beyond the matter of outfitters versus Inuit, but this will be discussed more later.

Other than such negative reactions to outside outfitters by Kimmirut residents, some tourism outfitters, usually from the 'south', have been more successful in working with the community. In fact, RWED sees increasing understanding between outside operators and the community. For example, in 1998, more local people were hired as interpreters and guides by outside outfitters. Therefore, the possibility remains that the

community will yet see the economic and social benefits it was initially promised.

Whereas many local people would like to see more tourists and more economic benefits from tourism, RWED believes that the tourist flows to Kimmirut are presently sufficient. This view is based on the department's opinion that the community is now at its capacity for housing and servicing tourists.

The Kimmirut experience is seen by RWED as providing some insight into the larger issue of how Nunavut will manage tourism in the future. Product and marketing responsibilities have now gone to *Nunavut Tourism*, with RWED providing some one million dollars from the former Government of the Northwest Territories (GNWT) Department of Economic Development and Tourism (ED&T) for product development, research and marketing. Other changes brought about by 'Nunavut' include acknowledging the separation between the eastern and western Arctic, while at the same time distinguishing between three diverse regions of Nunavut (Baffin to the east, Kitikmeot to the west, Keewatin in the centre). It also means relying more on privatizing and partnerships.

Moreover, as private money is entering the 'Nunavut' tourism equation (i.e. from the WWF), it is felt that government is no longer the proper vehicle for tourism development. In philosophical and practical terms, this means that 'Nunavut' has chosen to restructure the tourism industry by moving the control and operation from public to private hands.

4.3 NUNAVUT TOURISM

As mentioned, *Nunavut Tourism* is now the organization in charge of tourism products and development, a role that was previously undertaken by the GNWT department of ED&T. Interviews with representatives of *Nunavut Tourism* indicate the present and, especially, the future of tourism in Nunavut.

Previous studies (for example, Nickels *et al.* 1991; Grekin 1994) relied on ED&T for regional information on tourism to Baffin. Since the change over to *Nunavut Tourism*, key interviews for this research were done with Cheri Kemp-Kinnear, *Nunavut Tourism's* executive officer, and Greg Logan, the Product Development Coordinator for the Baffin Region. Information was also received from Paul Landry, the board representative for adventure tourism (see the Community-Economic Development Conference discussion below).

Both government and the private sector fund *Nunavut Tourism*. It functions through a Board of Directors on which there are 6 elected industry representatives, representing fishing, hunting, ecotourism, adventure tourism, accommodations, and airline), 1 RWED representative, 1 from Nunavut Tungavik Incorporated (NTI) and 3 elected tour operators (1 from each region of Nunavut). See Appendix 4 for more information pertaining to *Nunavut Tourism's* structure and mandate. The board teleconferences every month and the industry representatives then disseminate board information to their sector members. There is no direct community representation on the board.

The Product Development Coordinator (G. Logan, pers. comm. 1997) of *Nunavut Tourism* believes that, because the majority of the Board of Directors is from the tourism industry, the board better understands what the industry needs than was the case under the GNWT. However, the publisher of *Nunatsiaq News* (S. Roberts, pers. comm. 1997) is concerned that tourism in the region is under-funded and criticizes the GNWT for not having turned over all the pertinent information that they should have to from ED&T to *Nunavut Tourism*.

4.3.1 Foci of *Nunavut Tourism*

Nunavut Tourism's prime responsibility at this time is tourism product development and marketing (see Appendix 4). Unfortunately, its marketing budget is only \$500,000 per year, in a total budget of only \$1.5

million. By way of contrast, Greenland presently allocates \$6.2 million to their tourism industry. Several years ago, Baffin was considered to be ahead of Greenland in terms of tourism development, but now it appears positions have been reversed (C. Kinnear, pers. comm. 1997). *Nunavut Tourism* is now trying to work more closely with Greenland through the Vest Norden Travel Mart hosted in Nuuk, and is striving to achieve an industry that is comparable.

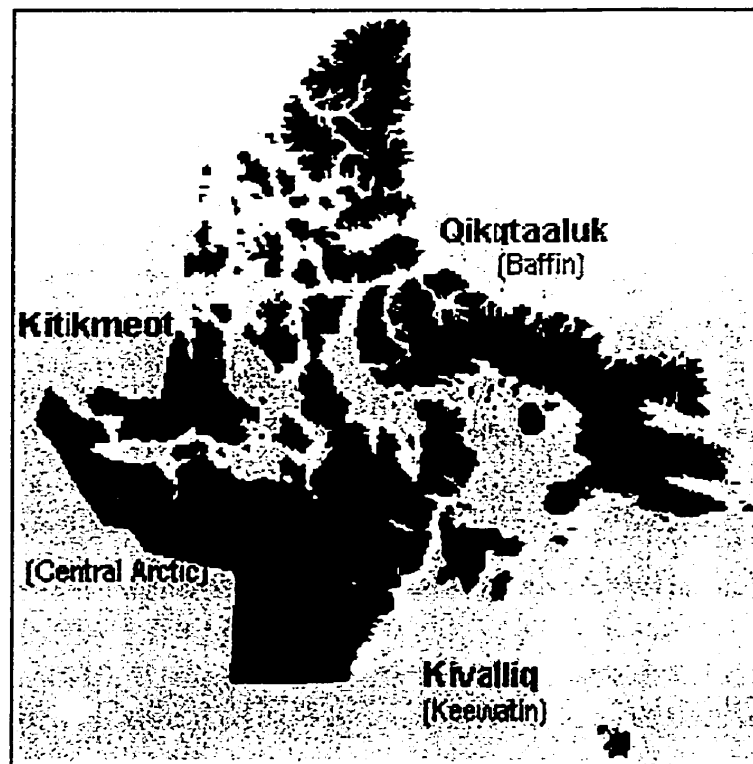
Nunavut Tourism's current mandate is to increase tourism numbers to Nunavut². Since *Nunavut Tourism* must now handle all marketing and product development with a limited budget, the real problem lies in the fact that there is little money left over for research and training initiatives. RWED has suggested that *Nunavut Tourism* looks for funding from external sources, such as Parks Canada, the WWF and university research, and is concerned that there is too much attention paid to marketing and not enough to development and research.

Another obstacle for *Nunavut Tourism* to overcome is that the three regions of Nunavut must be dealt with together (see Figure 4.1), whereas previously they were under separate regional government tourism offices. In terms of its budget, marketing is now difficult due to the differences in activities, landscapes, and thus, tourism products in the three regions. In fact, *Nunavut Tourism* (C. Kinnear, pers. comm. 1997) argues that there are really four distinct areas: the Hudson's Bay coast, the High Arctic, and North and South Baffin. *Nunavut Tourism* must divide and differentiate its marketing and limited research and development efforts, while also trying to give some overall profile for Nunavut.

Out of concern for Inuit culture and lifestyle and how these can benefit from tourism, one of the core themes in *Nunavut Tourism's* development plan is how to more effectively link arts and crafts and country food to the tourism industry. In this way, aspects of Inuit culture

² According to P. Landry on behalf of *Nunavut Tourism* at the Community Economic Development Conference in Iqaluit, November 1997.

can better derive economic benefits associated with tourism. Appropriate employment for community residents is one such benefit.



Modified from www.theodora.com/maps

Figure 4.1 The Three Regions of Nunavut

4.3.2 Product Development

According to *Nunavut Tourism*, the product development coordinator in Baffin must, first and foremost, develop marketable tourism products. This requires having a good knowledge of the communities. This familiarization has begun with Pond Inlet, Broughton Island, Kimmirut and Iqaluit since they are thought to have the most potential after Pangnirtung, which already has established and successful tourism activities. In these communities, the main effort is on developing 1) a general product standard; 2) appropriate allied businesses; and 3) funding and training support.

Nunavut Tourism's Product Development Coordinator (PDC) defines his main role at present as “develop[ing] tourism products with local outfitters and HTAs” (G. Logan, pers. comm. 1997). He works closely

with *Nunavut Tourism's* marketing director, emphasizing which products will "sell". He also assists those starting new tourism businesses, and works with funding bodies to make it easier for outfitters and small businesses to get money. Finally, he assists in the training process associated with specific aspects of tourism: small business management, sea kayaking, extending an outfitter's tourist season and business aspects of operations.

The PDC effectively links *Nunavut Tourism* to local reality through visits to the communities in order to become familiar with local entrepreneurs and outfitters. It is hoped that local people may increase tourism-related entrepreneurship as a result of these visits. Thus, he may bridge the gap between incipient community initiatives and aspirations with tourism product development.

The product development process (see Figure 4.2) begins with program initiatives that usually come from already licensed outfitters. At present, for the PDC to assist with funding, an initiator must be a licensed outfitter. RWED has retained the authority of granting these licenses, but *Nunavut Tourism* feels that it should do this in order to make the product development process smoother. If the type of operation does not involve outfitting, such as starting a carving studio as a tourist establishment, the initiator must be a member of *Nunavut Tourism*.

