NATURE-BASED TOURISM AND SUSTAINABILITY IN THE BEAUFORT-DELTA REGION, N.W.T: AN ANALYSIS OF STAKEHOLDER PERSPECTIVES

BY

WOLFRAM H. DRESSLER

A Thesis
Submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies
in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements
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MASTER OF NATURAL RESOURCES MANAGEMENT

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A Thesis/Practicum submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies of The University of Manitoba in partial fulfillment of the requirements of the degree

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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this study was to provide a comprehensive review of the social, economic and environmental impacts of nature-based tourism within the communities of Inuvik, Tuktoyaktuk and Aklavik, Beaufort-Delta Region, NWT. The specific goals of the study were: 1) to voice institutional, Inuvialuit, visitor and tour operator perspectives regarding present and desired conditions related to nature-based tourism; 2) to identify and assess any discrepancies between present and desired conditions; and 3) to assess existing tourism guidelines and suggest new guidelines and sustainable nature-based tourism planning objectives.

The study was based on a structured questionnaire with nature-based tourists (N=171), and formal interviews with Inuvialuit elders (N=30), institutional representatives (N=23) and local tour operators (N=22), respectively. Participant observation was used at whaling camps. The field research component dealt with how each stakeholder's function interfaces with local cultural and economic goals and environmental integrity. The results revealed that community stakeholders, and in particular, Inuvialuit elders and tour operators, thought that the economic potential of nature-based tourism was high, and consequently support for it was also high. Inuvialuit elders and institutional representatives argued that nature-based tourism has served as a valuable vehicle to help break down cultural barriers, revive culture, and support subsistence activities. Despite such optimism, discrepancies do exist between the desired and existing conditions of the nature-based tourism industry. Issues include: 1) the potential misinterpretation, commoditization and interference of beluga hunting and other cultural activities by tourists; 2) the disturbance of terrestrial animals and waterfowl and trampling of tundra vegetation by tourists and tour operators; and 3) the inequitable distribution of economic benefits of nature-based tourism.

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LIST OF ACRONYMS

COPE	Committee for Original Peoples' Entitlement
MBCA	Migratory Birds Convention Act
NPA	National Parks Act
MMR	Marine Mammal Regulations
WWF	World Wildlife Fund
DOE	Department of Environment
DFO	Department of Fisheries and Oceans
CWS	Canadian Wildlife Service
RWED	N.W.T Department of Resources, Wildlife, and Economic Development
ED&T	N.W.T. Department of Economic Development and Tourism
DIAND	Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development
GNWT	Government of the Northwest Territories
YTG	Yukon Territorial Government
NWT	Northwest Territories
IFA	Inuvialuit Final Agreement
ICCP	Inuvialuit Community Conservation Plans
AHTC	Aklavik Hunters' and Trappers' Committee
THTC	Tuktoyaktuk Hunters' and Trappers' Committee
IHTC	Inuvik Hunters' and Trappers' Committee
FJMC	Fisheries Joint Management Committee
EIRB	Environmental Impact Review Board
EISC	Environmental Impact Screening Committee
WMAC-NS	Wildlife Management Advisory Council- Yukon North Slope
WMAC-NWT	Wildlife Management Advisory Council- Northwest Territories
IGC	Inuvialuit Game Council
ILA	Inuvialuit Land Administration
BSBMP	Beaufort Sea Beluga Management Plan
MPA	Marine Protected Area
NMCA	National Marine Conservation Area
OMS	Oceans Management Strategy
CEDO	Community Economic Development Organization
IRC	Inuvialuit Regional Corporation
IDC	Inuvialuit Development Corporation
WARVC	Western Arctic Regional Visitor Centre
TACE	Tourist Area Cycle of Evolution
NBT	Nature-based Tourism (cultural and ecotourism)
CBTS	Community-based Tourism Strategy

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCING THE ISSUES

Currently, tourism holds 7% of the world trade in goods and services, and it is estimated that by the year 2000 it will be the largest single industry in the world (WTO, 1989; WTO, 1994). Improvements in communication and transportation have allowed increasing numbers of travellers to penetrate previously inaccessible regions (Mieczkowski, 1990). Within these regions, they seek to experience an environment that is vastly different from their place of origin (Zurick, 1995). However, tourists often care less for the well-being of local peoples' lives and ecology than they do in fulfilling a hedonistic *leisure ethic* (*ibid.*). As Butler (1991, p. 202) comments "this is mass tourism indeed," a form of tourism that enters, grows, over-exploits its resource-base and then abandons a previously unaltered area (p. 202). As mass tourists flock to new destinations, the societies and landscape upon which they depend may become strained considerably. Since peoples' life patterns and ecology are extremely interdependent within remote regions, they may even be more sensitive to change imposed from the outside (Harrison and Price, 1996).

In direct reaction to mass-tourism, some tourism managers have begun to work within the 20th century paradigm known as "sustainable development" (Romeril, 1989). Smith and Eadington (1994) reason that with "observers and researchers" increasingly criticizing past tourism development methods, that many practioners are now responding by adopting new "sustainable tourism" practices. Hunter (1997) states that "sustainable tourism" has come to stand for "a set of practices and principles that represent policy prescriptions and management methods which chart a path for tourism development such that a destination area's environmental resource base is protected for future development"(p. 850). Fernandes (1994) argues, however, that despite the tourism industry adopting new strategies for sustainable development, there is still considerable room to improve their practical application. Several subsets of tourism, known collectively as nature-based tourism, such

as ecotourism and cultural tourism, are considered by Whelan (1991) as the applied solution to sustainable tourism development. Nature-based tourism is considered as travel to natural areas to enjoy the scenery and understand its characteristics, culture and history (Robbins, 1990).

By developing small-scale tourism projects in settings often containing unique and endangered cultures and ecology, environmentally and culturally conscientious tourists are lured to participate in activities that help to conserve them (Ziffer, 1989). Development is kept to a minimum, and tourism activities are "soft" or non-consumptive (e.g., wildlife viewing tours). Tourism profit is redirected for conservation purposes and for increasing the host population's standard of living (Anderson, 1991). Brandon (1996) also notes that nature-based tourism supplies local people with economic alternatives that are sensitive, or even compatible, to their culture. Since nature-based tourists are typically wealthy, they can inject considerable sums of money into economically depressed regions, presumably without over-exploiting its resource base (*ibid.*).

Notwithstanding nature-based tourism's benefits, it is still one of the fastest growing subsets of the burgeoning international tourism industry (Brandon, 1996). Although estimates vary, nature-based tourism has been growing between 20% and 30% per year; while 40-60% of all international tourists are nature-based tourists (Filion, 1993). This ever-increasing number of nature-based tourists in fragile environments has made managing their cumulative impacts even more necessary (Wight, 1995c). Thus, as Butler (1991) notes, as alternative tourism grows, there is greater likelihood that it will adopt the infrastructure and tourist typology of mass-tourism and perpetuate similar problems.

In Canada, in parallel to the global growth of nature-based tourism, Arctic regions have also experienced a dramatic influx of nature-based tourists. The Canadian Arctic has been home to resident and nonresident travellers for over a century now (Butler, 1993; Marsh,

1987). Although there were only 600 non-resident travellers in the Northwest Territories (NWT) in 1959, there were more than 49,000 during the summer of 1989 (Hinch, 1995a). The number of facilities and tour operators has also jumped from 7 in 1971 to 94 in 1990 (Butler, 1993). Butler (1993) shows that tourism has become the second largest source of income in the NWT, with a 1990 total value of more than $50 million CDN. Tourism is estimated to supply roughly one-third of all employment in the NWT. Today the Canadian Arctic is receiving up to 100 000 tourists annually, with the greatest concentration of tourists in the Western Arctic's Beaufort- Delta region (Dingwall and Cessford, 1996). With the construction of the Alaska Highway after World War Two, the Dempster Highway in 1979, and increased accessibility through air and sea travel, tourists are literally funnelled into the Beaufort-Delta area (Smith, 1996). Between 1989 and 1994 in the Beaufort-Delta, the number of travellers, *by mode of travel*, increased from 7, 002 to 8, 751, respectively. In 1994, this represented approximately 18% of all tourists in the NWT (GNWT, 1995). A more accurate estimate, however, is based on the number of *non-resident* travellers, by area, which reveals that in 1994 over 6, 300 tourists came to the Beaufort-Delta. This is 19% of all non-residents travellers coming to the NWT (i.e., a total of 33, 808) (GNWT, 1995). Today thousands of visitors arrive in Inuvik and Tuktoyaktuk to enjoy Beluga whale-watching, bird-watching, guided cultural-interpretation tours and trekking tours.

The increase of nature-based tourism serves the northern economy quite well. The communities of the Beaufort-Delta region, such as Inuvik, Aklavik and Tuktoyaktuk (Fig 1), can be described as small, seldom holding a population of more than one thousand inhabitants, most of whom are Inuvialuit (the Inuit of the western Arctic) (Notzke, 1998). With little employment opportunity and great isolation, the result is a very high cost of living and high dependency on domestic production (Fast and Berkes, 1994). For many, nature-based tourism has served as a cash supplement to subsistence activities. Berkes *et al.*, (1994) note that as

"hunting brings food to the table" it currently brings in little cash and incurs considerable expenses when carried out (p. 358). Moreover, as traditional subsistence activities, such as berry-picking, are combined with the ideals of nature-based tourism, their marketability and potential for cultural conservation also increase (Notzke, 1995). Inuvialuit culture and environment is, therefore, brought to the forefront as a tourism attraction (Cater,1994). Concurrently, since nature-based tourism development is driven by learning-by-doing, Inuvialuit culture may be transmitted to the younger generation. Thus, nature-based tourism, considered as a grass-roots venture, should promote local involvement through the integration or building on traditional activities and conservation initiatives.

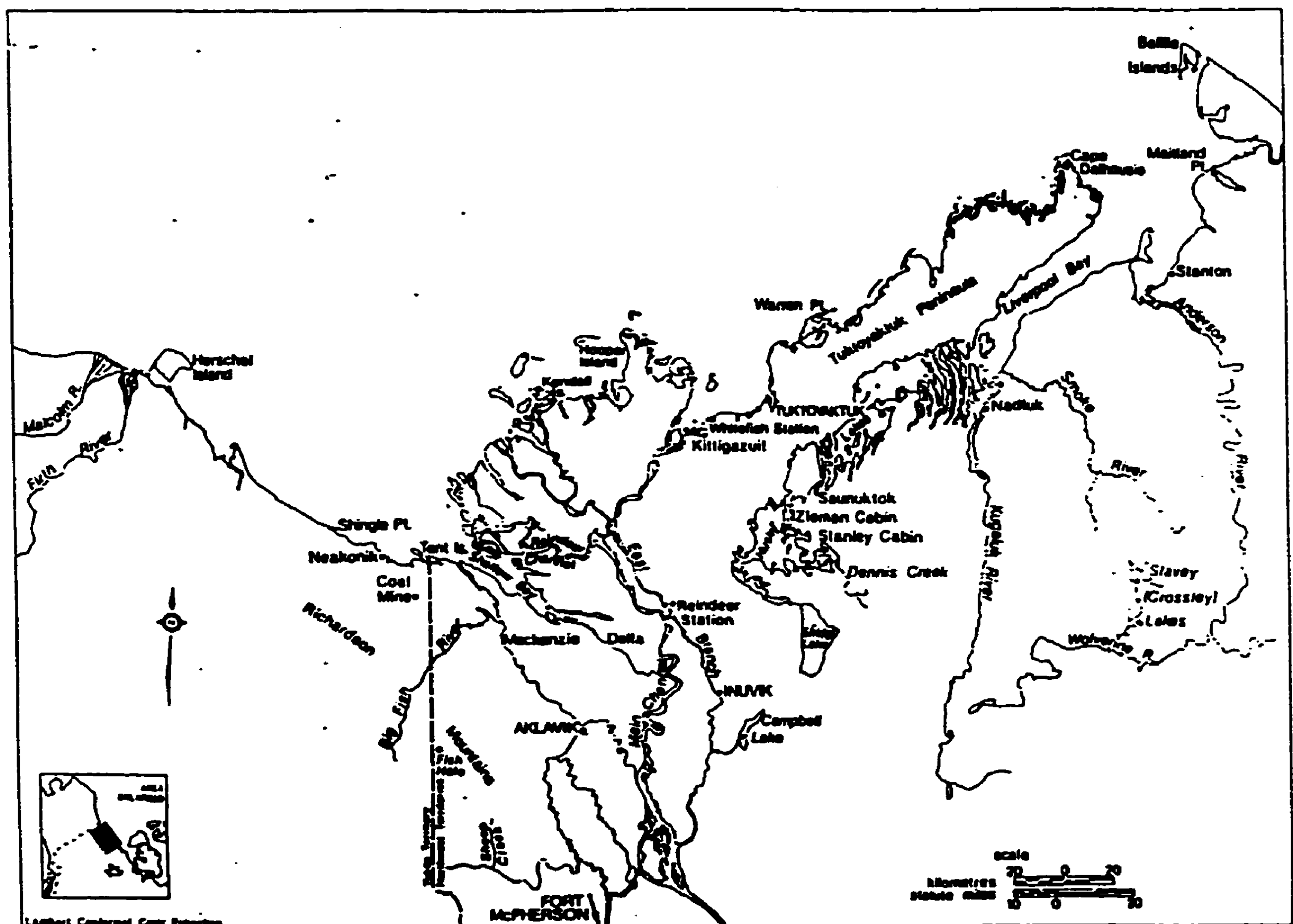

Figure 1: The Beaufort-Delta Region and Community Place Names (Freeman, 1976).

As the infrastructure requirements for nature-based tourism are often simpler and less expensive than other business ventures, the Inuvialuit may also reduce the threat of external economic dependency. The Inuvialuit, as with other indigenous groups, attempt to increase economic activities that, as Berkes *et al.*, (1994) state, "minimize the threat of dislocation to the traditional way of life or . . . increase the complementarity of wage-income generation and traditional economic pursuits" (p. 359). In short, nature-based tourism is said to be part of a "principled ecotourism culture" (Fennell and Malloy, 1998), which focusses on the enhancement and maintenance of natural and cultural systems (Farrell and Runyan, 1991).

Paradoxically, it is the very essence of nature-based tourism — the dream of travelling somewhere with a unique and typically fragile culture and ecology — that places the resources it seeks to protect and depend upon at greater risk. As nature-based tourists attempt to "immerse" themselves in the Beaufort-Delta's culture and ecology, they may disrupt the traditional Inuvialuit way of life, while simultaneously degradating their land and marine environment. Moreover, with the high diversity of tourist type in the Beaufort Delta, the manner of cultural, economic and environmental impacts may also vary. Cultural, ecological, and adventure tourists, all having varying motives to experience culture (e.g., bush camps), wildlife (beluga whale watching) and excitement (hiking or marine kayaking), quickly generate their own local level impacts (Nickels, *et al.*, 1991, p.162). Thus, nature-based tourists cannot be considered a homogenous group (Grekin, 1994). As Nickels *et al.*, (1991, p. 162) warn, the potential impact of such tourists will almost certainly become accentuated in small northern communities.

The question then arises exactly for whom and why nature-based tourism should be developed. For example, who initiated tourism development in the Beaufort-Delta region, and why? What is the current context of nature-based tourism's community level impacts? That

is, to what extent has nature-based tourism impacted the region's flora and fauna, and are the Inuvialuit really benefiting from its growth, and if so, in what manner? An attempt to answer these questions was made during the summer of 1998. By documenting and integrating the perspectives of pertinent tourism industry stakeholders, i.e., institutional representatives, Inuvialuit elders, tourists, and tour operators, the author attempted to highlight the salient impacts of nature-based tourism in and around the Beaufort-Delta communities of Tuktoyaktuk, Aklavik, and Inuvik. Thus, this study represents a nature-based tourism impact assessment.