The first step in the product development process is either to become a licensed outfitter or a member of *Nunavut Tourism*. The second involves examining the project proposal by the PDC to assess its feasibility. If it is, the PDC will seek funding from either Qakivak Inuit Association (QIA) or Qikitaaluk Corporation, or another funding agency. Part of the community EDO's job is to help local people access money and to confer with the Product Development Coordinator. In the case of Kimmirut, this relationship between *Nunavut Tourism* and local EDO is not well established.

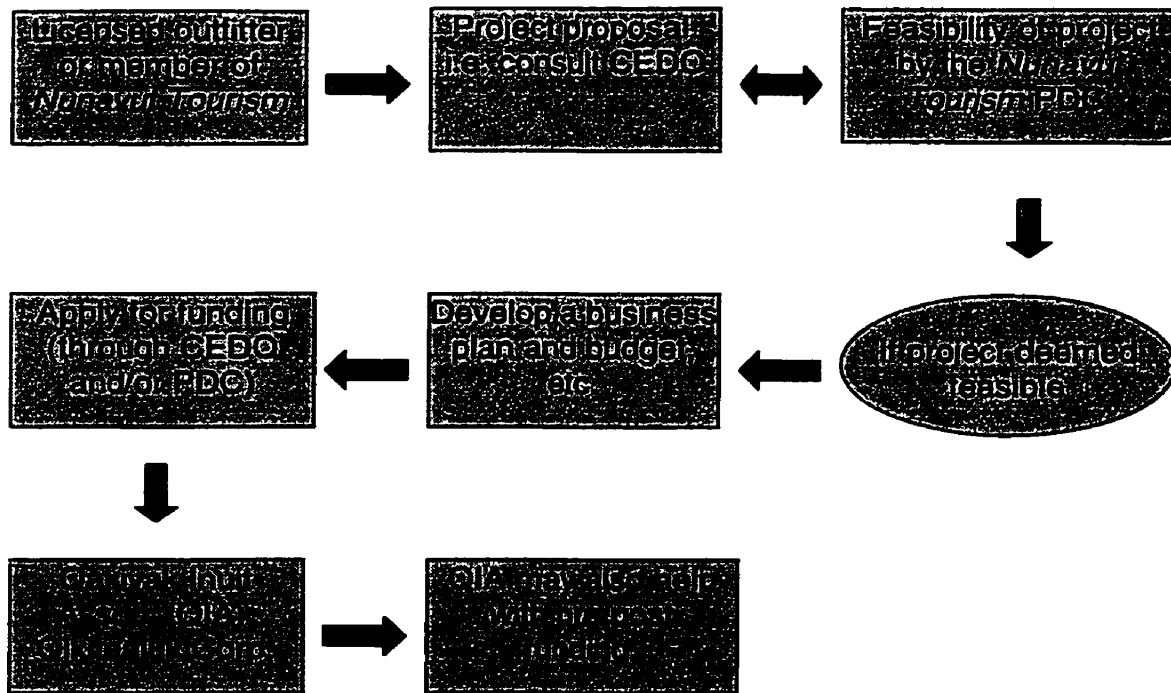


Figure 4.2 The Tourism Product Development Process

The third step is for the outfitter to develop a business plan that involves a budget, pricing that is competitive and feasible, and costs that meet demand. Different funding agencies are chosen depending on the size of the business venture. In addition to monetary support, QIA offers assistance with the business 'infrastructure' needed to run a business, such as budgeting and management.

To some *Kimmirumiut* spoken to, there is the perception that this type of support is lacking, presenting a major obstacle to local tourism initiatives. That this is the case could be because the local EDO is unfamiliar with the funding and business 'infrastructure' support that exists, or that this information does not reach residents. Thus, a gap may exist between 1) the EDO and Product Development Coordinator and *Nunavut Tourism*, and 2) between local people and the EDO. The Product Development Coordinator's community visits are meant to ameliorate this problem.

4.3.3 Community-Based Tourism

Nunavut Tourism is attempting to develop 'market-based', rather than 'community-based', tourism. According to Kinnear (pers. comm. 1997), the community-based tourism initiatives of the past had a worthwhile focus and *Nunavut Tourism* continues to bring economic development to communities through tourism. But the products to be developed must be those that will create a demand that can be marketed effectively. To *Nunavut Tourism*, this approach takes the principles of community-based tourism and brings them into the "real world".

In addition, Kinnear presents another point of view on community-based versus market-based tourism. When discussing if and how the basic needs of Kimmirut, or communities in general, are taken into consideration by *Nunavut Tourism's* mandates and actions, she notes that, in terms of community *needs* regarding tourism, "what the community wants the community gets". As well, *Nunavut Tourism* bases its approach on what the *visitor* wants, rather than what the community wants, therefore favoring demand versus supply. Tourist needs have to be met first; thus products proposed by communities that are not deemed marketable are not considered. But if the community does not agree with a tourism development proposal, then, if there cannot be a compromise, an initiative is rejected.

Instead, *Nunavut Tourism* is focusing on the tourist and what is marketable. Essentially, "if it won't sell, *Nunavut Tourism* won't market it" (Kinnear, pers. comm. 1997). Because of this, the tourism industry under *Nunavut Tourism* has moved away from the 'development-based' approach to tourism taken by GNWT's previous community-based tourism strategy. The implications of this will be discussed in the last chapter. But loosely, it may be said that a development orientation only comes after a sustainable demand is achieved.

Where the concept of 'community-based' tourism is actually applied is that once marketable tourism products are developed in communities,

local control takes over. *Nunavut Tourism*, and Kinnear specifically, are interested in indigenous initiatives in developing locally controlled tourism that also meets market demands. It is clear then, that Kinnear believes “community-based tourism” still exists, but with a market reality.

In this context, cruise ship arrivals in Kimmirut and the issue of having to pay local people to participate in activities for tourists rather than having them volunteer were discussed. Regarding this, Kinnear believes that cruise ship companies should not expect activities when they come ashore, and that local people should not feel they have to volunteer in these activities. Moreover, there has to be money left in the community by the cruise ship company, and there has to be advanced planning for carvers.

These attitudes towards community-based versus market-based tourism development are important with regard to the future of tourism in communities like Kimmirut. Perhaps the community-based development approach of the former GNWT was seen as insufficient or unworkable, thus inspiring *Nunavut Tourism* to adopt a more market-based approach as a compromise between the community versus market development approaches. On the other hand, this compromise might further push the development of tourism products in communities into the hands of the ‘south’ and out of the control of communities.

4.3.4 Regarding Katannilik Territorial Park

Nunavut Tourism representatives also mentioned that Kimmirut was very involved in tourism and park planning, and that a community with a small population like Kimmirut’s allows many people to be heard and their role acknowledged. This is precisely what one would expect from a small community, but of those people interviewed in Kimmirut most indicated that they did not attend tourism or park planning meetings. Moreover, as already mentioned, there seems to be a lack of communication within local committees and organizations, i.e. between

the MHTA officer and its board members, and between the organizations and the community at large. So while it is assumed by *Nunavut Tourism* and perhaps, by government, that because communities are small and that effective communication is a given, this may not actually be the case. Moreover, this assumption may cause issues to go unresolved while *Nunavut Tourism* and RWED believe everything is running smoothly.

Since many residents use the park land, community involvement in Katannilik's planning and management is essential to a convergent compromise between local and tourists use. Also, Kinnear believes that the number of visitors to the park cannot be capped without doing the same to the number of residents who use the land. Perhaps, this most typifies the demand-side perspective of *Nunavut Tourism* and depreciates that the land 'belongs' to the local people.

Kinnear did indicate, however, that a limit to tourist numbers in the park should be based on the number of residents using the land. This would prove to be difficult however, since local people use the land differently depending on the season. Moreover, the issue of 'carrying capacity' for the park and capping visitor numbers based on local presence precludes discussion of local use as a right versus tourist use as privilege.

Nunavut Tourism feels that greater connectedness between tourist activities in Katannilik, outfitters and community stay/activities needs to occur. In this way, *Nunavut Tourism* is in accord with the majority of people interviewed in Kimmirut regarding the problem that those who come through Katannilik spend little time in the community.

4.3.5 Sports Hunting

Sports hunting was discussed in terms of its potential economic benefit to Kimmirut. *Nunavut Tourism* does not promote this activity any more than other tourism products. Further, *Nunavut Tourism* recognizes that sports hunting brings significant benefits to some Nunavut

communities and regions, most notably in the Kitikmeot region, and may be equivalent to other tourism products in Baffin. In general, the tag fees paid by sports hunters go to community HTAs and run, at the minimum, between \$3000 and \$4000. The local HTA can then use the money as it sees fit. Further, all sports hunts require Inuit guides and these fees are approximately \$150 per day, with the average trip lasting 7 days to 3 weeks. This *per diem* is at least equivalent to hosting other tourist activities such as boat rides and homestays.

Nunavut Tourism does not see any difference in the benefits offered by sports hunting versus other tourism activities, except that the resource depletion associated with hunting is carefully monitored (C. Kinnear, pers. comm. 1997). Moreover, since hunting activities have occurred in the region for centuries, they provide a well-established form of tourism and guides need little or no training. In other words, sports hunting may offer a lucrative tourism activity that fits more closely with local lifestyles and community norms. One obstacle to sports hunting however, occurs because local HTA boards change every year, resulting in a lack of consistency in supporting, planning and pricing the sports hunts. According to Kimmirut's EDO and MHTA, this is a problem in the community.

Generally, polar bear hunts bring in more economic benefits to communities than caribou hunts. There are less caribou sports hunts in Baffin than in northern Quebec, likely due to higher costs associated with flying to Nunavut. The main problem is that southern outfitters take high portions of the sports hunt costs. Interviews with an Iqaluit guide and RWED suggest the desire to have more northern controlled sports hunts to offset the lost money and control when the sports hunter comes through a southern outfitter (Bourgouin 1999). This is one area where more definitive research needs to be undertaken since no reliable figures on sports hunting exist in Nunavut.

4.4 THE NEW 'TOURISM AUTHORITY'

RWED and *Nunavut Tourism* have worked together to study the idea of starting a 'Tourism Authority'. As a part of this discussion, there is the possibility that *Nunavut Tourism* will become a private/public sector organization that will encompass not only marketing and product development, but also current government activities like visitor centres and training (Imrie, pers. comm. 1997). A GNWT-private sector-*Nunavut Tourism* task force will examine various formulae for such an Authority.

It is likely that *Nunavut Tourism* will keep its name and current functions. The 'tourism authority' models of private/public sector interaction to be explored are 1) Saskatchewan's private sector model; 2) Greenland's public sector approach (M. Imrie, pers. comm. 1997). The latter is especially worth consideration as it provides both Inuit and Arctic perspectives, although Greenland relies on heavy government planning involvement and funding. Saskatchewan however, established the first industry-driven tourism authority, allowing operators and tourism regions to take direct responsibility for the province's industry (Sask. E&CD 1999). Therefore, *Nunavut Tourism*, under the Saskatchewan-type model, would be an "independent corporation operating at arm's length from government" (*ibid.*). Ultimately, a Nunavut 'Tourism Authority' is expected to have as much leverage as government and would require teamwork and partnership, characteristics which are believed to be fundamental to Nunavut (D. Monteith, pers. comm. 1997).

After the joint task force is completed, creation of the Authority will require legislation by the Nunavut government. The Authority would have to have a solid private/public funding base so that it can develop ongoing programs without reliance on government subsidies. The private sector is particularly vital as funding cuts are anticipated in the public sector.

In the task force research, a 'community approach' has been taken in developing a plan for the Authority. In it, there is a belief that community consent and partnership are key to making the Authority work since the

communities will be at the forefront of the tourism industry – as hosts and as beneficiaries (M. Imrie, pers. comm. 1997). The ideas and conclusions of the task force were developed from consultations with HTAs and community leaders. While there is an understanding of the role for government in tourism development – specifically through community EDOs as primary points of contact with local people – the report also concludes that the private sector may be better capable of managing the tourism industry (*ibid.*).

Imrie sees tourism as compatible with Inuit culture and economic development. However, she also sees a decline in arts and crafts production in favor of employment through ‘non-traditional’ work. There should, therefore, be more ‘holistic’ thinking in government to encourage arts and crafts and similar economic activity to build self-esteem, encourage culture, and make these types of activities acceptable and worthwhile. This would also create vital links between tourism and other sectors.

In Imrie’s view, the Authority, once created, should emphasize product development and tourism education and training. Regarding training, it should be ongoing, not limited to “one-time” efforts, and should be supported by Nunavut land claim money. Business development and community-based tourism remain core to the future development of tourism to the region. Country foods are also an important area to develop, perhaps through hotel use of local food. Finally, Imrie feels that tourism has great potential in Nunavut “if there is a realization that tourists are high-end, experienced travelers who demand quality”.

It seems that RWED is in agreement with Imrie's beliefs, but that *Nunavut Tourism* is slightly opposed. This opposition could be due to the fact that task force report concurs that tourism is part of a community-based development process; a view not presently espoused by *Nunavut Tourism*. In Imrie's view, communities should not be “marketed”, but should understand the negatives and positives of tourism activities as a

requisite to community commitment and support. In essence therefore, “community-based” development should be the watchword of the Authority.

4.5 INTERNET

The Internet is seen by some *Kimmirumiut* as the most interesting way to increase direct tourist flows to the community. *Nunavut Tourism* also believes the Internet has a role to play as an important marketing tool for the region. In some cases, such as with the Nunavut Guidebook site³, Internet-use has lived up to its expectations.

Nunanet is the main server in the region, providing an efficient means of communication among northern communities and to the south. While initiated as an e-mail link, it has emerged as a powerful communications and marketing tool for businesses in the region (M. Mason, pers. comm. 1997).

'Official' Nunavut organizations are currently *Nunanet's* main clients. They are keen to use the technology to spread the word about the new political structures and changes in the region and what these mean to Inuit. But tourism webpages have become prevalent and this is a growing area. *Nunavut Tourism* and community businesses, such as the Pond Inlet Co-op Hotel and the Cape Dorset Gallery, now have their own webpages. However, few carvers or outfitters have moved onto the Internet. With the impressive *Nunavut Tourism* website, however, community links are easily accessible. Through the Kimmirut site⁴, for example, a person can then link to a tourism business page, a local carver's page, and the Parks Canada page on Katannilik⁵. MHTA especially hopes to draw tourists directly into the community through use of its page and these sites provide the basic information needed for a

³ <http://www.arctic-travel.com>. This site has received over 66,000 hits as of February 1999.

⁴ www.arctic-travel.com/kimpage.html, also www.arctic-travel.com/kimmirut/index.html for links

⁵ www.nunavutparks.com/katannilik.html, also www.arctic-travel.com/katparkpage.html

tourist to contact the MHTA or Kimik Co-op. It is too early to tell if the MHTA site has brought benefits.

E-mail is thought to be a good avenue for potential tourists to make direct inquiries and reservations. Likewise, tourism businesses of any kind can learn how many people have expressed interest by accessing their website. For example, Kimmirut's EDO can access all the pertinent Kimmirut pages and receive e-mail inquiries from potential tourists. In this way, the popularity and effectiveness of the sites is learned. Moreover, while few of Kimmirut's tourism committee members understand the Internet, they are willing to invest in the creation of a website to promote tourism to the community.

4.6 CHANGES SINCE NUNAVUT

Since *Nunavut Tourism* has taken over the majority of tourism responsibilities from ED&T, its Product Development Coordinator feels that the whole restructuring process, including his role, is still evolving in a 'learn as you go' experience. The former Manager of Trade & Investment at RWED, seconds this (M. Bloor, pers. comm. 1997). He is also of the opinion, however, that there is neither the time nor the money to have this degree of experimentation taking place.

In terms of institutional changes, Bloor explains that with the GNWT, there used to be eight Economic Development Officers (EDOs) in Baffin, now Kimmirut has the only one remaining. Regarding *Nunavut Tourism*, he too believes that their focus is moving away from community development and toward a marketing focus.

As a result of the Nunavut Agreement, there is land claims money that can and should be tapped for various aspects of tourism, such as education and training. Moreover, Inuit organizations are willing to facilitate industry development. In this regard, the Baffin regional arm of Nunavut Tungavik Inc., the Qikitani Inuit Association (QIA), has a non-profit branch, Kakivak Association, in place for business development. It

profit branch, Kakivak Association, in place for business development. It operates under a federal funding program of \$3,000,000 per year and supports Arctic College programs on tourism and guiding (S. Morse, pers. comm. 1997). It also gives grants and loans to small businesses. This one of the prime organizations that *Nunavut Tourism* looks to for funding.

Others in the tourism industry feel optimistic about the direction of changes under Nunavut. The boom in Iqaluit construction, because of its status as Nunavut's capital, will also bolster the town's (and region's) media profile. To many entrepreneurs, this can only be a positive influence on tourism (S. LaChapelle, pers. comm. 1997).

Another positive change anticipated under Nunavut is that a new heritage section of the Nunavut government will be created. There is a belief that the Nunavut government will greatly contribute to heritage preservation in the region, but the basic operational funding for this may be difficult to find. Tourism is seen as a way to fund these activities (D. Komangapik, pers. comm. 1997).

4.6.1 Inuit hiring

Nunavut Tourism's executive director believes that there is a desire by the industry to hire Inuit, but there is a lack of experience among hirees. There appears, however, to be some reticence in the private sector to so invest, therefore perpetuating the need to hire 'southerners'. In fact, a Nunavut Implementation Training Committee study on how to get Nunavut management up and running concluded that Inuit management in Nunavut would not occur by 1999, the birth of Nunavut. It is presently estimated that half of the new Territory's bureaucracy is in place (Canadian Press 1999).

One Iqaluit businessman notes that training Inuit to occupy upper-echelon positions is vital (H. Timar, pers. comm. 1997), if only as a political reality. Article 24 of the Nunavut Land Claims Agreement indicates that both the federal and territorial governments "shall provide

reasonable support and assistance to Inuit firms ... to enable them to compete for government contracts" (DIAND and TFN 1993, 24.2.1:198). Toward the goal of boosting the competitiveness of Inuit firms, Article 24's policy objectives include:

- employment of Inuit at a representative level in the Nunavut Settlement Area work force (24.3.6:199)
- increased access by Inuit to on-the-job training, apprenticeship, skill development, upgrading, and other job related programs (24.3.7 (a):199)
- greater opportunities for Inuit to receive training and experience to successfully create, operate and manage Northern business (24.3.7 (b):199).