1.1 Issues: The Significance of Nature-based Tourism in the Beaufort-Delta Region

The communities of Aklavik, Tuktoyaktuk and Inuvik held unemployment rates[1] of 26% (pop. 727), 23.2% (943), and 10% (3296), respectively (Stats Can.,1996 Census). Of those employed, there were only 30 individuals in these three communities over the age of 15 engaged in heavy industry activities (e.g., oil and gas), and another 35 individuals involved in drilling and heavy machinery (*ibid.*). The departure of heavy industry, and the recognition that Inuit subsistence activities persisted for cultural and economic reasons, have forced a reorientation in economic development initiatives (Nickels *et al.*, 1991; Ward, 1996; Myers, 1996). Decision-makers are now promoting smaller-scale economic development alternatives that are complementary to land-based activities. They now realize that many northerners prefer wage paying jobs that capitalize on their preferences in taking part in a mixed economy (Myers, 1996). Nature-based tourism has been identified as one such prospect. Northern nature-based tourism development can be described as flexible, part-time employment, which is based on utilizing natural resources and traditional skills. It has

1 Refers to the total population 15 years and over by labour force activity that is unemployed (20% of population), and is most likely an under representation of unemployment figures (Statistics Canada, Census, 1996).

the potential to strengthen pride, cultural values, and to allow hunters to hunt by providing them with cash supplements (*ibid.*). In many respects, nature-based tourism does not neglect the importance of the informal subsistence economy, as the aforementioned unemployment statistics have done.

In 1983, the Government of the Northwest Territories (GNWT) already saw tourism development as a means of securing economic development that could build on the skills and lifestyles of local people (GNWT, 1983). A mosaic of natural and cultural resources, combined with increased accessibility through the Dempster Highway, has also allowed the Inuvialuit to capitalize on relatively high tourism numbers. In 1986, the Western Arctic Visitors Association (WAVA), now Western Arctic Trade and Tourism (WATT), established a long-term mandate for tourism development: to maintain tourism growth at a rate of 20% to 30% over the next decade (MacLaren Plansearch, 1985, p. 5). Nature-based tourism development is obviously considered as a primary tool for sustainable economic development in the high Arctic.

However, western and Inuit lifestyles are very different from each other. Past and present controversy between these cultures has set the stage for conflict between nature-based tourists' interests in non-consumptive wildlife viewing and the Inuvialuit's rite to harvest sea and land animals. In the literature it is often cited that appropriately managed nature-based tourism can be sustainable and compatible with aboriginal culture and society. In reality, however, the situation is commonly quite different. Many nature-based tourists carry an environmentalist and preservationist ideology which may place the Inuvialuit's subsistence whale harvest out of context (Kretchman and Eagles, 1990).

1.1.1 Recognizing the Need for Community-Based Tourism Planning

Historically, life within the Arctic environment has always been filled with a high level of uncertainty and risk. As a result, it has always been a challenge to exploit its primary resource base. These difficulties persist today and, in some way, have become exacerbated due to human-induced changes, such as oil drilling and fluctuating market prices (Wenzel, 1991). Consequently, now and in the past, the way of life in the Beaufort-Delta region has been based on mutual support and the sharing of natural resources, such as beluga and caribou (McGhee, 1974; Freeman, 1992). Through sharing, health, culture, and knowledge are sustained from generation to generation (Freeman, 1992; Berkes *et al.*, 1994). To ensure this trend continues, it is crucial that the Inuvialuit[2] become structurally integrated into tourism development. As Notzke (1999) notes, "native people have the greatest stake in a tourism industry" (p. 60). While they stand to benefit from its cash supplements, they are the ones who are most likely to first experience the brunt of its growth. Capitalizing on the claim that nature-based tourism is a sustainable form of northern development may be a challenge for the Inuvialuit. Murphy (1985) notes that the host community alone must direct tourism's planning agenda and direction. If not, as tourism development proceeds without the support of local residents, tension is likely to grow between hosts and guests. If local involvement occurs early on in tourism development, it becomes easier to negotiate resolutions between parties throughout the entire tourism planning process. This makes more sense, since the local population understands best what the positive and negative effects of tourism may be.

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In 1996, there were 430 (of 710), 1215 (of 3270) and 845 (of 943) Inuvialuit within each community, respectively (Census Canada, 1996).

1.2 Research Objectives

1.2.1 Purpose of the Research

The overall purpose of this study was to provide a comprehensive review, based on stakeholder perspectives, of the positive and negative socio-cultural, economic and environmental impacts of nature-based tourism in and around the communities of Aklavik, Inuvik, and Tuktoyaktuk, NWT. The specific objectives of the study were:

1) to identify visitor motives and use patterns in the *past* in order to understand the reasons behind local-level impacts in the Beaufort-Delta region;

2) to reveal and gauge institutional and Inuvialuit perspectives on present and desired conditions related to the sustainability of nature-based tourism in the Beaufort-Delta region;

3) to reveal and gauge visitor and tour operator perspectives on the present and desired conditions related to the sustainability of nature- based tourism in the Beaufort-Delta region;

4) to identify and assess, in terms of sustainable nature-based tourism, any discrepancies between present and desired conditions;

5) to assess existing tourism guidelines and to give new recommendations regarding sustainable nature-based tourism management.

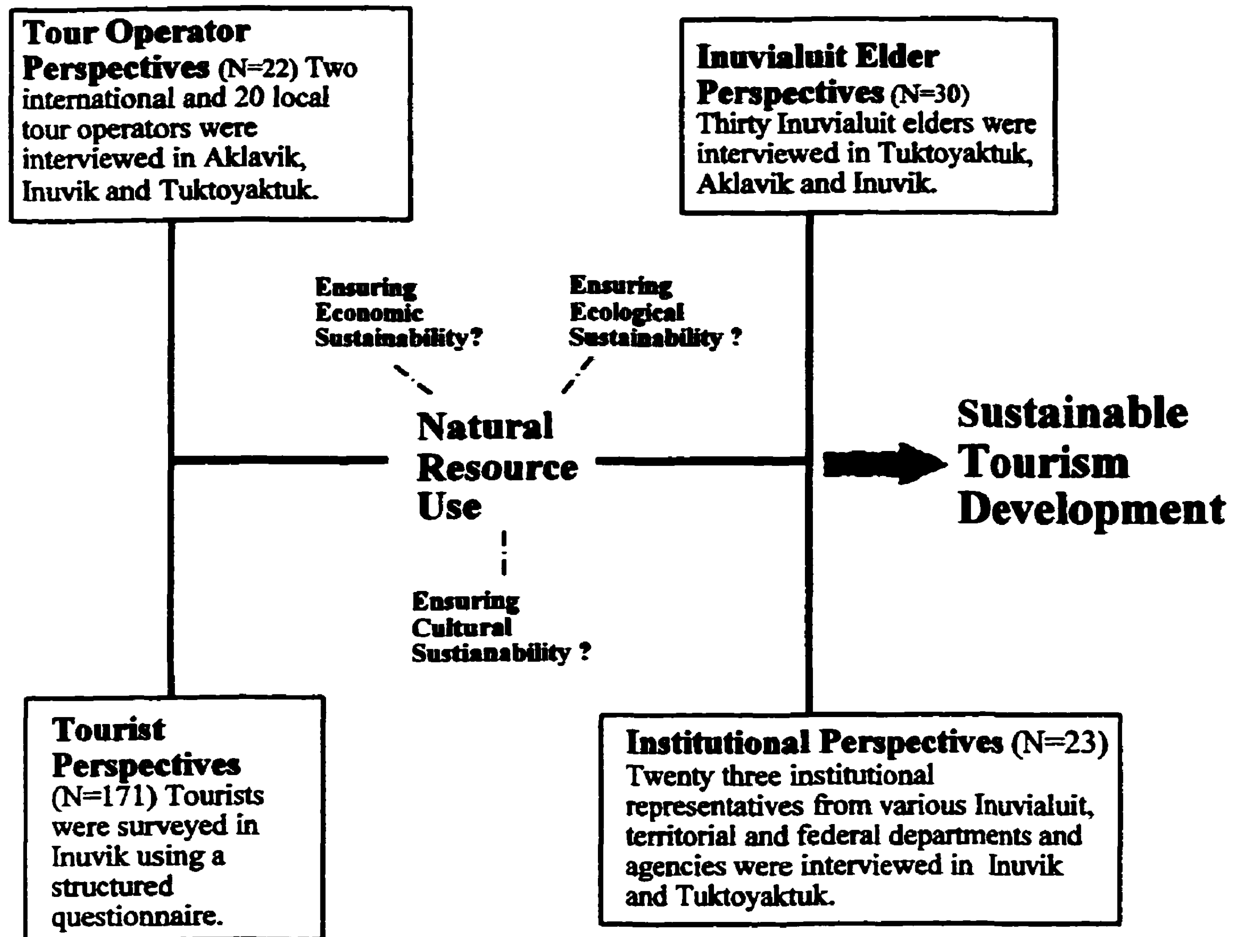
1.3 Research Limitations

There are several limitations to this study. First, due to time constraints and budgetary restrictions the researcher was only able to go to three communities (Aklavik, Tuktoyaktuk and Inuvik) for a relatively short period of time. The researcher's knowledge of Inuvialuit communities and culture are thus limited. As well, interview samples are not necessarily representative of entire communities' perspectives. Second, while the research is carried out within an Inuvialuit context, content analysis is limited by the researcher's own perceptions, and thus biases.

1.4 Justification

A common approach to planning for successful nature-based tourism management strategies is to collect the perspectives of pertinent publics (Liu *et al.*, 1987) Each stakeholder group has specific information to provide which will strengthen the overall design of nature-based tourism development. Input from various stakeholder groups leads to accurate decision-making, which can be concurrently legitimized through gaining the support of community residents (Plan Canada, 1995). Scholars argue that by following a multi-stakeholder planning process, it is more likely that tourism industries will reflect community and environmental needs (Liu and Var, 1986; Liu *et al.*, 1987; Addison, 1996; Horwich *et al.*, 1996).

This study follows the most commonly used approach in collecting stakeholder input for tourism development: sociological attitudinal surveys (Wearing and Larsen, 1996, p. 117). Most studies which enlist stakeholder perspectives for tourism development do so by utilizing community surveys that are broken down into socio-cultural, economic and environmental variables (Pizam, 1978; Belisle and Hoy, 1980; Cooke, 1982; Liu and Var, 1986; Allen *et al.*, 1988; Ritchie, 1988; Nickels *et al.*, 1991; Addison, 1996).



This diagram shows how each stakeholder's perspective overlaps and mutually influences the way in which the Beaufort-Delta's nature-based tourism industry is managed. Each stakeholder may influence the others' view on how the industry should be managed. Thus, overall management decisions ultimately determine how natural resources are used, which in turn determines the sustainability of the industry.

Figure 2: A Research Framework for Sustainable Nature-based Tourism Management in the Beaufort-Delta, NWT.

1.5 Key Terms and Concepts:

Inuvialuit: the Eskimo[3] of the Canadian Western Arctic belonging to three distinct linguistic groups (*Uummarmiut, Kangiryuarmiut,* and *Siglit*), meaning *"real, or genuine people,"* who are beneficiaries under the Inuvialuit Final Agreement (IFA).

Tourism: is the action and activities of people taking trips to places outside their home communities for any purpose except daily commuting to and from work (Syrnyk, 1986, p. 5).

Tourism Industry: the businesses, organizations, labour and government agencies which totally, or in part, provide the means of transport, goods, services, accommodations and other facilities, programs and resources for tourists (Syrnyk, 1986, p. 5).

Sustainable development: according to the WCED (1987, p.8) is "development that meets the needs of present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs".

Ecological sustainability: not depleting natural capital and maintaining ecosystem structure and function; that is, allowing an ecosystem to naturally maintain, or self-regulate (through positive and negative environmental feedbacks), its functions and processes (Berkes and Folke, 1998, Chapter1).

Social and cultural sustainability: the maintenance and reinforcement of cultural values, such as self-reliance, cooperation, sharing, reciprocity and respect for present and future generations (Berkes and Fast, 1994).

Economic sustainability: the maintenance of livelihood security. Chambers and Conway (1992, as cited in Sandhu, 1998) describe **livelihoods** as "the means of gaining and ensuring a living, including capabilities, tangible assets and intangible assets"(p. 25).

Outfitter: are those who are offering a personal service to a hunter, fisher, or tourist, but are doing so in conjunction with the provision of some amount of related transport or shelter component. These operators may be mobile or operate from seasonally fixed bases (GNWT, 1988, p. 11).

Tour Operator: a person who negotiates rates from travel service suppliers, takes the component contracted, creates and organizes packages and offers them a complete packaged tour to travel agents, wholesalers, and tourists at either a retail price or net price, and operates the complete package enterprise (GNWT, 1988, p. 11).

The terms "tour operator" and "outfitter" will be used synonymously in this study. In the Beaufort-Delta, outfitters negotiate rates, contract out, offer and run packaged tours themselves. Tour operators will also provide personal services to consumptive and non-consumptive tourists in conjunction to a related transport and shelter which they own.

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3 According to Lowe (1984), the Inuvialuit often prefer the word Eskimo over Inuit, which is more commonly used in the eastern Arctic.

CHAPTER 2: CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK AND GEOGRAPHICAL SETTING

2.1 The Shift From Mass-tourism to Alternative Tourism

During pre-industrial times, travel to far-off destinations was often only possible for the aristocracy. It is easy to visualize that the common-person, who was unable to afford an efficient means of transportation, travelled painstakingly to nearby places. Slowly, and since the onset of the industrial revolution, income gaps decreased and leisure time increased. In 1843, the Baptist preacher Thomas Cook organized what is considered the first onset of so-called "mass tourism" (Turner and Ash, 1975). Cook contracted-out a specially reduced train fare for 560 colleagues from Leicester to Lough borough to attend a "quarterly-delegate meeting". With the notion of "tour-packaging" etched into his head, Thomas Cook established large tourism excursions all across the European continent (*ibid.*). However, despite increases in production and mechanized travel it was still only society's upper echelon that participated extensively. Those directly involved in the manufacturing process were afforded little leisure time and only recreated close to work and home. Often, however, the lower class worker would congregate in geographical areas with a different social tone, later known as "working-class resorts" (Urry, 1990).

Several decades later, after World War II, geopolitical stability, social reform, and technological changes in communication and transportation allowed middle and lower-middle class income earners to participate in mass-tourism (Mieczkowski, 1990; Cater, 1994; Eadington and Smith, 1994). From 1950 to 1973, the Gross Domestic Product of most western countries, such as the United States and Germany, rose at an unprecedented rate; consequently, the middle class held more discretionary income (i.e., expenditures other than for life necessities) (Mieczkowski, 1990). Since travel is highly income elastic, higher disposable incomes would necessarily increase the demand for tourism (Bailie, 1980). From 1950 to 1980,

the growth of international tourism represented an 8-fold increase, from 25.3 million people to 204.8 million people, respectively (Eadington and Smith, 1994). In the latter half of the twentieth century international tourism has evolved as the world's largest growth industry (Phillips, 1994; Ivanko, 1996; Mieczkowski, 1990). The World Tourism Organization (WTO) estimates that in 1993 there were 500 million international tourist arrivals (WTO, 1994). The same year international tourism cashed in $ 316, 035 million US dollars; this compares to 1980 international tourism receipts of only $ 103, 535 million US dollars (WTO, 1994).

Today, as in the past, people continually seek to separate work from leisure, in an attempt to increase the latter. The major impetus behind tourism is the conception that it is not work; but rather that it is undertaken to re-create pleasure and satisfaction otherwise missing in everyday working life (Graburn, 1989; Pigram,1994). As life stresses increase, and as incomes rise, the need for people to travel to even farther and more "exotic" places will grow considerably.

2.1.1 A Forced Change: Sustainable Tourism- A New Beginning ?

As mass-tourists flock in large numbers to their destinations in search of new experiences they often exploit local, social, cultural and environmental resources. Mass tourism, taking the form of four S's tourism (sun, sand, sea and sex), shopping spree tourism, holiday vacation, etc., has already caused considerable damage to many areas in the southern hemisphere. Manning (1996) describes that tourists now avoid visiting a once thriving section of Buenos Aires, Argentina, called La Boca. The local river now smells of human waste, and so the tourists have moved elsewhere. The type of physical and economic infrastructure necessary to accommodate mass-tourism has not only been incompatible with the physical environment, but also with local cultures. As international mass-tourism increases in a foreign society, western consumer culture can take over, forcing the loss of traditional culture. The

spin-off effects of this are quite dramatic and are seen as increases in prostitution, crime, drug abuse, and poor health (Manning, 1996).