How this will affect the tourism industry in areas such as hotel staffing, is yet to be seen, but the Article applies these policies to 'contracts for the supply of services'. Whether or not this includes tourism services remains unclear. However, some are concerned as to how this will affect the hotel business. Unless ownership and employment drastically change to include more Inuit, some businesses may be disadvantaged when competing for government business. This discussion presents some of the issues that may eventually face Kimmirut. Hiring Inuit in is less problematic in Kimmirut, however, since its population is 95% Inuit, relative to 65% Inuit in Iqaluit. Moreover, a 'centre-periphery' problem may arise if Iqaluit begins hiring more Inuit, resulting in more outmigration of *Kimmirumiut* to the capital.

4.7 CED AND TOURISM – A CONFERENCE

In November 1997, a conference on community-economic development in the Baffin region was held in Iqaluit. Its aim was to restructure community-economic development initiatives and to inspire development enterprise *from* the communities. Moreover, the conference gave beneficial information to help communities develop according to their needs.

Although 'Nunavut' did not directly prompt the conference, because of the political changes the Nunavut Agreement represented, it offers an opportunity for restructuring and for revitalizing community-economic development. The question, therefore, was how could the communities capitalize on these opportunities.

Roughly forty representatives from Baffin Region communities participated, most were Hamlet government Senior Administrative Officers (SAO) and Community Economic Development Officers (CEDO). The participants and facilitators focussed on two objectives. First, to review the community-economic development process and how it applies to Baffin communities in anticipation of improving it. Second, to select two communities as pilot project sites so that all Baffin communities might benefit from their experiences.

Presentations at the conference came from RWED, *Nunavut Tourism*, Education Culture and Employment (ECE), Baffin Business Development Centre (BBDC), and Nunavut Tungavik Inc. (NTI). The talks centred on giving the communities tools for use in community-economic development planning, including sources of funding and training, economic indicators and entrepreneurship suggestions.

Nunavut Tourism advised the communities that they are "sitting on a gold mine" regarding tourism in the Baffin. To tap into this, however, requires promoting the region's cultural and natural attractions, as well as its hotels, homestays and airline services, in order to show that the infrastructure to support a successful tourism industry exists. Consequently, there is opportunity for tourism employment in *all* Baffin communities: small, big, remote and central.

Moreover, communities were encouraged to think about tourism development since *Nunavut Tourism* has responsibility for advertising and organizing "birth of Nunavut" celebrations in 1999. In this way, communities can benefit from the event by highlighting their tourism

products. It is anticipated that many tourists will visit at this time, and communities should take full advantage.

After promoting tourism as a source of economic development, *Nunavut Tourism's* representative discussed the logistics of developing tourism related ideas (see also section 4.3.2). Essentially, the germ of a tourism-related idea goes first to the local Community Economic Development Officer (CEDO) to evaluate its feasibility. Then the organization and the CEDO contact *Nunavut Tourism* and apply for funding.

After the government and funding agency information sessions, each community presented its case as to why it should be chosen as a pilot community and what potential exists to encourage community-economic development. From these presentations arose several interesting issues regarding tourism's role in community development. Of most pertinence, ten of the twelve communities mentioned tourism as part of their community-economic development vision, and nine placed tourism towards the top of their list of potential community-economic development ideas. This clearly indicates that the majority of Baffin communities consider tourism to be an important means of community-economic development and see it as fitting into their development plans.

These ten communities consider tourism as an important potential catalyst to community-economic development. In terms of the types of tourism products available among the ten, carving was most often mentioned; four said that carving is a primary draw for tourists, or could be developed for this purpose. Other activities worthy of attracting tourism growth identified by more than one community include: archaeological sites, dogsledding, floe edge, parks and wildlife sanctuaries, hiking, visitor centres, cruise ships, hotels, and wildlife.

In addition to existing or desired tourism attractions, communities described social reasons for including tourism in their community economic development vision. Youth training, opportunity for community

involvement and that “tourism employs many people” were each noted as ways that tourism could socio-economically benefit communities. The need for local outfitters to take control of and help with tourism business infrastructure was also mentioned as a way to improve the industry.

The representative from Grise Fiord said that “If tourism is properly planned (i.e. sightseeing, wildlife, overnight stays, dogteam/skidoo trips, ecotourism), it could be one of the main sources of revenue.” This comment sums up many of the themes identified at the conference. The opinion that tourism should be appropriately planned was central and that overnight stays in communities should be emphasized. As we have seen, this is a major concern noted by local residents of Kimmirut.

Of special interest was the presentation by the Kimmirut's Economic Development Officer during the community presentations. He indicated that Kimmirut's proximity to Iqaluit entices *Kimmirumiut* to move to Iqaluit for work, but also allows them to be relatively close to home. Moreover, since Kimmirut has a population of less than 1000, it will receive no direct spin-offs from the Nunavut government decentralization. Therefore, tourism is seen as one of the main avenues of creating more jobs and keeping people in Kimmirut at the same time.

The EDO believes that once Nunavut is functioning, Kimmirut will be poised to become a 'hospitality centre' for the capital. Because of its proximity to Iqaluit, its 'non-city' setting and its microclimate, the community could provide an excellent setting for conferences. If this is the case, the community could benefit socially and economically by hosting conferences. Improved infrastructure for this purpose cannot help but positively affect tourism development.

One of the things stressed at the conference as essential for community economic development was local volunteerism. In fact, in the first newsletter update after the conference, volunteerism was stressed as a “critical success factor in community economic development”. However, as many communities identified high unemployment as one of the reasons

they need economic development, this condition clearly negatively affects volunteering.

It is clear from the Kimmirut case study that volunteerism may not be an effective way of using local resources. The EDO often tries to recruit volunteers for cruise ship activities. With a relatively short history of wage earning, job scarcity and the present cost of living so high, most local people find volunteering difficult. Moreover, the EDO is of the opinion that many people do not yet see the economic benefits afforded to them by tourism, and that volunteerism will pay off later.

Two newsletters have appeared detailing the experiences of the pilot communities, Clyde River and Pond Inlet. In each, local steering committees were formed to oversee the projects and evaluate their local benefits. Clyde River decided to establish a community-owned and operated development corporation to enable local people to come together with a common purpose. Similarly, Pond Inlet decided to form a type of Chamber of Commerce to facilitate stakeholder participation in implementing the community's economic development plan. Both communities recognized tourism as one of the prime sectors for development. Consequently, Pond Inlet now plans to extend its existing airstrip to accommodate jet service, develop more tours for southern visitors and build a larger hotel.

Pond Inlet residents indicated a need for business development and management support since many residents have many business development ideas but acknowledge the need for assistance in their development and operation. This is very similar to the situation that presently exists in Kimmirut. The implications of how the community's economic development plan addresses these issues will provide some guidelines for Kimmirut to follow in the future.

The newsletters state that despite general optimism, the communities agree on three obstacles to economic development which must be overcome if communities are to reach their vision for the future:

lack of local organization and volunteerism; lack of resident training; and lack of effective and efficient sectoral strategies. The tourism sector strategies for growth in both communities were similar. Residents decided that the development of quality tourism products and services with strong market demand are optimal, as is extending the tourism season by offering: ecotourism (whale or bird watching); soft adventure (kayaking, dog sledding); adventure (climbing, heli-skiing); aboriginal and historic (traditional Inuit camps); and more sports hunting.

The proceeding details of the community economic development conference and how the two pilot project communities are incorporating the strategies offered by the conference shed light on the situation in Baffin generally. The parallels between the pilot communities and Kimmirut are significant and their experiences allude to what should occur in Kimmirut. That is if their progress reports are accessible to all communities and if local interest exists.

CHAPTER 5: CONCLUSIONS

5.1 INTRODUCTION

As this thesis involves research at both the community level and at the regional level with the Nunavut government and tourism industry, the following discussion reflects both these scales and how they interact. At the community level, I review how local people feel about 'Nunavut' and what it means for community empowerment and tourism development. People's basic needs and how they relate to tourism development are also discussed. Tourism planning for the community done before the Nunavut Agreement is then compared to the present situation.

The regional level conclusions discuss *Nunavut Tourism's* marketing policies and product development. Of marked importance are the gaps in communication between local people, the local EDO, government and tourism industry are presented. Finally, some important opportunities and challenges facing tourism in Nunavut are presented.

5.2 NUNAVUT AND COMMUNITY EMPOWERMENT: IMPLICATIONS FOR TOURISM

One of the main objectives of the research was to learn if and how the ideology of control associated with 'Nunavut', that is *de facto* Inuit majority and Inuit ownership, has (and will) be reflected in the aspirations of *Kimmirumiut* regarding tourism in their community. While this objective was explored in community interviews, the data reveal a general lack of interest in the topic. This suggests that either the objective is premature, or that local people are more concerned with their immediate needs rather than abstract political ideologies.

When residents were asked what they thought about Nunavut, changes in community empowerment and ultimately, how these might relate to tourism and community-based tourism development, only three people volunteered positive reactions towards the Nunavut Agreement.

One commented that 'Nunavut' is a way for Inuit and indigenous rights to move forward. Moreover, because the Nunavut land claim is new and unprecedented in terms of indigenous self-government within Canada, there is no established protocol for relating it to immediate problems. RWED representatives also admitted to this uncertainty. Consequently, it is difficult to say what will evolve in two, five or ten years. For this reason, studies done now are advantageous in that they may facilitate, through the provision of baseline information, this evolution.

Five people admitted to having no real interest in Nunavut, or this line of questioning. Most of them found 'Nunavut' confusing or "too political". This suggests that for some Inuit, daily life is of more concern than politics or even tourism. When questioned about community control, three of those with stronger opinions felt there had been no change since Nunavut in terms of community empowerment. In counterpoint, seven people stated the opposite, perceiving real changes due to 'Nunavut'.

One insight interrelates Nunavut, empowerment, and the tourism industry. More training and job opportunities are outcomes of the establishment of Nunavut and the tourism industry will likely benefit from these. A more cautious comment indicates that after 1999, "when Nunavut is better established", communities will have more control over tourism development and conditions in general. Further, 'Nunavut' can change things in that more Inuit will be involved in *all* aspects of the territory. Therefore, communities should gain power, and more Inuit will therefore be involved in "the evolving wheel of tourism" (Kimmirut resident, pers. comm. 1997).

Some comments reflect opinions more centred on community empowerment, such as the need for local people to take initiative. One person stated that Nunavut does and will continue to provide employment opportunities to Inuit, but it is the *people* who require the initiative to seek them out. In addition, the local Co-op is the best avenue for the community to voice opinions about tourism. Since the Co-op is

community-owned, it has community backing for tourism-related issues then the government would be more likely to listen.

The process of government-community consultations has improved with Nunavut's creation. There is faith that Nunavut will do more for Inuit and communities, who will then have increasingly more clout. Some residents feel that they hear about issues sooner than they did in the past, when often, they were the last to learn about some government action. Likewise, if residents are opposed to something, the government is more apt to listen than in the past. In sum, it is thought that the government is listening more, and is distributing more information more efficiently.

Regarding decentralization and its effects on larger communities, the mayor is glad that there will be no spin-offs of decentralization in Kimmirut⁶. It would change the community feeling too much. This was corroborated by at least one community member spoken with. But they probably will get some benefits such as conferences and more Iqaluit tourists. He expects to see more tourists because Kimmirut is so close to Iqaluit, and expects more tourists from Iqaluit, and maybe more in winter. These examples are indications that Nunavut's creation will indirectly affect tourism, perhaps by increasing it.

Interestingly, a recent situation involving the renegotiations of the land occupied by Katannilik Territorial Park sheds some light on bureaucratic processes and the supposed increase in community involvement and consultation. There was fear that the park might close in order to use the land for mining, and that this may be done by the Designated Inuit Organization (DIO) without community consent. This situation reveals that Nunavut may not bring as many opportunities for community empowerment as believed. In addition, such actions taken by DIOs may reflect a mode of functioning which is (unfortunately) similar to the previous NWT government.

⁶ Communities with populations over 1000 will benefit from decentralization (B. Rose, pers. comm. 1997)

5.3 THE COMMUNITY LEVEL

It is evident from the case study of Kimmirut, that many people in the community still focus their energies on their immediate needs. Earning a living, feeding their children, and seeing them get through school preoccupy the lives of many of the residents in Kimmirut. So much so that, as previously mentioned, tourism and the Nunavut Land Claims Agreement are regarded by some as superfluous activities.

It is difficult to separate many of the issues facing Kimmirut. As a prime example, basic needs could be increasingly met by tourism if tourists stayed longer in the community. For this to happen, the community requires more control over the tourism industry so that they may encourage tourists to come directly to Kimmirut, thus taking some of the monopoly away from Iqaluit and southern-based tour operators. This discussion illustrates some of the suggestions given by residents of Kimmirut on how to overcome these challenges.

One reason why basic needs are not now being met by tourism is the short term type of planning conducted by the community tourism committee (M. Bloor, pers. comm. 1997). Kimmirut, like other communities lacks a sense of long-term planning, making any progression of development difficult. Committee membership changes every year, with each successive committee, priorities change; thus, one year there is interest in the park, the next year it is business development, and so on. In terms of tourism and development meeting basic local needs, the short-term thinking among residents hinders the meeting of these needs. As a concrete example, thinking long-term by carvers would enable them to stockpile carvings in anticipation of cruise ship arrivals and would reduce the kinds of "missed opportunities" noted in the community interviews.

There is also a need for volunteerism, or at least a commitment to issues without necessarily being immediately paid. For example, committee members, regardless of the committee function, receive a stipend. Participants in cruise ship hosting activities are also paid small

amounts. The lack of volunteering for such positions is not surprising since people concerned about feeding their children might not be as willing to volunteer their time for such activities. The importance of increased volunteering was included in the Community Economic Development Conference.

Entrepreneurial spirit is neither lacking in Nunavut nor in Kimmirut, and Appendix 3 is testament to this. But ways to put this spirit into practice are not yet at the forefront of development initiatives. Community councils need to be brought up to date on development ideas, and they need projects to challenge them. A community plan for tourism development that is structured and well thought out could facilitate this. The CED conference promoted this idea, along with that of volunteerism. These 'philosophies' need to be brought into the local committee structure to encourage those with tourism ideas and entrepreneurial spirit.

Briefly, the *Kimmirumiut* ideas presented in Appendix 3 include suggestions for and improvements of tourist activities; ways in which the community could increase benefits from tourism; and promotional and business infrastructure needs. Building on locally accessible activities is one highlight of the list. Promoting various day trips, either by boat or foot, and locally unique and 'authentic' activities such as clam digging and berry picking are touted as ways to keep tourists in town longer (including cruise ship tourists). Incorporating elders into the Visitor's Centre experience would increase the benefits to local people, as would using guides to lead tourists around town. Both suggestions would allow tourists more contact with local people, a forum for questions, and a translator if needed. Business ideas include the establishment of a store with the possibility of housing a café and a carving store, and preparing and selling locally derived semi-precious stones.

In the early 1980s, the community tourism development plan for Kimmirut (Marshal *et al.* 1982) revealed many ideas and recommendations. It is interesting to compare those recommendations

with what has happened in the 15 years in between, as well as which ideas are still waiting to be realized. Succinctly:

The development intent for [Kimmirut] is to provide organized opportunities to travel on the land or by boat, while providing basic accommodations and food services within the community. Land and water based trips should be organized around various trip lengths related to the time required to travel to opportunities by snow machine or boat (ibid.:3-2).

What is noteworthy is how the activities have not grown according to the 1982 plan. It is true that basic accommodations and food services are now provided to tourists. Nevertheless, most of the tourists who come into Kimmirut do not take advantage of the many activities offered there. At present, the majority of tourists have already participated in their main activity getting to the community via the Soper River. They may not want to go on another boat or hiking trip. In addition, tourists do not stay long enough in town to seek out these activities.

The tourism infrastructure in the community has indeed grown, as have the number of packages that come from southern or Iqaluit-based outfitters. However, these two elements rarely mesh or benefit one another. The present plan for tourism includes a list of activities such as hikes and boat trips in order to try and keep tourists in the community longer. What might be more beneficial would be to concentrate local effort on attracting tourists first to Kimmirut, so that these activities then form the primary part of their trip.

A clear problem is that while the community has control over local, park and tourist infrastructures, they have little over how tourists come to the community as this is dominated by southern and Iqaluit outfitters at present. As mentioned, extended control is hoped to result from increased use of the Internet to entice tourists directly. In this way, *Kimmirumiut* also have more control over the packaging and images that are presented to tourists.

Several methods have been suggested by RWED to keep tourists in Kimmirut, so that Inuit might benefit more from Katannilik (D. Monteith, pers. comm. 1997). Other than the obvious 'encourage more homestays', increasing contact with operators who offer less of an "outward bound" type of trip and who are willing to spend more money are recommended. Outfitters generally should be encouraged to alter their itineraries to stay in town longer. Third, more "fam" trips (familiarization trips for travel agents) with new operators should be organized. This would increase awareness of the region and familiarize agents with Kimmirut and its products. At the community level, there is a need to promote activities around town, such as encouraging day trips. As will be seen, this has already begun to be realized. Moreover, the community could indirectly benefit a little more from tourism if the historic building adjacent to the Visitor's Centre was used for elders' activities.

According to one Iqaluit-based outfitter, there are several things Kimmirut could do to improve the industry in their community. First, many tourists find the small communities 'dingy' and dusty, residents should ameliorate these before encouraging tourism growth. Second, Kimmirut specifically should have a list of activities that can be experienced in one day, i.e. the Visitor's Centre, town sites, day hikes and boat trips. This is one suggestion already heeded by the community. The last recommendation clearly illustrates visitor/local use conflict in the Katannilik. The outfitter has suggested to Kimmirut's park supervisor that the numbers of 4-wheel tracks near Soper Falls, its surroundings, and further into the park, should be reduced since these tend to bother clients. There is disagreement between local use of the Soper River in boats with motors.