From the 1960's onward, however, much of the western world experienced the force of left and right-wing activist groups concerned with heated socio-political and environmental issues. Environmental philosophers and outdoor adventurers, such as Aldo Leopold, David Foreman, and Edward Abby helped to produce small outcroppings of activists and organizations that fuelled the beginnings of the global environmental movement (Nash, 1982). Today, as the idea of environmental conservation permeates western mainstream society, opinions toward how development treats people and their natural environment have changed. To illustrate, a 1991 Angus Reid Poll shows that 76% of Canadians feel that environmental protection should remain a government priority, even if the country's economy is lagging (Wight, 1995b). By necessity and compelled by the voice of their clients and the marketplace, much of the tourism industry has also adopted green management principles. Hawkes and Williams (1993) provide evidence for this, as they provide a compendium of cases of the Canadian tourism industry's most ecologically sound practices.

The links between tourism development, culture and the environment have been recognized as an interrelated and interdependent web. It is argued that the interests for tourism and for its resource base are more alike than dissimilar (Pigram, 1980; Wight, 1995b). To ensure that tourism remains a quality experience, tourism development must enhance, rather degrade, its resource base (Pigram, 1994; Hunter and Green, 1995; Butler, 1991). For instance, for the tourist, natural and cultural environments set an important "stage" for foreign and domestic locations. As Wight (1995c) describes "[A]t its best, tourism is an enriching experience for the visitor, benefits heritage or other sites, and provides employment, income and other benefits for host communities"(p. 11). Today there is an implicit understanding that

the natural and cultural resources which support tourism must always be more bountiful than before they were used. Therefore, as Farrell and Runyan (1991) believe, natural resource management and tourism planning should play a key role in maintaining an area's environmental and cultural attractions. If tourism practitioners are not aware of the fundamentals behind sustainable tourism development, medium to large-scale tourism operations will follow two well-trodden paths of natural resource conservation: one of coexistence--symbiosis or conflict (Budowski, 1976).

Butler's (1980, p. 6) hypothetical *"tourist area cycle of evolution"* suggests that if tourism development is not properly regulated, it can quickly degrade its resource-base. This is delineated through a series of stages that show slow increases in development, a rapid rate of growth, potential stabilization and then a decline of the tourism industry (Fig 3). Here the resiliency of natural and social systems are tested through the scale of tourism infrastructure development and the type of tourist.

During the *exploration stage* only a few tourists follow irregular visitation patterns. This step is the catalyst for what is known as the "take-off" stage for tourism development (Pearce, 1989). During this stage the numbers of visitors are not yet substantial enough to allow for the development of a tourism infrastructure. One could call such tourists "pacesetters" or "explorers," as they pave the way into pristine areas. At this point of the life-cycle, the social, economic and environmental impacts are small (Ryan, 1991).

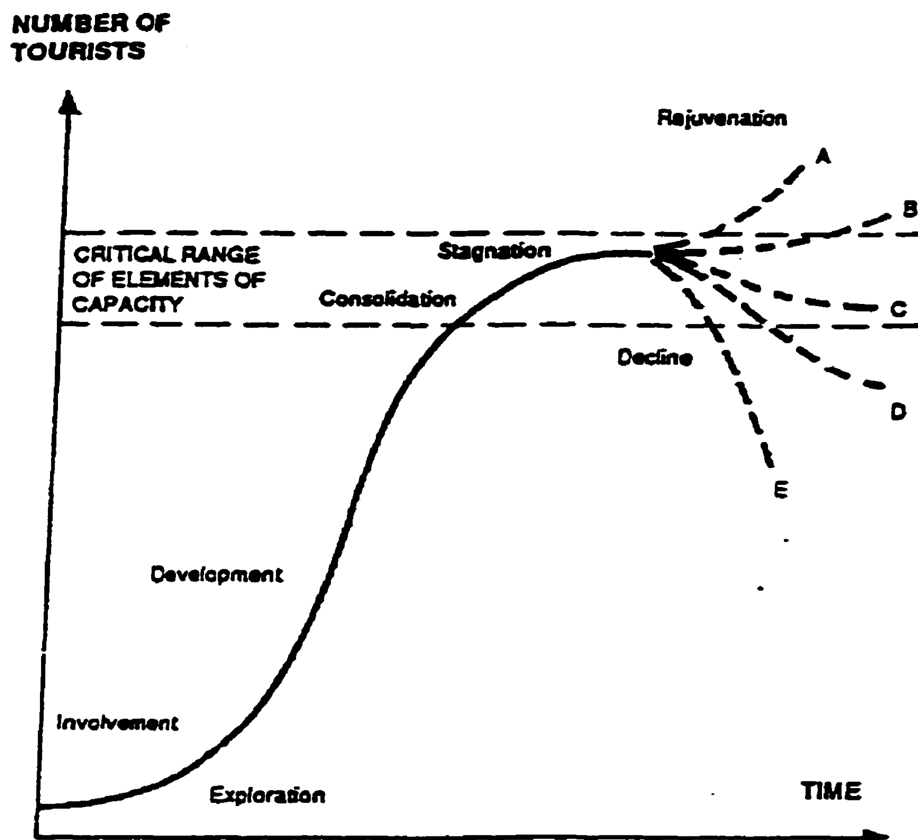


Figure 3: The Concept of the Tourist Area Cycle of Evolution (TACE)(Butler, 1980).

Soon, however, as the area slightly increases in popularity, more people arrive, increasing interaction with the host community. This is known as the *involvement stage*. Here contact between hosts and guests begins to increase, although harmony between the two groups still exists (Pearce, 1981). Locals begin to provide an increased range of services. Since tourism services are locally owned, many operators soon realize increases in demand and begin to expand existing facilities (Butler, 1980; Ryan, 1991). At this point, the ability of the social and natural environment to continually absorb increases in tourism becomes challenged (Cohen, 1978). At the "end" of the involvement stage, there is an increasing need to improve the existing community infrastructure; consequently, locals often become dependent on foreign investment, ownership and purchases.

The expansion of a tourism destination's infrastructure forces the *development stage*. According to Butler (1980), the development stage "reflects a well-defined and developed tourist market area, shaped in part by heavy advertising in tourist generating areas" (p. 8). More high-income tourists living in urban areas are lured into the now well-defined tourism "hot-spot". Turner and Ash (1975) describe such tourists as passive spectators from an urbanized culture with professional qualifications. More specifically, they are holiday-travellers constrained by time who seek to maximize their experiences. As more holiday travellers arrive, the infrastructure which supports them must also quickly develop. Specialized facilities are developed and cultural and natural features are subject to direct marketing. At certain times of the year visitor numbers will eventually out number the permanent residents. Discontent among the host population is eventually evoked, and the intensification of development inevitably degrades the local natural environment: at this point mass tourism may set in.

During the final stages of this cycle, the consolidation and stagnation phases, tourism development increases at a decreasing rate. Tourism has now become the most prevalent part of the region's economic base, forcing high local dependency. The area in question is no longer distinguishable from other tourist areas, and, therefore, has a falling profit margin (Butler, 1980; Ryan, 1991). As the marketing and advertising effort attempts to reach an even wider tourism market, it widens the gap between permanent resident and non-permanent resident. As the area loses its marketability, tours are offered at lower prices thereby attracting what, according to Ryan (1991), is an organized mass-market. The type of tourist visiting is no longer concerned with a sense of "authenticity", but rather accepts the area's artificiality and prefers a sense of "hyper-reality". As investment decreases in the tourism region, the amount of development and renovation also declines. Thus, the area is forced into a stagnation phase. The socio-cultural, economic and environmental variables of tourism have all been pushed to

their limits. Progressively, the decline of local amenities occurs as development spreads out into peripheral areas. In the tourism destination's core area, much of the "foreign" investment has already left, leaving the host population to fend for itself (Ryan, 1991). Unfortunately, the host population is often left with nothing and must fight to regain their traditional way-of-life.

2.1.2 Sustainable Tourism

The tourist area cycle of evolution provided by Butler (1980) delineates the process by which a tourism destination is degraded socially, economically and environmentally. Roughly while his article was being published, policy makers were formalizing the concept of sustainable development- a concept that has drastically affected the way in which tourism has been managed.

Two reports entitled *The World Conservation Strategy* (WCS) (1980) and *Our Common Future* (1987), also known as the Brundtland Report, set a global precedent through integrating the terms conservation and development. Both strategies arose out of the recognition that if development is to continue at current levels, it must attempt to conserve the natural resource base which supports it. The WCS (1980) stresses that conservation and development are interrelated and mutually interdependent (IUCN, UNEP, WWF, 1980). Our Common Future (1987) further developed this initiative and defined sustainable development as "development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs" (WCED, 1987, p. 8). Both reports also emphasize that if development is to be sustainable it must promote an equitable distribution of wealth, health and opportunity.

As with all newly emerging concepts, there were those who criticized the tenets of sustainable development. They argued that sustainable development is an ambiguous term and that it caters to western development ideals, and not more pressing global developmental issues (Worster, 1994). Despite criticism, the palatability of sustainable development has given it global stature. Consequently, to address its negative social-cultural, economic and environmental impacts, much of the tourism industry also adopted elements of sustainable development.

With increasing criticism over the impacts of mass tourism, and the possibility that they may undermine the economic viability of tourism locations, managers adopted various approaches (e.g., ecological indicators) to move toward sustainable resource use; collectively they are known as sustainable tourism operations. Manning (1997, p. 3) defines sustainable tourism as an "understanding and respect for the physical and cultural milieu within which the industry operates, so to ensure that tourism which provides experiences today will ensure that the ability to serve future tourists and the needs of host communities are not compromised". Today, the main building blocks of sustainable tourism are being integrated into an overarching "green-tourism" policy. The policy of so-called green tourism is very relevant to the dynamic, static and consequential aspects of tourism management (Mathieson and Wall, 1982). Sustainable tourism policy will first manage the static and consequential elements of tourism. This involves the management of the actual presence of tourists (static) and their effects (consequential), and is most commonly concurrent or subsequent to actual development. The dynamic element of tourism, referring to the actual demand and type of tourism in the area, is often secondary to this. Therefore, sustainable tourism attempts to mitigate the exploitative free-for- all atmosphere of open-access resources use, so often associated with tourism "hot-spots" (i.e., Garrett Hardin's (1968) thesis "The Tragedy of the Commons").

2.1.3 The Concept of Tourism Carrying Capacity

Sustainable tourism development is, therefore, related to the concept of tourism area carrying capacity. Carrying capacity has great value since it concerns itself with the management and measurement of the limits and thresholds imposed by tourism development in an area (Manning, 1997). It defines parameters within which sustainable tourism development must be achieved. Williams and Gill (1991) describe tourism carrying capacity as "management [that] creates the notion of an approach to tourism which permits it to grow with acceptable limits. It implies thought and concern for not only tourism's benefits but also its costs"(p I). More specifically, Mathieson and Wall (1982) describe tourism carrying capacity as the highest number of individuals who can use an area without unacceptable modification to the physical environment, and inappropriate decreases in the quality of experiences gained by others. The growth of tourism, as described in Butler's tourism growth cycle, within or out of acceptable limits, is monitored through what is known as social, ecological and economic carrying capacity indicators.

Social carrying capacity concerns itself with how interrelated and cumulative socio-cultural, ecological and economic impacts affect the tourist and the local population (Mieczkowski, 1995). More specifically, Hunter and Green (1995, p. 58) define social carrying as "the level of tolerance that of the host population for the presence and behaviour of tourists in the destination area, and/or the degree of crowding users are prepared to accept by other tourists". During several stages the potential social and cultural impacts are identified, measured and managed. These include indicators like the volume of visitors, types of use, length of stay, and the amounts of services provided (Williams and Gill, 1991; Mathieson and Wall, 1982). Tourism is, therefore, restricted to certain locally, regionally or nationally defined social limitations. The maintenance of social carrying capacity provides the

maintenance of people's well-being within the realms of physical, social, cultural and economic variables (Hodge, 1996). As discussed, sustainable livelihoods are one of the main ingredients which contribute to sustainable development (Kettel, 1996). Sustainable livelihoods utilize local resources and return revenue back into the community, with secure and equitable access to primary needs, suitable technology and earnings with concurrent conservation or enhancement of the natural environment (Kettel, 1996). Social carrying capacity helps to delimit the sustainability of local culture as the long-term maintenance of cultural values and attributes (Berkes and Fast, 1996).

Ecological carrying capacity, as used in tourism, denotes a level of visitor use beyond which environmental degradation may occur. Tourism held within an area's ecological carrying capacity is said to achieve and maintain a high-level of annual or regular periodic output of various renewable and preservation of non-renewable resources, without impairment of the recreational benefits and the natural productivity of the land (Hunter and Green, 1995). Environmental or ecological carrying capacity should, therefore, also be seen as a management tool where certain site specific indicators, such as percent loss of ground cover and species diversity, are measured to determine the fragility of the site. Such measurements help to establish the amount and type of tourism activity that will take place. The corner stone of sustainable tourism development is, therefore, ecosystem health and resilience. For tourism development to be sustainable, the quality and quantity of services that ecosystems provide (such as habitat, chemical, biological, and climatic productivity), must be maintained or enhanced during its growth (Cohen, 1978; Pigram, 1980; Inskeep, 1987; Manning, 1993). Due to the complexity of ecosystems, the measurement and monitoring of environmental health becomes very difficult. Thus, knowing before doing becomes crucial.

Economic carrying capacity is the ability of an area to absorb tourism activities without displacing or disrupting local activities (Hunter and Green, 1995). This deals specifically with tourism over development, where high density tourism infrastructures encroach upon limited and sensitive space (Mieczkowski, 1995; Inskeep, 1987; Ryan, 1991). Despite tourism being beneficial to many regions, if its development is not regulated, the associated economic multiplier effects, such as new employment and transactions, can quickly encroach upon the previously existing economy (Mathieson and Wall, 1982). Therefore, economic carrying capacity deals with managerial carrying capacity, where operators must know how many visitors they can and should be accommodating. This deals with ratios between relevant quantities; for example, guide to visitor ratios, or number of user units to visitors in one day (Hunter and Green, 1995). Often tourism's greatest negative impact is an increase in income gaps between hosts and tourists. Expatriates will often fill more skilled jobs and earn more money than locals, potentially forcing them to adopt low-wage jobs to aspire to a higher economic status (Mathieson and Wall, 1982; McLaren, 1998).

2.1. 4 The Details of Sustainable Tourism Planning and Policy

The fundamental components of sustainable tourism planning policy have been outlined extensively in literature (Manning 1993; Pigram 1994; Inskeep, 1987). Sustainable tourism planning deals with how to use the concept of carrying capacity and put it to work. Sustainable tourism planning suggests that assessment of a site's carrying capacity occurs before, during and after tourism development. In Inskeep's (1987) words, "[b] asic to current thinking on tourism planning are the concepts that tourism must be integrated into the total development planning of the area with cross-sectoral linkages carefully analysed and understood, and that alternative goals and strategies should be rationally evaluated with respect to all types of benefits and costs- economic, socio-cultural and environmental- as part of the

process of selecting the optimum plan" (p. 121). Put simply, tourism must be managed so that its development opportunity and industrial capacity are matched with local, regional, national needs and environmental sensitivity. For sustainable tourism planning to be successful, there is a need to implement the mentioned macro and micro-level site indicators. However, Williams and Gill (1991) recommend that before any indicators of tourism carrying capacity are established, it is first necessary to determine a comprehensive assessment of the region based on:

1) the specification of desired resource and social conditions;
2) the analysis of the match between existing and desired conditions;
3) an examination of the potential causes for any gaps between existing and desired conditions;
4) and, monitoring the effectiveness of these steps once they are implemented (*ibid.*, p. iii).

2.1.5 The Idea of "Alternative Tourism"

Two schools of thought deal with how sustainable tourism policy should be implemented. The first argument is that sustainability will arise from "softer" forms of tourism that will partly substitute harmful mass-tourism. Second is that mass-tourism is inevitable and that the tourism industry must adopt "greener" management practices (Godfrey, 1996). The industry approach to tourism is delineated above. Academics argue, however, that a more effective means of executing sustainable tourism policy is by using tourism as a technique to achieve environmental and cultural conservation. By applying various marketing techniques to attract environmentally conscious tourists to unique and remote areas, it is possible to finance tourism and conservation simultaneously (Cohen, 1978). Since the natural environment is tourism's selling feature, it must be conserved to continually attract the "nature-loving" tourist. Nature tourists demand an intact environment, and tourism managers attempt to meet their demands. Tourism managers may even turn to the nature tourist to help subsidize

local conservation efforts. Consequently, demand-side and supply-side tourism management work hand-in-hand to conserve the industry's natural resource base. Hunter (1997) states that tourism planners have held too narrow a focus on sustainable tourism development to see that alternative forms of tourism exist, and that by the very nature of their market niche, are apparently compatible with sustainability.

Within the last few decades, a dramatic rise in "alternative tourism" has broadened the horizons of managers interested in sustainable tourism. Alternative tourism is defined as "forms of tourism that are consistent with natural, social, and community values and which allow both hosts and guests to enjoy positive and worthwhile interaction and shared experiences" (Smith and Eadington, 1994, p.3). Being a direct reaction to mass-tourism, some implications of alternative tourism include reduced numbers of visitors, and environmentally conscious and educated visitors which return revenue to the community and conservation efforts (Butler, 1990). However, in order for alternative tourism operations to be successful, careful management is required. It is essential that tourist typologies be fed through education, reflexivity, and initiative, and that tour guides be given extensive training on local environmental issues (Deardon and Harron, 1994). Through proper management, the motivations of environmentally and culturally conscious tourists may be the key to sustainable tourism development.

2.1.6 Ecotourism: A Tool for Sustainable Tourism Development ?

Ecotourism is considered the first subset of nature-based tourism which helps to comprise the alternative tourism market (Brandon, 1996; Cater, 1994). Ecotourism is considered the fastest growing portion of the global tourism industry (Ivanko, 1996). The World Tourism Organization estimates that 7% of the global tourism market is nature-based, and it is expected that ecotourism will grow incrementally by 20% a year (Weaver *et al.*, 1995).

Within the literature, many academics come up with similar but varying definitions of the term ecotourism. One is most often cited in literature, and will be used here. Hector Ceballos-Lascurin (1996, p.20), considered as the first to coin the term, defines ecotourism as "tourism that involves travelling to relatively undisturbed or uncontaminated natural areas with the specific objective of studying, admiring and enjoying the scenery and its wild plants and animals as well as any existing cultural areas".

However, despite ambiguity in definition, Scace *et al.*, (1992) note that ecotourism's primary aim is to provide people with a first hand experience of appreciating natural areas and culture therein. The travel motivations of the "real" ecotourist should also be grounded in learning and appreciating natural and cultural surroundings in a non-consumptive manner (Weaver *et al.*, 1995). Ecotourism is said to represent a practical and effective means of attaining social, economic, and environmental enhancement and conservation. The potential of ecotourism is realized when its infrastructure, such as trail networks and visitor reception centres, are based on minimum impact policy. For instance, most ecotourism operations will have well-developed ecotourism guidelines for both the tourist and tour operator. Given this background, ecotourism has the clear potential to be a viable economic alternative, or just a supplement, to more exploitative resource-based activities. Weaver *et al.*, (1995) note that due to ecotourism's distinct market niche, it is "one of the few tertiary sectors which actually thrives in peripheral regions where economic conditions are depressed . . . " (p. 4). Ecotourism can therefore be used as a potential economic alternative for local peoples. This is most often seen in a range of jobs, such as guiding and cooking (Brandon, 1996). Essential to "true" ecotourism is that during and after its development, conservation initiatives and local control must have precedence. Local control, or community-based tourism planning, allows for the local knowledge-base, the most pertinent form of knowledge, to be utilized for sustainable development.

Nonetheless, with such tremendous growth ecotourism has not always lived up to its expectations. Weaver *et al.*, (1995), note that "the *in-situ* nature of consumption places the tourist in immediate contact with the tourist product and the host population"(p. 6). In fact, many academics find it is impossible for any form of tourism not to affect the local environment (Inskeep, 1987; Butler, 1990; Cohen, 1978, Pigram, 1980). As ecotourists prefer relatively unspoilt nature it is in their interest to move into very remote areas, invariably altering the human and natural ecology. Many studies document how the curiosity of ecotourists has led them to damage vegetation and animal breeding patterns (Klein *et al.*, 1994; Maninini *et al.*, 1993; Kaiser and Fritzell, 1984).

Scholars argue that even "ecotourists" are capable of causing a great deal of damage. Pigram (1994) and Butler (1990, 1991, 1994) argue that many so-called ecotourists are in fact very affluent westerners driven by "hedonistic" ethics, rather than conservationist ethics. This coincides with the inappropriate labelling of any form of tourism as ecological-tourism. Butler (1991) warns that as ecotourism grows in a free market system that greater emphasis will be placed on increasing financial return through greater tourist numbers, rather than on conservation. The issue of whether natural areas should be managed for financial capital or for nature quickly comes into focus. Ray Ashton, cited in Beal (1991), states that ecotourism's extraordinary growth rate "can and in some cases already has, significantly reduced the traditional 12-15 year lag between the time tourism first enters a new market and when mass-tourism becomes common in that area"(p. 1). It is, therefore, up to regional decision makers, tour operators and tourists to help realize the potential of ecotourism.

2.1.7 Cultural Tourism

Cultural tourism, also known as ethnic or aboriginal tourism, is considered as the second subset of nature-based tourism, and is defined as "travelling for the purposes of observing the cultural expressions and lifestyles of truly exotic people" (Williams and Stewart, 1997, p. 26). Smith (1982, 1989) and Hinch and Butler (1996) describe cultural tourism as having a strong aboriginal presence which markets itself as the " connection between land and culture". Furthermore, Smith (1996) stresses that the main elements of cultural tourism can be seen as habitat, heritage, history and handicrafts. Cultural tourism provides visitors with access to and intimate knowledge of cultural and natural areas (Williams and Stewart, 1997, p. 27). Hence, cultural tourism is slightly different from its not-so-distant cousin, ecotourism. However, it must be noted that cultural tourists are often part of the mass-tourism market (Smith, 1989, 1996). It is only when cultural tourism is integrated as a part of nature-based tourism that it comprises a delicate market niche that holds greater prospects for sustainable tourism development (CNATA, 1994). Ideally, the "aboriginal holiday experience" is transformed into smaller "indigenous-nature tourism" products, such as well-managed cultural immersion and heritage tours. The debate surrounding cultural tourism is split between those scholars who see it as a form of neocolonialism (Nash, 1996), and those who see it as means of facilitating cultural and economic stability (Hinch and Butler, 1996).

The positive and negative aspects of ecotourism and cultural tourism are considered in greater detail when reviewing the impacts of nature-based tourism in the Beaufort-Delta. Collectively, for the purposes of this thesis, cultural and ecotourism will be considered to be nature-based tourism.

2.2 From Whalers to Nature-based Tourism in the Beaufort-Delta Region

2.2.1 Geographical Setting

The Beaufort-Delta region will be considered as the Mackenzie River Delta with all of its main arteries, and all coastlines of the Beaufort Sea between the Yukon North Slope and the community of Paulatuk. The environment of the Beaufort- Delta is characterized by a short growing season, very cold winters and cool summers, with some warm periods (Bird, 1967). Within the Delta's interior, the July mean high is 19.4 C, while the January mean low is -34 C. At the Beaufort Sea coast, the July mean high is lower at 15.2C with a January mean low of -31.6 C (Mackenzie Delta-Beaufort Delta Regional Land Use Planning Commission, 1988). The physiography of the region is one of contrast. The Mackenzie Delta comprises an area of approximately 7,520 sq. km (Hunt, 1976). The Delta is bordered on the east by the East Channel and the Caribou Hills, and on the west by the Richardson Mountains and the Yukon North Slope. In the north, it is bordered by the Beaufort Sea. Vegetation in the Delta's interior consists of swamp horsetail and an abundance of Arctic Willow. Removed from the high water mark, alder thickets, balsam poplar and thick strands of spruce are found (*ibid.*). Ice wedge polygons and numerous pingos make up the only height variations.

2.2.2 A Contemporary Community Profile of Tuktoyaktuk, Aklavik and Inuvik[4]

The communities within the Beaufort- Delta region **(see Fig1)** are Tuktoyaktuk, Inuvik, Arctic Red River, Sachs Harbour, Holman, Aklavik and Fort McPherson. However, the main tourism destinations are Inuvik, Aklavik and Tuktoyaktuk, and so only these communities are considered for this study.

Tuktoyaktuk *(Tuktuujaartuq- "Resembling a Caribou")* commonly referred to as "Tuk", is located on the north end of a peninsula which reaches into Kugmallit Bay, east of the Mackenzie Delta and 137 km north of Inuvik. The community, formerly known as Port Brabant, is placed upon a flat gravel covered coastal plan north of the treeline. In 1996, of 943 people, 88% are Inuvialuit, 1% Metis, 2% Gwich'in and 9% non-aboriginal (Census, 1996).

Plate 1: Researcher in Tuktoyaktuk, roughly 2 p.m., July 1998.

4 All data taken from *Mackenzie Delta-Beaufort Delta Regional Land Use Planning Commission, (1988) and the Aklavik, Tuktoyaktuk and Inuvik ICCP, (1993)*

Aklavik *(Aklaqvik: "a place where a bear was killed")* is located on the Peel Channel of the Mackenzie River Delta, 113 km from the Beaufort Sea cost and 55km west of Inuvik. The community is found upon flat Muskeg-covered silt, which is bordered by rivers, swamps, and lakes. Throughout the 1950s, the community was subject to periodic flooding and erosion. This forced the government to relocate community residents and administrative offices to the community of East Three, later to be known as Inuvik. In 1996, the population was 710, with 23% Gwich'in, 4% Metis, 57% Inuvialuit and 5% non-aboriginal, with 11% other (Census, 1996).

Inuvik *(Inuuvik: "Living Place")* is located on the East Channel of the MacKenzie River. It lies at the northernmost extent of the Boreal treeline, being 97 km south of the Beaufort Sea coast. Inuvik was built to accommodate the people of Aklavik, which were to relocate here due to flooding and erosion back home. Construction of the community began in 1955 and finished in 1961. It was designed to be the central administrative, economic, educational and medical hub for the Beaufort-Delta region. Thus, it does not characterize the typical northern settlement community, such as Tuktoyaktuk and Aklavik. Of a 1996 population of 3270, 14% are Gwich'in, 6.7% are Metis, 37% are Inuvialuit, while the majority at 41%, are non-aboriginal (Census, 1996).

Plate 2: Inuvik lying along the banks of the Mackenzie River's East Channel, June, 1998

The Inuvialuit in each of these communities still depend heavily on the land. For example, in Tuktoyaktuk, in addition to wage earnings, more than 75% of all households derive a large portion of their food from hunting and fishing (Community of Tuktoyaktuk ICCP, 1993). Similar numbers can be used for Inuvik and Aklavik.

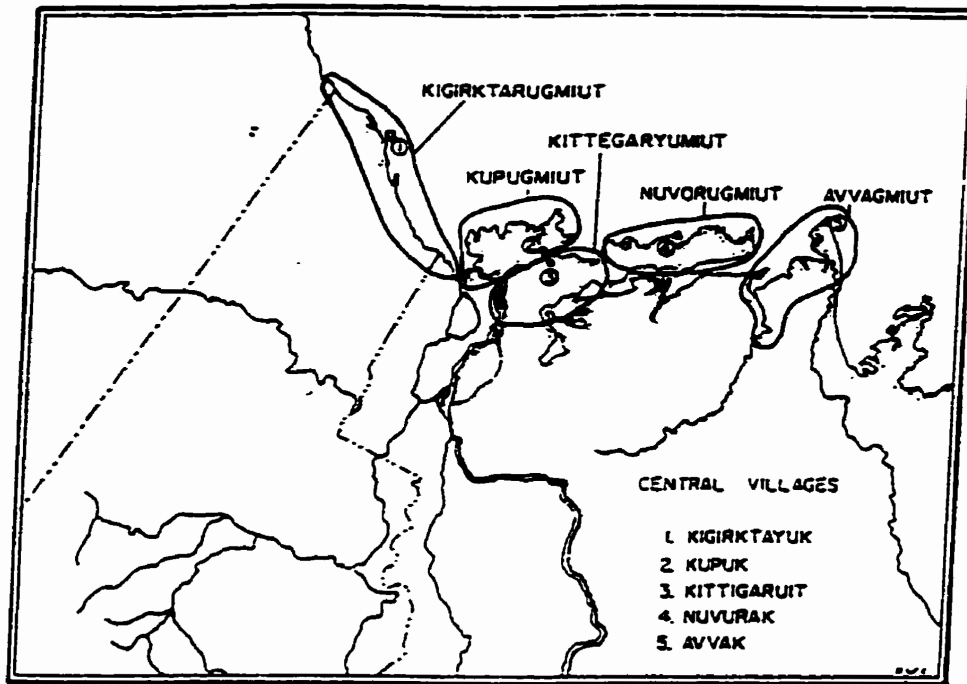
2.2.3 The Mackenzie Inuit- "The Beluga Hunters"

The Inuvialuit living in the Beaufort-Delta region are different from the central and eastern Arctic Inuit (McMillan, 1988). According to Usher (1970) (as cited in Freeman *et al.*,1992) most of the Inuvialuit in the region today are of Alaskan (Inupiat) origin, arriving in three waves of twentieth century immigration. The Inupiat immigration occurred at the

same time that the indigenous Mackenzie Inuit population was dealing with diseases and epidemics brought on by earlier explorers and European and American whalers (McGhee, 1974). Such epidemics nearly decimated the Mackenzie Delta Inuit. In 1865, outbreaks of scarlet fever and measles had occurred: it is estimated that the Mackenzie Delta Inuit population went from 2000 in 1850 to 200 in 1905 (*ibid.*) Today a mix of Mackenzie Delta Inuit and Inupiat help to comprise the Inuvialuit.

The Inuvialuit are therefore descents from the 800 A.D. Thule People, whose culture took over the Dorset. The development and mix of the Mackenzie Delta Inuit with the Inupiat is part of four stages in history, all of which involved contact with and impact by white people. To begin, however, it is first necessary to describe the indigenous MacKenzie Delta Inuit population.

The (mid-19th century) population of the Mackenzie Delta Inuit is estimated by various scholars to have been from 2000-2500 people. At this time the Mackenzie Delta region was very rich in sea mammals and fish, and was capable of holding their large population (Rasmussen, 1921; McMillan, 1988; McGhee, 1974). Historically, the Mackenzie Delta Inuit population was broken down into five distinct groups, each with their own geographical boundaries. Individually they are the 1) *Kigirktarugmiut*, 2) *Kupugmiut*, 3) *Kittegaryumuit*, 4) *Nuvorugmiut*, 5) *Avvagmuit* (Fig 4) (McGhee, 1974).