There are also tourism program recommendations made by Marshal *et al.* (1982) which could still be heeded in Kimmirut today. First, because the community recognized the potential for tourism growth, it wanted to maintain strong control over future development. The

establishment of a local Tourism Committee was key in maintaining community control from the start and gave the then ED&T a forum for discussing and planning future developments. There is still a Tourism Committee that functions effectively in the community today.

Second, promotional brochures were highly recommended. According to Marshal *et al.* (1982), the government (now RWED and *Nunavut Tourism*) and the Tourism Committee together should develop a brochure to organize and advertise all the attractions, their availability, costs and community contacts. Kimmirut's brochure has recently been redone and the community now has several 'virtual brochures' on the Internet. Promotional material should include the carvings of Kimmirut since Inuit art is a tourist attraction. In fact, the webpage for Kimmirut has recently included biographies of several of the community's main carvers. This may facilitate communication between tourists/buyers and local carvers in the future.

Boat tours were the 1982 plan's third priority. "In keeping with [Kimmirut's] development as a destination area and to take advantage of the wide diversity of attractions available around [Kimmirut], the third priority is summer boat tours" (*ibid.*:3-2). Various trip destinations and durations were identified and provided at least eight seasonal outfitter jobs. A list of such tours is expected to become available in Kimmirut soon. Furthermore, there are many people in the community able and willing to provide these tours, at relatively inexpensive costs. As with other recommendations, these tours could be more accessible to tourists who stay long enough in the community, so that guides can prepare and make themselves available. Even tourists on a short visit could experience a boat trip if they pre-arranged with the MHTA. Hiking, walking, and cross country ski tours are equally proposed, where one night could be spent on the land. These provide good alternatives to boat tours, or could easily be combined with them.

As a fourth priority, the plan identified seasonal snowmobile trips to Iqaluit. In spring, tourists with local guides would be able to use the existing route to experience the Arctic environment. At present, this route is used in the opposite direction, from Iqaluit to Kimmirut, and usually without Kimmirut guides. This is another example of the need for the community to attract tourists directly, so that they may experience Kimmirut as their prime destination, and benefit fully from the many activities offered.

Visitor accommodation was mentioned last. Double occupancy rooms, food service, and a multi-use space for tourism information, program organization and day use were development suggestions. At present, these are all fulfilled. There is the Kimik Co-op hotel with double occupancy rooms and food service. There is also the Visitor's Centre which can be used by day by tourists, which provides much information to tourists, and which can refer tourists to the MHTA for program organization. What is interesting, is that the plan placed it in fifth priority, yet it is the only recommendation completely fulfilled.

5.4 NUNAVUT LEVEL CONCLUSIONS

The task force instituted to identify a new tourism authority for Nunavut identifies product development as *Nunavut Tourism's* first priority (Imrie 1997). This is interesting considering that the organization itself considers marketing to be its priority at present. According to Imrie, product development encompasses consultation, development, training, marketing, support, and aftercare. Moreover, "tourism development should build on strengths, assist with small short terms (sic) successes but focus on long term sustainable goals that respect and protect the culture, traditions and environment." (*ibid.*:3). Importantly, the task force suggests that *Nunavut Tourism* should be helping its members to first develop their products, then market them. As seen in government and industry interviews, this seems to occur, only the emphasis is on developing

products that are marketable, rather than marketing products that are originated locally. Correspondingly, the major theme must be the ability of whatever product is developed to generate benefits for the local people (D. Monteith, pers. comm. 1997).

Regarding arts and crafts and country food, the task force identifies the importance of these to the Nunavut tourism experience and to local employment opportunities. It is therefore recommended that these be better supported and emphasized by *Nunavut Tourism*. This fits very well with what tourists have mentioned in departure surveys. Many tourists stated they would have liked to sample more country food had it been available. For example, out of 57 tourists, 70% of tourists surveyed did not eat seal, but 24% indicated they would have eaten it, or more of it, had it been available (Milne *et al.* 1997).

Tourism training programs should be coordinated and portable to communities. Cross-cultural education which deals with cultural conduct, respect of culture, traditions and environment, and visitor needs and expectations, is required (Imrie 1997). Likewise, tourists need to be educated about what they can expect in Nunavut, for example, hunting practices should be shown up-front, so that "tourists (are) taught to respect rather than judge" (S. LaChapelle, pers. comm. 1997). This point reflects what was heard from Kimmirut residents, that tourists should receive some degree of education before their trip. It is comforting to see this reflected in the new tourism policy as well. The *Nunavut Tourism* Internet sites and *Nunavut Handbook* offer more of this information for interested tourists.

Communications between *Nunavut Tourism* and its board members could be expanded. The task force identifies a definite need to undertake community visits, use community radio, and person-to-person discussions to further this communication. Improvements in the Board's structure could include more community representation, more Inuit voice, small operator representation and more input from Parks Canada. Concern is

expressed that the current *Nunavut Tourism* Annual General Meeting decision-making process is often too intimidating for small stakeholders to make themselves heard. In this way, the task force feels that *Nunavut Tourism* represents only the “big guys”. Others feel that *Nunavut Tourism* is doing a good job and is an adequate organization in an industry that is dominated by small and medium operators with no large players (H. Timar, pers. comm. 1997).

In addition, just as Yellowknife was too geographically distant to be an effective capital to the Eastern Arctic, Iqaluit is too far away to adequately meet the needs of all the Nunavut regions. *Nunavut Tourism* has expressed similar concern by admitting the challenge of developing and marketing the three distinct regions of Nunavut.

The seasonality of tourism to Baffin is identified as a constraint on the industry. The busiest season for tourists, the summer, is a time when local people would rather be on the land and with their families. ‘Traditional’ activities therefore conflict with tourism patterns in this way. All the stakeholders in the Nunavut’s tourism industry need to encompass this scale of observation. The task force and this thesis are envisioning these issues from the individual/local level up to the government and industry level. It is a scale of observation that is needed at *Nunavut Tourism* and at RWED. For example, the task force report identifies that the status of a ‘tourism authority’ is a “non-issue to most people” (*ibid.*:6). This is very much in tune with how community representatives in this case study felt about *Nunavut Tourism* and even the Nunavut Land Claims Agreement.

Regarding product development in a broader context, perhaps *Nunavut Tourism* should begin presenting local people as ‘ambassadors’ to visitors. It is essential that local people work in visible positions where tourists are concerned (H. Timar, pers. comm. 1997). At present, most tourist businesses such as museums and visitor centres are making an effort at hiring Inuit. This effort might also be attributed to the Nunavut

Land Claims Agreement and current product development policies. These types of attitudes may be moved into the foreground since Inuit have gained more control over their territory, government, and socio-economic change.

After comparing local people's ideas for tourism development to discussions with government and industry representatives, marketing is another contentious issue that arises. Specifically, the debate is between marketing of community versus marketing of the products a community offers, or, which is the most appropriate. A quandary ensues if the community marketed is but the sum of its tourism products. In effect, tourism products are sometimes not indicative of 'traditional' activities by that community, such as sea kayaking in Kimmirut. These products are developed to fill a perceived niche in the tourism market. This begs the question, should tourists be offered products that will give them an 'authentic experience', or products that have guaranteed market appeal? Moreover, who is to decide: the community or *Nunavut Tourism*?

5.5 GAPS IN COMMUNICATION

The success of tourism in Kimmirut will be based on networks built on trust and reciprocity. One of the most definitive findings of this thesis concerns the unintentional gaps in communication found among all the players in Nunavut's tourism industry. The following discussion illustrates some of these, what is being, or could be done, and how they can be ameliorated.

The Community Economic Development Conference enticed each community to establish a type of 'roundtable' in which a community 'vision' of economic development could evolve. One of the ways in which the communication between the communities and *Nunavut Tourism* could be realistically enhanced is through such a vision statement. If each community presented the tourism-related elements of its vision statement

to *Nunavut Tourism*, the organization would then have a dossier on each community.

In the case of Kimmirut, it was not anticipated that the list of ideas presented in Appendix 3 would be too large to include in the chapter on the case study findings. The significance of this is that there are many ideas for tourism development the community. If these ideas were amassed into a vision statement, they could then be presented to *Nunavut Tourism*. The implications of this are that if each community in Nunavut did this, authentic and/or locally desirable tourism products could be more readily marketed and accessible.

If government and industry support such ideas and visions, they would enhance the tourism products that come out of Nunavut and contribute to 'unique experiences' for tourists. Likewise, tourist activities that are important and unique to the community, and which earn socio-economic benefits for 'normal' activities, would be offered. Such an 'authentic' experience can be packaged to tourists in such a manner as expressed by a Kimmirut resident:

Spend a week in Kimmirut, live with a local family, learn Inuktitut, learn about Inuit culture, eat some local food, see carvers working, participate in local activities such as berry-picking, cod-fishing and full-moon clam digging, and get tours by boat and land to visit Thule sites.

On a more definitive level, gaps in communication are perceived between Kimmirut residents and the local EDO, and between the EDO and Iqaluit, *Nunavut Tourism* and RWED. Although many believe *Nunavut Tourism* is doing, and will continue to do, a good job, there needs to be more effective communication between government and *Nunavut Tourism* over what the future will bring (H. Timar, pers. comm. 1997).