The Nineteenth Century in the Delta

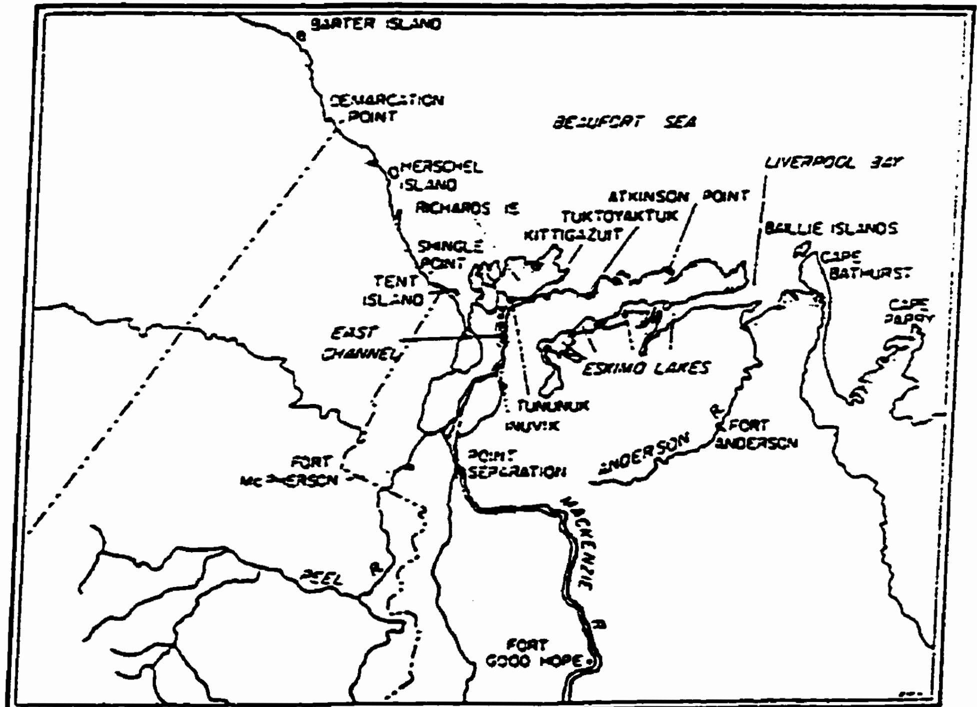


Figure 4: Contemporary and Historic Settlements in the Beaufort-Delta Region (Mc Ghee, 1974)

During the 1800s, the Mackenzie Delta Inuit had revealed what is considered to be the greatest dependency on beluga whales (*Delphinapterus leucas*) of any indigenous society in the Arctic (Friesen and Arnold, 1995). The significance of the beluga whale hunt could be seen by the great number of kayaks and umiaks found in these villages. The numbers of kayaks and umiaks represented the size and prosperity of the village itself. During this time, whaling would be considered as the "lifeblood" of the Mackenzie Inuit. The most favourable place to capture beluga whales was Kittigaruit, the main village of the Kittegaryumuit (McGhee, 1974). During mid July and early September the seasonal beluga whale drive took place. This was the time during the summer which attracted the most people from surrounding villages. The area was particularly well-suited for an efficient communal whale hunt. The expanse of Kugmallit bay by Kittgaruit is extremely shallow with a width of approximately 5 miles; moving southward, these spaces quickly taper off into even shallower waters with a myriad of small channels and spits (*ibid.*). This physiographic arrangement formulates a favourable whale trap. With a coordinated effort of as many as 200 whalers in long slender kayaks, the beluga would be surrounded. Once the MacKenzie Inuit smashed their paddles into the water, the startled whales were driven into shallower waters for the kill (*ibid.*).

Today, as in the past, all aspects of whaling, either beluga or bowhead, still serve important social, cultural, nutritional and economic functions. Next, it is shown that despite the tremendous pressures placed upon the Inuvialuit by foreigners, they still retain and actively exercise their right to hunt the beluga whale.

2.2.4 The Fur Trade (1800s)

The first meeting between the Mackenzie Delta Inuit and Europeans occurred near the present settlement of Arctic Red River in 1799 (McGhee, 1974). After this, there were several years of only intermittent, and often disagreeable, contact between the groups. Beginning in

1854, large parties of Mackenzie Inuit ventured down to the Peel River Trading Post to trade seal oil, muskox hides and fox for ammunition and tobacco (McGhee, 1974).

As the whale products market collapsed, attention was focussed on the development of the northern fur industry. In 1912, Aklavik was established for Mink and Muskrat trades (Usher, 1976). Trade slowly spread between localized Inuit groups as far as Cape Bathurst. Between 1913 and 1923, due to the decline of the whaling industry, the second wave of Alaskan Inupiat immigrated into the Delta, consisting mainly of whalers/hunters taking advantage of lucrative muskrat trapping (Naggy, 1994 as cited in Johnston, 1996; Usher, 1970 as cited in Freeman *et al.* 1992). However, in 1937, several trading posts, including the Hudson's Bay Company trading post at Herschel Island, were forced to shut down (Naggy, 1994 as cited in Johnston, 1996). The third wave of Alaskan Inuit came during the 1930s and 1940s with the closing of trading posts at the Yukon/Alaska Border. Without access to trading posts, many Alaskan Inupiat travelled to Tuktoyaktuk and Aklavik (*ibid.*). By this time, at least 75% of the Inuit in the Beaufort-Delta region were of Alaskan origin (Freeman *et al.*, 1992). Today, the Inuit of the Beaufort-Delta region are a mixed population, collectively calling themselves Inuvialuit, meaning the "real people" (McGhee, 1974).

2.2.5 The Northern Welfare State

Before, during and after both World Wars, the Federal and Territorial governments started to establish a social service infrastructure which included new schools, hospitals and 'industrial' homes (Rea, 1968). In 1925, the Church of England had already set up missionary schools (Rea, 1968). Particularly in the Northwest Territories, there was a marked increase in attempts to integrate Indian and Inuit children (who were thought to be "scattered" out on the land) into a central school, typically far removed from their family (*ibid.*). Inuit children were often removed from their families for a time of up to one year, often not remembering their

families and language upon returning to them (COPE, 1973). Moreover, to help promote Inuvialuit involvement in the wage economy, the implementation of federally supported welfare programmes was quickly administered by the Territorial Government (Rea, 1968).

2.2.6 Oil and Gas Development in the Western Arctic

By the 1960s, the petroleum industry acquired exploration rights to 60 million acres of the Northern Territories. By 1972, it had 447 million acres (Brown, 1978). Between 1968 and 1969, Panarctic Limited and Atlantic Richfield began drilling in the Beaufort Sea and Alaska's North Slope, respectively. Between 1970-1973, 300 exploratory wells were drilled in the NWT, with the majority being concentrated in the Mackenzie Delta.

Oil and gas development, as well as the concentration of Inuvialuit into settlements, held many negative consequences for the Inuvialuit. For example, the value of country food and the native economy was held in low regard during this time period. Country foods are not only important for Inuvialuit culture and society, but they are also fundamentally important for a healthy body. As government bureaucracy grew, Inuvialuit were not able to participate in and take control of what was happening around them. Becoming sedentarized, their access to the land and, of course, country foods became restricted. Eventually harvesting became concentrated in local areas, often leading to an exhaustion of game (COPE, 1973). However, on March 4th, 1974, the situation changed for the better. At this time, the Mackenzie Valley Pipeline Inquiry was established as the first large scale and comprehensive inquiry into the social, economic and environmental effects of heavy industry on the Inuvialuit, Dene and Metis of the western Arctic: the result was a 10 year moratorium on development of the Mackenzie Valley Pipeline and the Alaska Pipeline on the Yukon North Slope (Page, 1986).

2.2.7 The DEW Line (1950-1960s)

The Inuvialuit way of life was also affected by military developments. During the Cold War, the United States government constructed a series of radar stations, called the Distant Early Warning System Line (DEW Line), for the purpose of providing several hours warning of an enemy attack (Rea, 1968; Page, 1986). The construction of the DEW line consisted of an average employ of 40 white people and several American military officers. However, according to Maureen Pokiak, developers also required the support of local labourers (*pers. comm.* July 1998). She estimates that over 100 Inuvialuit living in Tuktoyaktuk were employed for wages for the first time ever. For Inuvialuit who were working, long hours of shift work removed them from their families and took them off the land (Maureen Pokiak, *pers. comm.* 1998). As well, the expertise and training for more detailed construction work and operation was provided by southerners that either lived in the area or who were flown in.

A decade later, the animal rights and anti-fur movement attempted to crush the subsistence economy and way of life in the Beaufort-Delta (Wenzel, 1991; Freeman, 1997). In 1977, the International Whaling Commission (IWC) banned bowhead whale hunting, which in turn precipitated the ban on hunting smaller cetaceans, such as belugas and narwhals (Reeves, 1995).

2.2.8 The Inuvialuit Final Agreement (1984-Present)

Since the Berger Inquiry in 1974, the Inuvialuit had struggled with the Territorial and the Federal Governments for recognition of their right for self-determination (Johnston, 1996, p. 82). Claims negotiations began in the Beaufort-Delta with the formation of the Committee of Original People's Entitlement (COPE), which formed largely in response to increasing pressures from heavy industry (COPE, 1973). COPE, representing the collective interest of some 3000 Inuvialuit, held the objective to serve the interests and concerns of all Inuvialuit by

gaining recognition of their aboriginal ancestry. In 1977, COPE initially submitted the Inuvialuit Nunangat claim to the Federal Government (Robert, 1994, p.104). Slowly negotiations with the Yukon, NWT and Federal Governments began, eventually leading to an Agreement-in-Principle in 1978 (*ibid.*, p. 104). On June 5th, 1984, negotiations finally led to the Western Arctic (Inuvialuit) Claims Settlement Act, and the signing of the Inuvialuit Final Agreement (IFA) (Carpenter *et al.* 1991; Roberts, 1994). The IFA is applicable to all Inuvialuit living in the six communities of Aklavik, Inuvik, Tuktoyaktuk, Holman, Paulatuk and Sachs Harbour.

The IFA has granted the Inuvialuit surface title to 72 000 sq.km of land and surface and subsurface title to an extra 18,000 sq. km (Bailey *et al.* 1995) (Fig 5). Furthermore, the IFA has granted the Inuvialuit legal rights (preferential and exclusive) to hunt all marine mammals and fur bearers for subsistence purposes. However, under IFA subsection 3(4) the Inuvialuit must cede, release, surrender and convey all their Aboriginal claims, rights, title and interests to the Territorial and Federal Governments (*ibid*, p. 4).

Three basic principles arise out of the IFA:
1) to preserve Inuvialuit cultural identity and values within a changing northern society;
2) to enable Inuvialuit to be equal and meaningful participants in the northern economy and society;
3) to protect and preserve the Arctic wildlife, environment and biological productivity (DIAND, 1984, p.1)

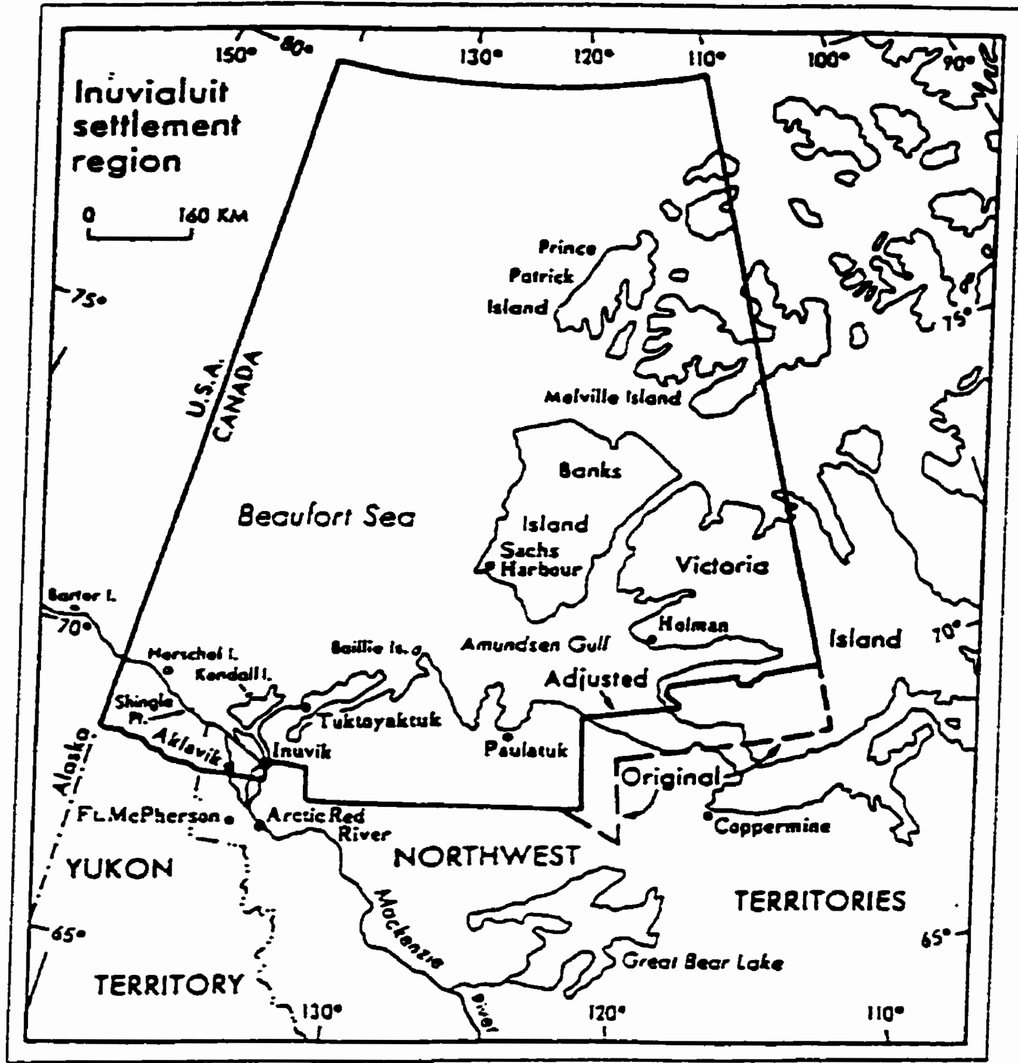


Figure 5: The Inuvialuit Settlement Region (ISR) (Freeman *et al.*, 1992).

These objectives are realized through the mandates (and actions) of the joint renewable resource committees and Inuvialuit economic development bodies. As with most comprehensive land claims, a strong renewable resource management framework has arisen from the IFA (Notzke, 1994). The major co-management bodies are the Wildlife Management

Advisory Council NWT (WMAC-NWT) and North Slope (WMAC-NS), the Fisheries Joint Management Committee (FJMC), the Environmental Impact Screening Committee (EISC) and the Environmental Impact Review Board (EIRB). These co-management structures all correspond with their respective government bodies. The Inuvialuit Game Council is 100 % Inuvialuit and acts as a mediator between local community interests (through the 6 Hunters' and Trappers' Committees) and the co-management bodies and the Canadian Government.

In more than one way, each of these institutions directly or indirectly influences the development and operational environment of nature-based tourism, as is outlined in chapter 4 of this study.

2.2.9 The Advent of Nature-based Tourism in the Beaufort-Delta Region

The historical and contemporary context of development in the Beaufort-Delta illuminates how this region's people and environment have already suffered. Within the next several sections, the impacts of nature-based tourism development in the Beaufort-Delta are discussed. It includes an account of visitor numbers within the last decade and a half, and the mode of transportation most often used by them. Following this, a profile (including motives, characteristics, and activity) of the visitors coming the Beaufort-Delta region is given. According to Keogh (1989, p. 239) the 1) type of activity, 2) length of stay, 3) number of visitors all determine how much pressure is exerted on the host population. Some activities involve more interaction with locals than others. These sections are designed so that the forces behind host-guest, economic, and environmental interactions (impacts), and the perspectives derived thereof, are better understood in the results section of this study.

The number of tourists visiting the Canadian Arctic has risen to 100 000 people (Girard, 1996; Dingwall, 1995). Internationally, circumpolar Arctic tourism has reached 2 239 020 million people (Johnston, 1995). Within Canada, Arctic tourism has been largely

concentrated in the Northwest Territories (NWT). A 1992 breakdown of Canadian Arctic visitor numbers, shows that the NWT holds a disproportionate amount of tourists at 64 000 (*ibid.*). This is attributable to an expansion of transportation routes northward increasing the accessibility of the NWT. This is particularly true of transport routes to the Beaufort-Delta region.

During the Second World War the Alaska Highway was built, providing the first opening to the western Canadian Arctic (Johnston, 1995; Smith, 1996). Following this, in 1979, the Dempster Highway was constructed, extending tourism's travel path from Dawson City to Inuvik (Smith, 1996). Air and sea travel to the Beaufort-Delta has also helped to increase visitor numbers. Edmonton is the most closely linked metropolitan city (2000 air km from Aklavik), and acts as a hub to Dawson City and then Inuvik for incoming residents, scientists and tourists (Freeman *et al.*, 1992). Yellowknife, the capital of the NWT, also acts as an intermediary station for tourist travel to the Beaufort-Delta region. The 1989 NWT Visitor Exit Survey for the Dempster/Inuvik area shows that 1, 758 (25%) of a total of 7, 002 visitors came by plane, while in 1994 the number of visitors flying only increased marginally to 2, 308 (26%) of 8, 751 visitors (*by mode of travel*) (GNWT, 1995). When comparing the year 1989 to 1994, the number of road travellers coming to the Dempster/ Inuvik area increased from 5 244 to 6 443, respectively.