Kimmirut residents who are interested in tourism activities feel unfamiliar with many of the funding bodies and aftercare provided by both *Nunavut Tourism* and organizations such as Kakivak Association. This type of information could be imparted with improved communication

between the local people and the EDO, and between *Nunavut Tourism's* Product Development Coordinator (PDC) and the community. The PDC anticipated visiting several communities and it is unsure if they have yet been completed. These visitations are vital to not only boost communication between Iqaluit and communities regarding tourism, but also to allow such interested residents to meet those people in positions to help them.

Community councils could be more supportive and proactive regarding tourism development, as also suggested by the Community Economic Development Conference. The local EDO is seen as the link between the community and *Nunavut Tourism* (Imrie 1997). Therefore, should a community roundtable or other efforts be undertaken regarding tourism, the EDO could act as *Nunavut Tourism* representative. Furthermore, *Nunavut Tourism* and RWED could visit each community to present facts about tourism development to community councils. Alternatively, CED conferences could be held every year, occasionally focussing solely on tourism.

The communication between community and institution can be strengthened in many ways. The formation of Nunavut could be taken as an opportunity for government and industry to seek such an attitude. Ideally, the way Nunavut functions could be as unprecedented and innovative as the Nunavut Land Claims Agreement itself. Unfortunately, the territory may function in the same way as previous government, perhaps since this is the only type of governance known. It is hoped that once more Inuit reach influential positions in all departments and industries, this will begin to change.

5.6 TOURISM'S FUTURE OPPORTUNITIES AND CHALLENGES IN NUNAVUT

There are many challenges and opportunities facing the tourism industry in Nunavut. Job creation, training and education are all serious challenges for the new Territory. Training initiatives of Inuit are integral to

this process (S. LaChapelle, pers. comm. 1997) as are improving the base skills of Inuit so they can rise above menial jobs⁷ (H. Timar, pers. comm. 1997). Likewise, these are foremost challenges for the tourism industry in Nunavut if tourism is to be considered at the forefront of economic development in the territory.

At the signing of the Nunavut Land Claims Agreement, both opportunities and challenges presented themselves regarding tourism and community empowerment. One of the most important opportunities for community-level tourism development in Nunavut is the desire to see the industry grow in a sustainable manner, both by Inuit and Nunavut government and institutions. This unanimity is an important first step in the continued development of the industry, and should facilitate cooperation between the Nunavut government, *Nunavut Tourism* and the communities regarding tourism.

Correspondingly, the opportunity to work towards this challenge will be facilitated by the fact that "Tourism activity is probably the closest link from traditional Inuit life to business" (Imrie 1997:11). Tourism is thought to be well suited to Inuit family life since participation in the industry can be undertaken with many of the skills and assets already acquired. Moreover, participation does not require residents to move away from their home communities for long periods, neither for training nor for employment.

Nunavut Tourism has a challenge in developing a suitably wide range of products considering the diverse tourist market for Nunavut (C. Kinnear, pers. comm. 1997). These products need to focus on visitor needs and experiences, and on 'authentic' interactions and experiences with people and environment. The same products should also be appropriate activities for local residents, meeting community needs in a sustainable fashion. The result: applicable and marketable tourism

⁷ It is interesting to note the differences in convictions regarding the time, cost and effort needed to bring Inuit into upper-echelon positions, i.e. H. Timar versus C. Kemp-Kinnear.

products that generate genuine appreciation and interest from tourists and pride and socio-economic benefits for residents (Imrie 1997). It is therefore important to acknowledge the tourism product suggestions of communities, such as those for Kimmirut as presented in Chapter 3 and in Appendix 3.

Regarding product development, more links need to be created with other communities. Although, Iqaluit is the 'gateway' for tourists to the region, the other communities provide the tourist with a chance to experience 'community life' rather than the 'urbanity' of Iqaluit (S. LaChapelle, pers. comm. 1997). One obstacle to this at present is the monopoly of First Air on all northern flights. As such, the cost of travelling to Nunavut is extremely high (approximately CDN\$1,200 from Montreal to Iqaluit) and then is augmented by connecting flights to communities (from CDN\$300 to \$1000). While this limits many visitors to Iqaluit, it increases the chances that Kimmirut will attract visitors since the airfare from Iqaluit to Kimmirut is the least of all the other communities.

Nunavut Tourism and local communities need to address the challenge of adequately and accurately explaining to tourists what facilities and services exist and at what cost (Imrie 1997), whether by verbal communication, written brochures or the Internet. They must also ensure that the visitors' expectations are realistically what can be delivered. "The challenge is to ensure the operators have clearly developed activities with accurate quality information describing their services" (*ibid.*:12; also S. LaChapelle, pers. comm. 1997). In addition, wildlife viewing cannot be 'promised' as it sometimes is, some packages advertised a promise to see a polar bear, this is a sure way to elicit disappointment from a tourist (H. Timar, pers. comm. 1997).

Communities and local people have a challenge to sufficiently benefit from the time tourists do spend in communities (Imrie 1997), especially considering this time is often very short. To do this, they should consider creating maps with suggested routes around the community,

pointing out where key attractions are, such as the local carving workshop or willing carver's homes, community events, and flexible store hours. It is also important for local residents to understand "the impacts of tourism on their community and the value of friendly interaction by every person that the visitors meets (sic)" (Imrie 1991:12).

Before 1980, many Northerners saw tourism as a Southern dominated industry that provided few benefits to them (GNWT 1990a). This is unfortunately often the case still today. Moreover, there also continues to be a lack of understanding of tourism among some Inuit communities, which Nickels *et al.* (1991) attribute to a lack of information and feedback. In an effort to ameliorate this, Higgins *et al.* (1995) recommend that the government take a leading role in encouraging industry workshops to provide a forum for exchanging views on tourism. Nickels *et al.* (1991) also recommend contact between communities hosting tourists in order to fully understand the industry. These efforts have begun to be realized.

If the belief is held that tourism 'promotes' cultural preservation, the arts and crafts sector in Nunavut offers the best evidence and opportunity for this. Local people make 'traditional' items such as *ulus* (woman's knife), clothing (i.e. mittens, boots) and continue to make items that are now widely associated with Inuit and Canadian culture, such as soapstone carvings and prints. These are all sold to tourists, who will often grab the first carving presented them when visiting a community for a short time. To encourage this sector's growth, Arctic College in Iqaluit offers arts and crafts courses in the hope that more Inuit will benefit from acquiring good craftsmanship. Jewelry making is one of the current highlights in the program (G. Welsh, pers. comm. 1997).

The manager of the Nunatta Sunakkutaangit Museum in Iqaluit, a woman who has lived and worked in the Baffin region for over 20 years shares optimism for the tourism industry in Nunavut. She has no doubt that tourism will be a core component of the evolving Nunavut economy,

especially after the flurry of construction presently going on dies down. She believes there to be no problem with tourism as long as it is controlled and as long as it does not 'rub off' too much on 'real' culture. Inuit are adaptable; they are capable of providing both authentic and 'inauthentic' cultural experiences and products for tourists without losing sight of their roots. Inuit culture is also adaptable, Inuit take and give what they want, and they tend to adapt rather than conflict. This, she believes, is the true secret of their relative success compared to many of the other North American Native groups.

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APPENDIX 1

INDIVIDUALS CONSULTED DURING FIELDWORK

Government of the Northwest Territories (GNWT)

Michael Bloor, Manager of Trade & Investment, RWED

Rick Hamburg, RWED

Jack Hicks, RWED

Margaret Imrie, *Nunavut Tourism*-RWED Task Force Consultant

Robert Jaffray, Economic Development Officer, Kimmirut

Valerie Kozmenko, RWED

David Monteith, RWED

Nunavut Tourism

Cheri Kemp-Kinnear, General Manager of *Nunavut Tourism*

Greg Logan, Product Development Coordinator of *Nunavut Tourism*

Nunavut Organizations

Steven Morse, Kakivak Association

Bert Rose, Nunavut Implementation Committee

Iqaluit: Related Tourism Representatives

Dorothee Komangapik, Manager of the Nunatta Sunakkutaangit Museum, Iqaluit.

Sylvie LaChapelle, General Manager of the Discovery Inn, Iqaluit.

Marcel Mason, Web consultant/developer for Nunanet, Iqaluit.

Matty McNair, North Winds Outfitter

Steven Roberts, Publisher of Nunatsiaq News

Hal Timar, General Manager, Frobisher Inn, Iqaluit.

Greg Welsh, Head of Arctic College, Iqaluit

Kimmirut: Related Tourism Representatives

Robert Enns, Manager, Kimik Co-op (hotel and store), Manager, Northern Store

Pascale Baillargeon, outfitter, Qayak Nunavut

Tommy Akavak, outfitter, private and Qayak Nunavut

Saimata Pitseolak, Carver's Association

APPENDIX 2

KEY QUESTIONS FOR SEMI-STRUCTURED INTERVIEWS

Introduction to the research: how tourism affects communities, how it provides benefits, interested in your opinions regarding tourism and how it affects you.

Information about respondent: main occupation, age, family life cycle, time spent in the community, in other communities, education, training

General aspects of tourism

Who do you consider a tourist?