Today, once thought to have been replaced by the airline industry, ship cruising to remote Arctic destinations is also on the rise (Marsh and Staple, 1995). Between 1990 and 1992 there was a 35 % increase in international cruise ship berths (*ibid.*). Cruise ships typically originate from other northern areas and Arctic ports in Russia, northern Japan, and Greenland (Denmark), and carry from 50 to as many as 300 passengers during one tour. Currently, three ships, the Russian Ice Breaker, *Kapitan Khlebnikov*, the *MS Haneseatic* from Germany, and

the *Frontier Spirit* from Florida, move through various circumpolar routes to reach the Beaufort-Delta. In 1998, the *MS Hanseatic* and the Russian Ice Breaker *Khlebnikov* arrived bringing with them 250 and 68 passengers, respectively (Sandy Keop, *pers. comm.* 1998). Held together this totals 318 people, which accounts for 42% of all Herschel Island Park visitors in 1997.

In 1984, of all regions within the Canadian Arctic, the Beaufort-Delta (i.e., the western Arctic) held 47 % of all visitors (7, 600 of 16, 100 tourists). Inuvik, being directly at the end of the Dempster Highway, held the second highest percentage of visitors at 38% (Keller, 1987). The 1994 Northwest Territories Exit Survey revealed a similar trend in tourist concentrations. Between July and September of 1994, over 6, 330 *non-resident* travellers visited Inuvik (of 33, 808 *non-resident* visitors in the NWT). This comprises roughly 19 % of all visitors to the NWT (GNWT, 1995). Since the survey was only administered between July and September 1994, its total visitor count may be an underestimation.

However, based on visitor counts at Inuvik's Western Arctic Regional Visitor Centre (WARVC), the total numbers of visitors coming into Inuvik has declined considerably since 1995[5] (Fig 6). Between 1995 and 1998, the number of visitors coming into Inuvik declined from 8 161 in 1995 to 7 384 in 1998. Over a four-year time span, visitor numbers have declined and then slowly risen.

5

During 1995 the new Western Arctic Regional Visitor Centre had opened causing many locals to visit it. Furthermore, all GNWT surveys count resident and non-resident visitors. ***Note: The ratio of non-resident to resident visitors is 83%:17% (Source: Economic Development and Tourism, 1998)***

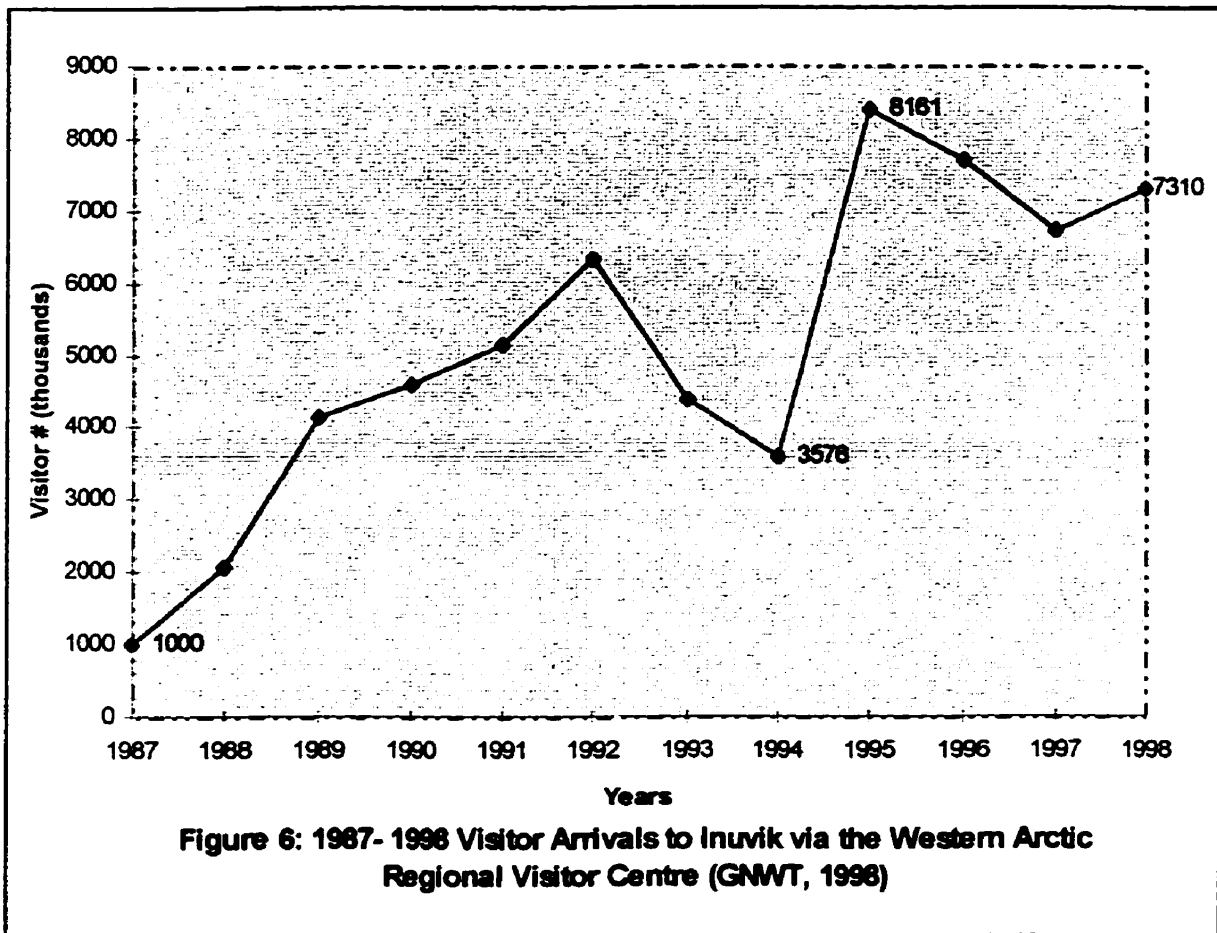


Figure 6: 1987- 1998 Visitor Arrivals to Inuvik via the Western Arctic Regional Visitor Centre (GNWT, 1998)

2.3 Tours, Tourists and Attitudes in the Beaufort-Delta: Implications for the Inuvialuit Environment, Economy and Culture

The geographical (or peripheral) isolation of the NWT serves in part as an advantage for nature-based tourism development in the north. Despite the high cost of travel to remote destinations within the NWT, most nature-based tourists will still maintain a high willingness to pay when seeking out northern destinations (Notzke, 1995; Phillips, 1994). However, expenditure on, and participation in, non-consumptive tourism in the NWT is not too representative of the Canadian population's overall tourism trends. Filion (1993) found that

a higher proportion of Canadians participated in non-consumptive nature-based activities than consumptive activities. In contrast, within the NWT in 1990, there were 9,708 fishing and hunting visitors compared to 8,286 outdoor-based recreationists visiting (Derek Murray Consulting Associates, 1994). Nonetheless, the outlook for nature-based tourism in the NWT is very strong, and currently represents the highest growth within the NWT's tourism industry, and will likely continue to grow in the future[6] (*ibid.*).

Of these tourism figures, what proportion of visitors can be considered as nature-based tourists within the Beaufort-Delta region? The 1992 Western Arctic Visitor Survey (Bufo Inc. 1992 a&b) reveals that of all activities, 99 % of all travellers preferred wildlife viewing the most. Second to this, 96% of all travellers considered "native culture" as their main interest. Similarly, the 1994 visitor survey shows that the highest rating went to scenery, wildlife and nature. Notzke's (1995) Inuvik visitor survey shows that 99% of non-resident visitors were interested in northern Native peoples and lifestyle, and 71% were very interested. The two largest inbound tour companies (brokers), Arctic Nature Tours and the Arctic Tour Company, stemming out of Inuvik and Tuktoyaktuk respectively, delineate visitor interests well by providing roughly 4000 visitors (Shane Pizani, *pers. comm.*, 1998) per summer with numerous tours, including wildlife flight-seeing, cultural town tours, trips to bush and whaling camps on Mackenzie River Tours, and fishing tours.

6

In 1992, Aulavik NP was announced with a management plan set up through a "parks agreement" (An Agreement to Establish a National Park on Banks Island (ANPEA)). The Agreement was development with consultation between IFA co-management and Parks Canada representatives. Aulavik NP is located on the northern tip of Banks Island, the most westerly island in the Canadian Arctic archipelago. The Park constitutes an area of 12, 275 sq km, and is situated in the Thomsen river area.

Ivvavik NP was the first National Park in the ISR, and was established in 1984 as a direct result of the Inuvialuit Final Agreement. It is located on the Yukon North Slope, and is 10, 176 sq km in total. It is bounded by the Babbage river on the east and the Beaufort Sea coast line on the north. The Tuktut Nogait National Park Agreement (TNNPA), "An Agreement to Establish a National park in the ISR near Paulatuk, NT" was finalized on June 28th, 1996. The Park encompasses an area of 16, 340 sq km. It is considered as one of the first true co-management parks under the Inuvialuit Final Agreement. The TNNPA was established with the Inuvialuit Regional Corporaton, Paulatuk Community Corporations, Paulatuk HTC and Canadian Heritage and Parks.

2.3.1 Visitor Origins for the Beaufort-Delta Region

Of the 6,330 visitors coming into the Beaufort-Delta region in 1994, 3 418 (54%) were of Canadian origin, while 1, 583 (25%) were from the United States (GNWT, 1995). Provincially, British Columbia, the Yukon, Alberta, and Ontario produced the greatest visitor numbers at 23%, 16% and 9% respectively. Interestingly, roughly from 1995 to 1997, for the first time ever, the proportion of tourists that experienced the greatest decline in numbers within the Beaufort-Delta region (Inuvik/.Dempster area) were of Canadian and German origin (Wight, 1998).

2.3.2 Visitor and Tour Characteristics for the Beaufort-Delta Region

The Beaufort-Delta region has three main nature-based tourism markets which currently hold the highest participation rates: cultural tourism and ecotourism, which both form general touring and adventure travel (RT & Associates, 1990). They are listed below.

Table 1: Cultural Tourism- Visitor Characteristics, Motivations and Activities in the Beaufort-Delta

- Cultural tours are half day or full day cultural community tours in Inuvik, Tuktoyaktuk and Aklavik.
- During cultural tours, tourists interact with Inuvialuit through lectures, conversation and questions with "staged" cultural activities, such as drum dances. These groups of visitors may be characterized as dedicated-mainstream nature-based tourists (Lindberg, 1991).
- Participants are between 45-55 years of age, are generally retired, hold professional and managerial positions. They have a love for 'exotic' culture; they wish to experience unique lifestyles, customs and artifacts— a culture that is different from their own (Unnaq, 1995)
- Sightseeing of Inuvialuit whaling camps and Herschel Island may be done by the dedicated cultural tourist.
- They may engage in participatory tourism, which entails visits to whaling and bush camps. Visitors may also participate by setting fish nets, collecting agpik, etc.
- Based on the 1994 GNWT Exit Survey, 14.1% (771) of tourists participated in cultural activities.

Table 2: Ecotourism- Visitor Characteristics, Motivations and Activities in the Beaufort-Delta

- Ecotourism is carried out through "fly-in" wildlife viewing to the Richardson Mountains, interpretive canoe or boat tours down the Mackenzie river, whale watching departures from Tuktoyaktuk and Inuvik (into Kugmallit and Mackenzie Bay and by Garry and Kendall Island), as well as bird watching.
- In 1994, 3.5% of visitors (193) participated in flight-seeing tours over the Mackenzie Delta. Overall, 30% of all activities are considered as ecotourism (GNWT, 1995).
- The Beaufort-Delta's ecotourist is aged 45-64, many are also "empty-nesters". Most are highly educated and have a high discretionary income, earning between $50,000-64,000 CDN (Unnaq, 1995). Most belong to naturalist and environmental groups, such as Greenpeace and the Sierra Club (Marsh and Staples, 1995; Kretchman and Eagles, 1990).
- Experienced ecotourists (those who have gone on one or more ecotourism trips to the Beaufort-Delta), are thought to spend more time and money than the first time eco-traveller. They are most likely to become involved in conservation practices during their tour, and may be sensitive to the host area's needs.

Table 3: AdventureTourism- Visitor Characteristics, Motivations and Activities in the Beaufort-Delta

- According to the Canadian Tourism Commission (1995b, p. 20) adventure travel is tourism that takes place in exotic, remote wilderness destinations, and involves some form of unconventional means of transportation associated with high or low levels of activity.
- Adventure tourists are highly educated and earn between $40,000 to $50,000 CDN a year. They comprise a younger age group of 24-44 years (*ibid.*).
- Adventure tourists concentrate at the Beaufort Sea coast and Ivvavik, Tuktut Nogait (no figures available), and Aulavik National Parks (NP). Ivvavik NP hosts most adventure tourism activity on the Firth River and Richardson Mountains (e.g., kayaking and hiking).
- In 1998, 120 visitors came through Ivvavik (average of 162 person visits/year). In 1997, only 19 travellers came through Aulavik NP (Wight, 1998).
- With 700 visitors in 1997, Herschel Island Territorial Park receives the most tourists. In addition to many cultural and ecotourists, there are also an abundance of marine kayakers and hikers. In fact, in 1994, 457 (8.4%) tourists participated in hiking.

2.3.3 Profile of Visitor Activities in the Beaufort-Delta Region

The following graph illustrates the popularity of activities in the Beaufort-Delta region. All data is taken from the 1994 NWT Visitor Exit Survey (Fig 7). In 1994, cultural tourism, in the form of community-tours, bush and whaling camp visits in and around Tuktoyaktuk, Inuvik and Aklavik, was clearly the most predominant activity within the Beaufort-Delta (GNWT, 1995). Interest in native culture was also very high among visitors.

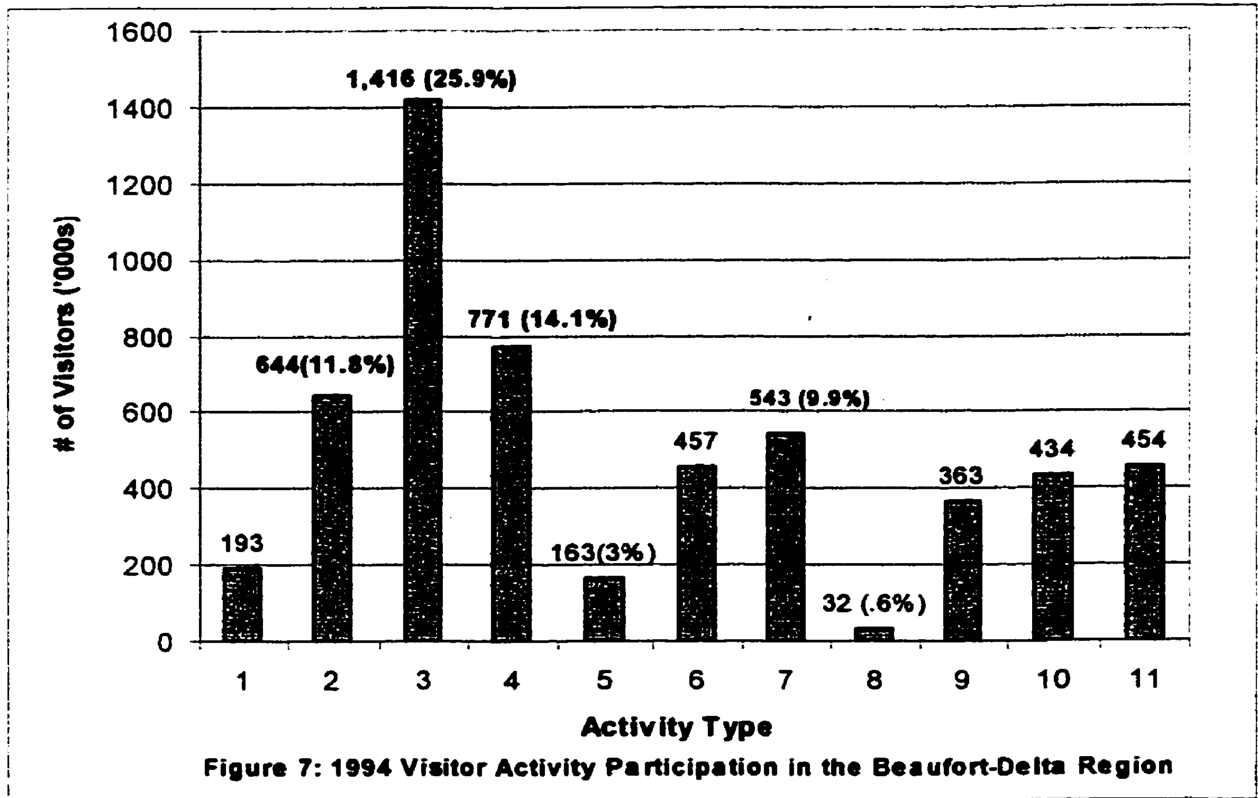


Figure 7: 1994 Visitor Activity Participation in the Beaufort-Delta Region

ACTIVITY TYPE: 1) Airplane rides, 2) Canoeing/Boating, 3) Cultural Community Tours, 4) Cultural Activities 5) Fishing 6) Hiking 7) Historical 8) Hunting 9) Naturalist 10) Other, 11) Photography (N= 5, 470) (GNWT, 1995)

2.4 THE IMPACT OF NATURE-BASED TOURISM IN THE BEAUFORT-DELTA REGION: A THEORETICAL OVERVIEW

Relative to the eastern Arctic, the disproportionate volume of tourists arriving in the Beaufort-Delta places a sense of urgency in focusing our attention on its development impacts. If not managed sustainably, nature-based tourism may fall into the later stage of Butler's (1980) tourist area cycle of evolution model. Thus, this section gives an overview of its theoretical and actual cultural, environmental, and economic impacts in the Beaufort-Delta. It specifically considers how the various tourist activities and characteristics described previously may have varying effects on Inuvialuit culture, economy and environment.

2.4.1 The Cultural and Economic Benefits of Nature-based Tourism

The Inuvialuit have faced several obstacles in their fight to retain their subsistence livelihoods. In addition to a decline in fur prices and trapping, much heavy industry has also left the Beaufort-Delta leaving the Inuvialuit with very high unemployment levels. Consequently, in 1983, in response to a loss of jobs and the potential loss of livelihoods, the Government of the Northwest Territories (GNWT) launched the Community-based Tourism Strategy (CBTS). Following this, in 1989, the GNWT issued a statement declaring that tourism, although only in its initial stages of development, should be considered as an essential economic development industry, as it was one of the most stable and significant industries in the NWT (GNWT, 1989a).

With the introduction of a wage economy and southern infrastructure in the Beaufort-Delta, most communities in the region now support a "mixed economy". Within such an economy there are two interrelated sectors: the formal wage economy and the informal traditional subsistence economy. Today in the Beaufort-Delta, both economic sectors exist together, often to the point where each are mutually supportive (Notzke, 1999). Because

Inuvialuit face high costs of living and high levels of unemployment, they often rely on subsistence activities to produce "goods" geared for direct consumption (Usher and Bankes, 1986). Hunting, trapping, and fishing generate large quantities of meat that helps to offset the high cost of northern living; subsistence activities therefore provide a value of income in kind (Usher, 1980). Usher (1989, as cited in Berkes *et al.*, 1994, p. 357) shows that in the NWT the average household head brings in fish and game with an estimated value of $10, 000 to $15 000 per year. In addition to subsistence activities being important culturally, they also provide the appropriate dietary intake for the Inuvialuit (SOE, 1994). However, as Berkes *et al.* (1994) note "[h]unting brings food to the table but very little cash" (p. 358). Since subsistence activities have capital and operating costs associated with them, and due to other living costs, Inuvialuit also require cash to make ends meet. As most Inuvialuit and Inuit consider themselves as full or part-time hunters, the importance of a wage-income becomes highlighted (SOE, 1994). Unfortunately, a cash income is often very difficult to acquire in the north. Notzke (1999, p. 61) notes that because the northern labour force is growing more quickly than there are jobs available, few northerners become employed in wage labour. Nature-based tourism therefore plays an important role in fulfilling an interrelated need to hunt and earn a cash income. If considered culturally benign, nature-based tourism may strengthen the Inuvialuit mixed economy by providing cash supplements for hunting and by strengthening culture through the demonstration of and participation in traditional activities (Smith, 1990, 1996; Hinch, 1995b; Notzke, 1995, 1998). As Inuvialuit knowledge and culture is used to market tourism, most tourism revenue, through arts and crafts sales, for example, is returned directly to Inuvialuit participants. From an economic perspective, the Inuvialuit hold a competitive advantage as they may best utilize available natural resources for tourism (Hinch and Butler, 1996; WWF, 1995).

As it is primarily an entrepreneurial venture, nature-based tourism is particularly flexible; however much the owner puts into the venture he or she will get out of it. The flexibility of nature-based tourism allows Inuvialuit tour company owners (who are typically hunters) to go out onto the land during various parts of the week, times at which tourism traffic is perhaps slower, to pursue subsistence activities. In fact, the very idea of Inuvialuit balancing tourism and hunting may be attractive to southern tourists as it maintains the "authenticity" of the Beaufort-Delta. Temporally and financially, the seasonality of nature-based tourism provides greater opportunity for hunting. Moreover, since the primary resource base of northern economies is particularly volatile, it is argued that the introduction of nature-based tourism may reduce the uncertainty associated to fluctuating natural resource prices (Wenzel, 1991; Milne *et al.*, 1994; Grekin and Milne, 1996). In this regard, nature-based tourism is seen an economic activity that is compatible with earning both a wage-income and participating in subsistence activities (Berkes, *et al.*, 1994).

If managed correctly, nature-based tourism may produce primary (direct) and secondary (indirect) economic impacts. Primary economic impacts stem from the sale of local services directly to tourists and local residents. Similarly, direct employment through tourism is in businesses that sell goods and services directly to tourists, such as tour operators and lodges (de Kadt, 1976).

Expectations and direct expenditure by visiting tourists often cause tourism businesses to purchase new goods and services either externally or, ideally, from local suppliers. As a consequence, indirect employment is now generated for local residents, whose new income enhances their purchasing power, which in turn stimulates the local economy (e.g., replenishing supplies in order to meet new demand). With increasing demand and wages, new goods and services are needed by tourism businesses, which are produced by and purchased

from other local retailers. Tourism industry suppliers, as they may now be called, are injected with profit which is used to buy goods from other suppliers, and so on. The second level of tourist expenditure distribution is thus coined as an indirect, or secondary economic impact (Mathieson and Wall, 1982).

Development of nature-based tourism by Inuvialuit in the form of goods and services is the third sector of mixed economy — the service sector. Usher (1980) explains that the service sector is one portion of the northern mixed economy where "exchange sector goods" are produced for cash. Below is an example of how this sector of the Inuvialuit mixed economy works to produce other employment and expenditure.

A primary example of this economic fact can be seen in Inuvialuit arts and crafts production. Most visiting tourists wish to take home some authentic souvenir from the Arctic and, obviously, Inuvialuit arts and crafts are a first choice. It is, therefore, not surprising that the Inuvialuit, among others, realize money can be made from tourism and increasingly engage in art production. Often, handicrafts are sold to tourists directly because guided or independent tours pass directly through communities. Therefore, initial tourist expenditure creates direct revenue for Inuvialuit artists. Accordingly, they will purchase new and/or additional goods from other suppliers in order to fuel their craft. By doing so, indirect expenditure creates multiple expenditures in other business sectors, and the more domestic goods that are used, the stronger internal linkages become between various producers and consumers. As domestic purchases increase, dependency on outside goods and services may be reduced, thereby limiting economic leakages.

Direct, indirect spending and employment, as well as induced consumption, are all part of what is known as the tourism *multiplier effect*. The multiplier effect is concerned with "the way in which expenditure on tourism filters throughout the economy, stimulating other sectors

as it does so" (Pearce 1989, as cited in Hall, 1992, p. 51). Similarly, de Kadt (1976) states that the multiplier effect is a measure of the total effect (direct and indirect) which results from additional tourist expenditure. That is, it is the recirculating of a proportion of income into consumptive spending, which then encourages further employment and income (Harris, 1997). Hall (1992) notes that the multiplier effect will vary according to the area, the amount of goods and services imported into the region for consumption by tourist, the level of circulation, the manner of tourist spending, and the availability of suitable local products and services. This in turn affects the patterns of local and visitor expenditure.

There are, however, differences in income stability between direct (formal) and indirect (informal) forms of employment. Direct employment in a tourism industry is typically more stable, particularly over seasons, as often other types of businesses can be attracted. However, if those who are indirectly employed through tourism become too dependent on it, and the industry declines, they may experience the greatest levels of economic uncertainty. Since the mixed economy in the Beaufort-Delta region is highly dependent on mutual aid and country foods, the necessity of an extra income is crucial to help maintain community support networks (Ross and Usher, 1986). The vulnerability of the informal sector can, however, be lessened if the import of raw material, which constitutes a 'leakage' of income to the south, is reduced (Harris, 1997). The provision of northern (domestic) supplies and production keeps income circulating within Inuvialuit communities.

To capitalize on this, community-based tourism management is necessary to ensure that strong "economic cross sectoral linkages" be set up. According to the World Tourism Organization (WTO) (1995) this can be achieved by promoting maximum use of locally produced goods and services, such as local arts and crafts production. Utilizing local talent would enhance the appeal of the area as a tourist attraction, while concurrently reducing the effects of "economic leakages".

The socio-cultural impacts of nature-based tourism can be described by how tourism contributes to the changing of value systems of individuals and families, and to a larger extent their communities (Wearing and Larsen, 1996). Thus, the level of interaction between hosts and guests often determines the degree of socio-cultural impact. If this is true, however, then nature-based tourism can also be managed to encourage cultural benefits. Studies by Nickels *et al.* (1991), Grekin (1994) and Milne *et al.* (1994) show that if nature-based tourism is managed properly, it may help to acquire a "renewed sense of ethnicity" for many northern indigenous populations. The idea of nature-based tourism reviving cultural heritage stems from increases in aboriginal ecotourism and cultural tourism. More and more aboriginal peoples are becoming advocates of tourism. They realize that it may be a means of building and strengthening old values based on traditional practices (Williams and Stewart, 1997; Sofield and Alastair, 1996; Sofield, 1993). Currently, many Inuvialuit hosts see that the development of aboriginal tourism will be an effective means of teaching about the aspects and elements of northern life to both Inuvialuit youth and visitors (Notzke, 1995). Some Inuvialuit entrepreneurs continue to run "cultural immersion" or heritage tours at Inuvik, Aklavik and Tuktoyaktuk (*ibid.*). Cultural tourism is one of the main components of nature-based tourism, and is usually considered as an "educational experience": a mechanism by which to "break down cross cultural barriers" for all those involved (Hinch and Butler, 1996).

Since the Inuvialuit are considered to be a tourist "attraction", they may also find themselves with greater negotiating power; as hosts, they ultimately have the final say in what happens during cultural immersion tours (Hinch, 1995b). Studies show that if Inuit are in control, they often appreciate greater degrees of cultural interaction between themselves and tourists (Milne *et al.*, 1994; Nickels *et al.*, 1991).

2.4.2 The Cultural and Economic Drawbacks of Nature-Based Tourism

Despite the many financial and cultural advantages of aboriginal nature-based tourism development, many sociocultural and economic drawbacks can still arise. Often tourism development may not reflect the contrasting needs of the Inuvialuit (Sherman and Dixon, 1991). Smith (1989) argues that because hosts and guests have different cultural and economic values, over time animosity may grow between them. Nature-based tourists often have more money, are better educated than the host culture, and are used to a more "comfortable" western lifestyle (Eagles, 1992). As a result, they may take motherland ideologies and place unnecessary expectations upon hosts, such as the Inuvialuit. Hollinshead (1996) calls this *"identification"*, where "phenomena are routinely or unquestioningly seen to live or exist entirely within the parameters of the given or dominant/mainstream discourse"(p. 326). An example of this may be seen through cultural tourists visiting Inuvialuit whale hunting camps. Although whale hunters are often receptive to tourists visiting their camps, there are others who see it as an intrusion (Fast *et al.*, 1998). It may be that the even-paced and diligent way of life at these camps, and not to mention hard work, may not be acceptable to southern tourists who are used to fast-paced deliveries.

If loss of traditional Inuvialuit culture is to occur through tourism, it is mostly likely to take place among the Inuvialuit youth. Within the context of tourism, it is through the "demonstration effect" that loss of culture can occur. As Prosser (1994) and de Kadt (1976) show, it is during a child's formative years that changes in attitudes, values or behaviours occur through imitating a tourist's material wealth and behaviour. This condition is known as the "demonstration effect". Through mimicking the consumptive patterns of tourists, problems such as intra-family stress, community disharmony, and societal dislocation can arise (Prosser, 1994).

Much of the objectification of locals (i.e., for a tourist to render an Inuvialuk as an external subject to his or her reality) arises from tourists' personal ethnocentrism (Nash, 1996; Urry, 1990). This poses to be a considerably contentious issue when nature-based tourism and traditional land-use practices co-exist. Nature-based tourists can often be part of organizations that dictate conservationist and preservationist ethics. The individual actions of tourists subsequently impose these values upon the Inuvialuit. As such ideology moves to the North, it may impose itself upon the Inuvialuit subsistence whale harvests (Ris, 1993; Freeman, 1997; Wenzel, 1991). Duffus and Dearden (1990) argue that it is the historical context of human-wildlife relationships that help to shape our value judgements. Since visitors have been 'conditioned' in different ways, culture, religion and nationalism will establish variations among individual travellers, which in turn determines how they value various species. They argue that "many species have been recipients to recent changes in attitude from one of a strong and unidimensional societal consensus, such as predator (shoot it) or a food source (eat it), to one of much broader range of interpretation"(p. 224).

This broader range of interpretation can result in tourists making hasty judgements and comments. To illustrate, international anti-whaling campaigns, animals rights and environmental groups have charged whales with a special social significance. Freeman (1997, p. 10) states that "[w]hales, and to some extent seals also, have become important symbols to many environmentalists and animal protectionists, [and the near] totemic status achieved by whales" is clearly manifest in such campaigns. As a result, southern tourists who have been bombarded by such campaigns, and who are largely unaccustomed to Inuvialuit subsistence whale harvesting, may pass on an inaccurate portrayal of the harvest to friends or the media. With such actions, tourists threaten the dynamic cultural process that the Inuvialuit whale harvesters maintain. Subsistence activities retain social relationships and allow cultural traditions to reproduce themselves overtime (Freeman *et al.*, 1992; Wenzel, 1991).

In 1987, the *Beaufort Sea Beluga Management Strategy* had already recognized that local outfitters were giving tourists the opportunity to see beluga hunting and processing. It was thought that uncontrolled beluga-related tourism may annoy hunters and lead to the misrepresentation of harvesting activities.

Because of the cultural, attitudinal and motivational differences between tourists and the Inuvialuit, conflict is likely to arise. In the context of tourism management, conflict must be defined as a "goal interference attributed to another behaviour- a special class of user dissatisfaction where the cause of one's dissatisfaction is identified as another group's or individual's behaviour"(Jacob and Schreyer, 1980, p. 369). The causes of conflict are generally two-fold: 1) visitors lack an understanding of the culture they are visiting; and 2) an asymmetrical relationship exists between the two groups (Koegh, 1989). Similarly, Jacob and Schreyer (1980, p 370) note that four interrelated factors are behind tourism- land use conflicts: 1) activity style, 2) resource specificity, 3) mode of experience, and 4) lifestyle tolerance. They argue that the personal meaning assigned to an activity (activity style) can often be of central life interest to a tourist. Tourists will place personal identity and satisfaction in the participation in an activity, such as whale watching, or whales. Tourists will, therefore, apply behavioural norms upon other participants, such as whalers.