Prompts: someone coming down the Soper, someone flying into the community, construction workers and geologists, seasonal workers, teachers and nurses, me, Inuit visitors

My definition of tourists

Do you see many tourists in or around your community?

How do you come into contact with tourists in your daily life?

Seasonal issue – when do you see tourists?

Are you in favor of tourism in your community? Yes, No, Why?

Benefits and costs of tourism – economic, social/cultural, environmental, how it affects you and how it affects the community as a whole.

Economic aspects of tourism.

Do you/your family/household benefit economically from tourism?

If yes, what kinds of benefits? Categorize as direct (hotel, guiding, arts & crafts sales) or indirect (airport, store, etc.)

Are there economic costs to you? (resource access, hunting limitations – time, park, money spent on tourism rather than on community services)

Do you think there would be any economic benefits for the community as a whole from tourism?

Who benefits most from tourism in your community? i.e. hotels, guides, stores, Hamlet Council

Do you think there is anyone in the community who loses because of tourism?

Are there conflicts between community spending on tourism related facilities/activities and other development?

How do you think arts & crafts and country food are linked to tourism, should they be more linked?

Sometimes Cruise Ships come into Kimmirut. How does that affect you? How are you involved? Could these visits be more linked/benefit the community?

Social and cultural aspects of tourism

Have you or your family benefited socially/culturally from tourism? (i.e. learning new ways, pride in community) 5.2 Has tourism affected you personally in a negative way? (i.e. negative influence of southern culture)

Do you think there would be any social/cultural benefits for your community because of tourism? (i.e. services, pride)

Who has suffered/benefited? (elders, youth, demographics)

Do you fear that your Inuit lifestyle might change because you are dealing with tourists?

Environmental aspects of tourism

Has the development of tourism brought any environmental benefits around here? (i.e. conservation of Katannilik, cleaner?)

Do you think there would be any environmental problems from tourists and tourism development for you, in your community? Or nearby, in the park?

Does the presence of tourists ever affect your hunting? negative: less hunting; positive: more opportunity, more money to buy gas etc.

Do you see any conflict between the presence of tourists and your ability to hunt?

Tourism development in the community and in the park, and your involvement/ your community's involvement in this development

Have you personally been involved in tourism/park development consultations in Kimmirut?

Do you feel the community was involved in the establishment of the park? in what way? should you/the community have been involved more?

Does Kimmirut have a tourism committee? who should be involved in it, how do you feel about their role?

ED&T officer, time well spent on community? on park?

Are you in favor of more tourism development in your community?

What type of tourists would you like to see come to your community?

Is there anything tourists should not do while in town or on the land? Is there any place they should not go?

If tourists came to your community, where would you take them? Are there any particular places you think they should see before they leave the area?

What should tourists see and learn when they come to your community? What kind of experiences should they have?

What should every tourist be informed of before visiting the community?

Are the facilities in your community presently adequate for tourists?

Is there a need for better facilities? What type?

What months would be best for tourists to come to your community?

Are these months good for you to cater to these tourists?

Do tourists interfere with your daily activities?
Should there be restrictions on the numbers of tourists who come to your community at one time?
Who should decide these restrictions?
Do you think that tourists that use the park should spend more time in the community as well?

Nunavut – the way in which Nunavut may be affecting tourism development in Kimmirut.

Are you in favor of the Nunavut Land Claim Agreement and the establishment of Nunavut?

Do you feel you understand the Agreement?

Do you feel the Agreement and Territory will affect/benefit you/your community?

There's been some talk about more community control under Nunavut, decentralization, what do you think, how does that affect you?

How do you think Nunavut may affect tourism in your community?

Do you think the Nunavut Agreement will give your community more control over things in general? - resources, management

Do you think that the establishment of Nunavut will increase the region's profile as a tourist destination?

Are you aware of Nunavut Tourism's role in promoting tourism in your community? What is this role? Is this role different from that of the GNWT?

How do you see the future role of tourism in Kimmirut? in Nunavut too?

What do you think will be the future role of tourism in Kimmirut/Katannilik?

Do you think there should be more/less tourism activity in Kimmirut/Katannilik?

Do you know of any other communities in Baffin that have developed tourism, that Kimmirut can benefit from their experiences, learn from.

Do you have anything else to add?

APPENDIX 3

KIMMIRUMIUT IDEAS FOR TOURISM DEVELOPMENT

1. A few people mentioned a desire to build the community's tourist activities, such as day-long boat trips, building a café, a carving store and more homestays. In this way, there might be less competition with outside operators. More specifically, tour operators could do the park aspect of the trip, and then local people could take over activities once the tourists are in the community. This idea infers that more can be offered to tourists, who would then be encouraged to stay longer in the community and spend more money.
2. People in the community who are keen and who want to promote the community and culture could be implicated in a private company. They would be involved in traditional dinners, homestays, boating trips, carving sales, etc. To implement this, there would have to be more structure and guidelines. The people involved would have to be told what tourists are expecting from their hosts, and what they are interested in seeing and doing.
3. If more tourists came, more activities should be organized. For example, more "open and interactive activities" could be offered, so that tourists can "look, learn and do", such as a sewing group. "This would allow more contact between tourists and local people, more interaction, more learning, sharing, more social benefits for both parties" (Kimmirut resident, pers. comm. 1997). Having a sewing group would be equally beneficial to local people and tourists. The latter would be able to visit, ask questions, and buy locally made items.
4. It would be good for both local students and the community in general if there were occasional visits by elders to the Visitor's Centre. There is currently no place in town for elders to meet and the Centre would be ideal. Tourists could also benefit by meeting with elders and asking questions through and interpreter. This works well at the Nunatta Sunakkutaanigit Museum in Iqaluit. A local elder said that she would have liked to be more involved in tourism. She had not yet visited the Visitor's Centre and agreed with the suggestion that it could be used as a meeting place for elders.
5. Carvers should get more advance notice of tourist arrivals. The local carvers' studio could be more active in the summer so that tourists would know where they could find and meet carvers, and have more selection than at Co-op store.

6. Several activities unique to Kimmirut could be offered or combined in a package. Clam digging is a good example, along with berry picking and cod fishing. The fact that these are 'authentic' local activities is important and should be made known to tourists. How to price and organize these activities is questionable however. There could be ads put up in the Visitor's Centre, and on the local webpage to let tourists know that these activities are available and a list of people to contact if they are interested. On the supply side, the local people offering these activities would have to be on 'stand-by' shifts for the tourists so that there would always be someone available and willing to take tourists out, and everyone would not be 'waiting around' for tourists.
7. Tents could be set up across the harbour (facing the community), near the RCMP site (see photo 1.1), where tourists can stay when they are in town. This might not be feasible since tourists would have to boat back and forth or wait for low tide to walk. At present however, tourists occasionally camp at Soper Lake, a 30-minute walk from the community. This implies that tourists are willing to camp at that distance, and might enjoy the RCMP site. Also, there was a large tent set up near the airport a few times for tourists, this worked well and could be repeated.
8. It would be better to have a guide leading tourists through town so that they do not wander by themselves. The guide would be able to explain history, culture and community life, therefore eliminating some superfluous questions and disrespect. The guide could also help with translation between tourists and carvers and/or elders.
9. Selling semi-precious stones found in the surrounding areas might have high earning potential. They would therefore need the proper equipment for cleaning and polishing the rocks. The EDO suggested that he would need to have someone assess the situation to see if it would be viable before considering it.
10. A little shop could be established near the airport with flexible inventory, selling primarily to tourists during the tourist season and to local people the rest of the time. This could also be combined with a little coffee shop. Pricing carvings lower than the Co-op was also suggested.
11. A store for carvings alone could be established. The carvings could be collected throughout the year so that there is enough around for the main tourism season. If the 'coffee shop' idea was initiated, there could be an adjoining room where carvings and skins are displayed and available for tourists.

12. Regarding cruise ships, more activities (i.e. hikes) could be organized for cruise ships, facilitating a longer stay in the community. Local people should be allowed to visit the cruise ships. In this way, they will get more out of the visit and young people can learn something. Lastly, cruise ships could stay overnight. Tents could be set up at the RCMP site, or they can sleep on their ship and come back the next day for activities and tours.
13. The EDO proposed a "Nunavut Kayaking Festival" in Kimmirut, timed with the 1999 Nunavut festivities. The community would take advantage of the facts that it is the warmest community, and the closest to Iqaluit, where most of the 1999 celebrations will likely take place. To implement this idea, some expertise is needed for kayaking in this area due to tides. The EDO feels there is a need to work on this plan locally since *Nunavut Tourism* does not really help with the product development and marketing of a particular case like this. A local outfitter thinks that having ocean and river kayaking offered in Kimmirut is a good idea since there are not many outfitters who do this type of activity.
14. The Internet is seen as key to promoting the community and to attracting people locally. In fact, there is anticipation that the Kimmirut, MHTA and Katannilik internet sites will help draw tourists directly to Kimmirut, thus providing more business for local people and the local outfitter. A local outfitter plans to have a website to advertise his outfitting services and attract people directly to him.
15. There needs to be more business infrastructure training in the community, such as learning about book-keeping and GST. While this training does exist, it is inadequately promoted and distributed.