A tourist's recreation experience is thus being built around personal and cultural evaluations of the resource which sustains their recreation. This is known as resource specificity. In no instance can one user 'devalue' another user's relationship (or mode of experience) within a natural setting. This leads to refusal in sharing resources with members of the other lifestyle group (i.e., Inuvialuit whalers); this is considered the single greatest cause for disputes in outdoor recreation. Labelling and stereotyping between groups is very common and is considered as lifestyle intolerance. Butler (1993, p. 225) defines this as competitiveness, or incompatibility: a situation where two or more uses are not able to occur

in the same area at the same time using the same resources. Therefore, the role of nature-based tourism becomes questionable: Can it bridge cross-cultural gaps, or will it only accentuate cultural misunderstandings?

However, for those tourists who search for cultural authenticity, their quest can lead to what is known as "staged-authenticity". Staged authenticity can be defined as a "staged quality of proceedings that lends to an aura of superficiality, albeit a superficiality that is not always perceived" (MacCannell, 1973, p. 595). Certain aspects of the local culture have been staged by locals for tourists to create what is known as a "reconstruction of ethnicity" (MacCannell, 1984, p. 376). Cohen (1988) argues that often aboriginal people attempt to separate touristic displays of culture from actual cultural representations. The tourist may think he or she is engaging in an authentic cultural experience, but in reality the cultural setting was a staged "show", set up in advance for the purposes of tourism. While MacCannell comments this "new kind of social space" is designed to potentially protect "cultural authenticity" from tourism's grip, Cohen argues staged authenticity arises when the host society feels that authentic aspects of culture have changed into a cultural product with no significance. An element of the host culture becomes a contrived commodity — a novelty for touristic pleasures. Slowly, culture becomes advertised to the point where it is no longer necessary to try to hide the fact that the show was initially staged (Cohen, 1996; Cohen, 1988).

The process by which staged-authenticity occurs is called commoditization. Here cultural authenticity is exploited so often that it is seen as a packaged good with an exchange value (Nash, 1996; Cohen, 1988; Sharpley, 1994). Commodization of culture is often described as the commoditization of ethnicity, where the traditional characteristics of ethnic groups, and even their natural environment, are incorporated into tourism. The goods and services of indigenous peoples, such as soap stone carvings, are sold as 'novelties' and are endowed with a commercial exchange value ready for tourist consumption (Swain, 1990;

Smith, 1990). King and Stewart (1996) suggest that for indigenous people, such as the Inuvialuit, cultural artifacts and natural resources are valued as a source of esteem and sustenance, and that once they are used for the purposes of tourism, they become commodities to eventually lose their use value for an exchange value. Tourism managers must be especially wary that sensitive northern cultures, such as that of the Inuvialuit, do not succumb to the process of commoditization. If host-guest relationships are based on deceit, exploitation and mistrust, then the objectification of aboriginal people as an "exotic other" may also occur (MacCannell, 1984). Here, tourists may stereotype the Inuvialuit within a distant and inaccurate cultural context. Western ethnocentricism, based on an earlier settler predisposition, follows a majority-minority view whereby the images of aboriginal peoples become romanticized (Evans-Pritchard, 1989). Eventually tourist stereotypes become self-fulfilling, as they actually shape social interaction.

Such an impact is likely to occur in the Beaufort-Delta through ship- borne tourism (Stonehouse, 1992; Grekin and Milne, 1996). Although 'educational expedition' themes have increased within the Arctic cruising industry, the sheer number of visitors and their over whelming sense of curiosity and excitement can preclude the teachings of visitor codes of conduct and dramatically influence local cultures (i.e., Sachs Harbour, with a population of 155 allows cruise ships to dock annually) (Sandy Koep *pers comm.* 1998, Notzke, 1995).

The economic drawbacks associated with nature-based tourism development are most commonly seen as socioeconomic stratification, over-dependency and economic leakages. First, there is the potential of one tour operator being more successful than others and not sharing his or her wealth. It is often problematic to assume that indigenous peoples, who often operate communally and reciprocally, will find the individualistic and competitive nature of tourism desirable (Hinch, 1995b; English, 1986; Sherman and Dixon, 1991). Notzke (1995) fears that the development of tourism in the Beaufort-Delta region may differ from the

communal life-style that is so prevalent in the area. Other authors assume that local economic competition may lead to negative implications, such as socio-economic stratification (Hinch, 1995b). To illustrate, the complete antithesis to western styled individualism commonly found in tourism industries is the generalized reciprocity exemplified by the distribution of *mipku* (whale dry meat) and *maktak* (layer between whale skin and blubber) after the Inuvialuit beluga whale hunt.

Amid northern tourism industries, tourism development may also exacerbate existing divisions between social classes and other cultural disparities in the community. De Kadt (1976) explains this often evolves through tourism employment which reflects the pre-existing system of socioeconomic stratification. He claims that resentment may arise when only those locals with the best education can meet the skill requirements that are needed to exploit new tourism opportunities. Whereas, those locals with minimal education may not be able to acquire the qualifications that are needed to gain from tourism. Hinch (1995b) argues that many aboriginal entrepreneurs may also be considered as abandoning or abusing their culture for the purposes of tourism development.

Another criticism of nature-based tourism development is that as the Inuvialuit become active participants in nature-based tourism (e.g., guides), many may be taken away from seasonal harvesting activities (Hinch and Butler, 1996). To illustrate, Nickels *et al.*, (1991, p. 164) write "[O]ther fears include... A decrease in traditional hunting activity due to the time spent guiding tourists". The importance of maintaining traditional harvesting activities is stressed by community members of Aklavik, Tuktoyaktuk and Inuvik. Fast *et al.*, (1998) show that Inuvialuit are concerned about maintaining the beluga hunt and its traditional values, especially among the younger generations. Today, as in the past century, a boy still retains his rite of passage into manhood upon capturing his first whale. This in turn boosts

self confidence and esteem and may translate into a healthy and prosperous future (see Freeman, 1992, 1997 and Wenzel, 1991).

Finally, following the dependency theory, many core tourism destinations will grow at the expense of peripheral communities and activities (Sharpley, 1994: Pearce, 1989). To illustrate, Inuvik most likely receives more economic benefits from tourism than its neighbouring communities of Aklavik and Tuktoyaktuk do. Keller (1987) explains that "peripheries ultimately receive only a fraction of the money that is spent by visitors" and that "capital and profit often leaks out of peripheral areas" (p. 20).

2.4.3 The Environmental Benefits of Nature-based Tourism

The environmental benefits associated with Arctic nature-based tourism have made it stand out amongst other types of travel and resource-based industries. For instance, Swedish Arctic tourism expert Widstrand (WWF, 1995) states that "ecotourism provides a great opportunity for nature conservation...through responsible and sustainable tourism ecotourism can be made an easily available alternative to heavier exploitation"(p. 9). Often the very lands that are subject to hydrocarbon development are prime candidates for nature-based tourism development. To reduce environmental degradation on Arctic lands, nature-based tourism facilities are kept small, and to maintain local "authenticity", managers can ensure that infrastructure complements and is sensitive to the natural and cultural surroundings (Anderson, 1996). To illustrate, many businesses coming out of the Beaufort-Delta region are family run, ensuring that facilities and infrastructure are simpler and less expensive than those associated with mass-tourism (Notzke, 1995). Blangy and Epler Wood (1996) write that the stage for conservation is already set when buildings and personnel help to facilitate environmental education and conservation through aesthetics, compact or concentrated infrastructure, and public awareness .

Since nature-based tourism managers understand that their resource-base is their selling feature, they may also adhere to and monitor strict tourism guidelines. Nature-based tourism has also helped to finance conservation throughout the world. User fees, taxation, royalties and donations from ecotourists have gone on to finance many conservation efforts (Brandon, 1996: Sherman and Dixon, 1991). Lindberg and Huber Jr. (1996) recognize that tourism revenue can be used for both conservation and development simultaneously.

2.4.4 The Environmental Drawbacks of Nature-based Tourism

Environmental planning is essential to limit the negative impacts of nature-based tourism in the Beaufort-Delta region (Inskeep, 1987). This is especially so given the fact that the tundra environment of the Beaufort-Delta is only suitable for a low visitor density and sparse infrastructure (Wight, 1998).

Currently, nature-based tourism in the Beaufort-Delta has become an attractive investment for international tour operators. Unfortunately, due to communication barriers, and a general lack of awareness, many foreign tour operators are ignorant of local rules and regulations which govern tourism conduct. The problems of external investment in "ecotours" can be seen by the number of cruise ships moving further into MacKenzie Bay (at Herschel Island and beyond). The fact that cruise ships discharge grey-water and other forms of waste when docked has already become an acute issue at many ports around the world (Marsh and Staple, 1995, p. 65). Damages to the ocean floor by anchors and other docking means have been documented, and the presence of cruise ships around the coastlines of Alaska has even affected Humpback whales and Stellar Sea lions (*ibid.*).

More applicable to the Beaufort-Delta region, however, is that cruise ship passengers utilize mobile transportation means found upon these ships, to penetrate otherwise inaccessible areas (commonly with undisturbed habitat) (Cessford and Dingwall, 1997). One

ship that frequents the Beaufort-Delta has such capabilities. Marsh and Staple (1995) write that "the ship [*Kapitan Khlebnikov*] came equipped with a helicopter and a fleet of zodiacs to carry passengers near ice floes and inland for numerous shore excursions" (p. 68).

There is also great concern over smaller local tour boats moving into the calving areas of the local beluga whale populations (Fig 8) (Fast *et al.*, 1998). Similarly, low-level flight-seeing excursions have been known to harass beluga whales as well (Fast *et al.*, 1998). Whether from a cruise ship or out of Inuvik or Tuktoyaktuk, it is the emergence of highly mobile transportation means (i.e., Zodiac, hovercraft, small aircraft, and helicopter) that allow tourists to move even closer to the whales. Since the peak of the tourism season coincides with beluga calving, it is anticipated the tourists may now want to see birthing and rearing (*ibid.*). It is documented that if boats get too close, they can cause the separation of young beluga calves from their mother. When separated experimentally calves may transfer their attachment to the side of a nearby ship, to potentially not ever "return" to their mother (Edington and Edington, 1986). A study on the St. Lawrence beluga whale population found that when ecotourism boats interacted with beluga whales that they would show subtle surface avoidance; feeding and travelling belugas would generally terminate and not resume their activity (Blane and Jaakson, 1990). Further north, Fraker *et al.*, (1977) found that beluga whales, congregating in esturine areas react by avoiding boat and barge traffic within approximately 2.5 km. They found that when boats passed beluga travel paths that it would hinder and then delay the passage of the whales for several hours. The same study found that aircraft flying at an altitude of less than 200 ft can panic beluga into a random movement characterized by thrashing and wheeling.

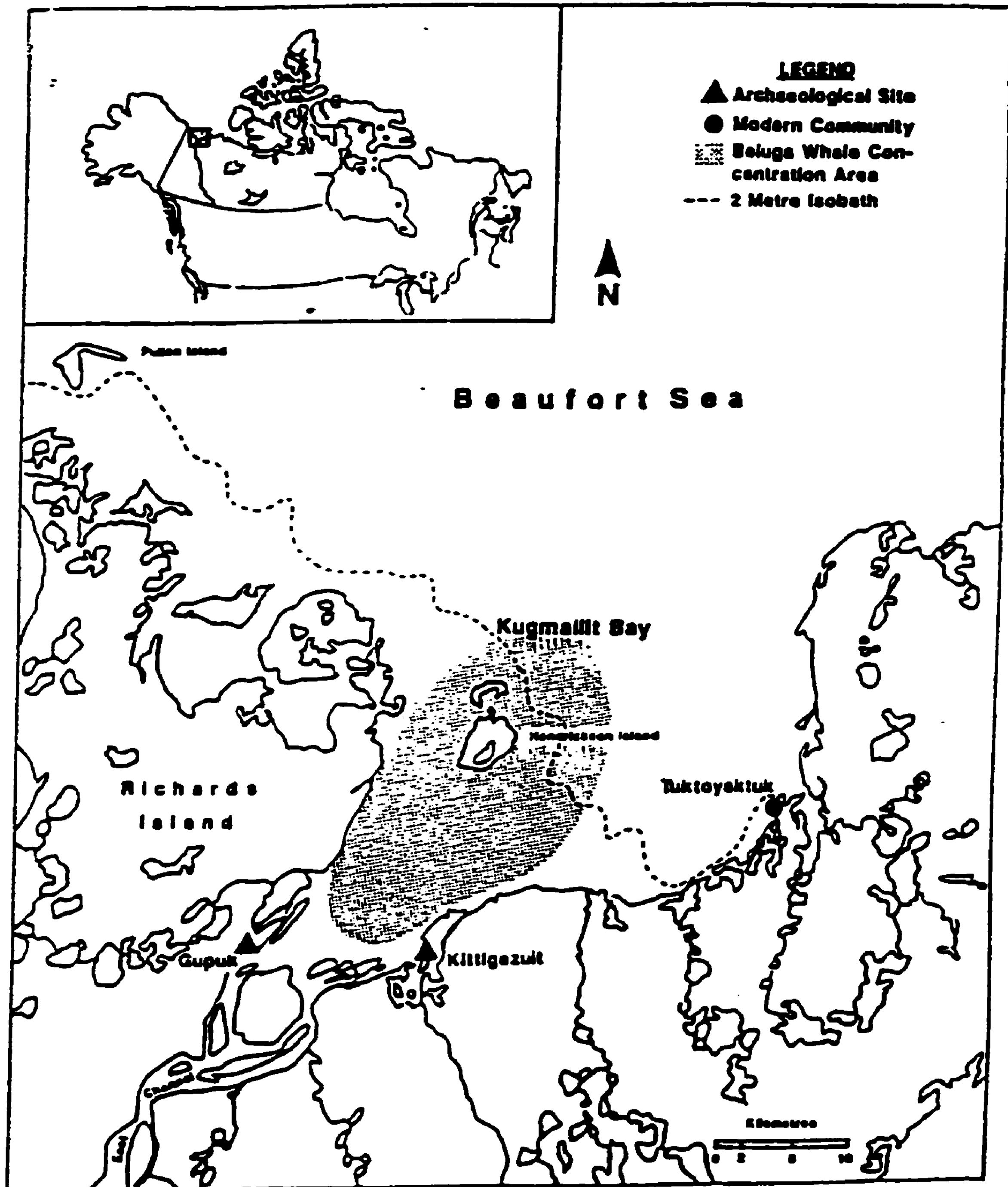


Figure 8: Beluga Whale (*Delphinapterus leucas*) Concentrations within Kugmallit Bay (Friesen and Arnold, 1995).

The impact of noise on waterfowl from a new tourism activity called 'flight-seeing' has been documented by Fishman (1994) for Parks Canada. He found that non-breeding birds appeared more sensitive to aircraft disturbance than nesting birds. Moulting birds were driven from land by helicopter disturbance at 100 to 750 feet, while resting snow geese were disturbed by a Cessna 185 at a minimum altitude of 300 feet; the effect was a reduction in flock sizes (Fishman, 1994). Furthermore, Fishman found the impact of aircraft noise on caribou to be quite substantial. He explains that helicopter noise evokes a greater "escape response" from caribou than do fixed-wing aircraft. However, both planes and helicopters affect caribou most during calving and wintering periods, and it is cows and calves that are the most sensitive sex/age class during these times (Fishman, 1994).

Of additional concern is the disturbance of bird colonies by curious or unaware tourists. Many areas in the Arctic or Subarctic, such as Churchill, Manitoba, are already experiencing difficulties with tourists trampling nests hidden in the tundra. Bird watchers have often trampled vegetation to such an extent that neighbouring birds leave their nests and abandon brood rearing, often causing younger birds to die of starvation (Mieczkowski, 1995; Edington and Edington, 1986). For the Beaufort-Delta region, it is particularly important that low flying helicopters and cruise ships, as well as kayakers and canoeists, be prohibited close to all breeding areas. The sudden disturbance of shorebird colonies nesting on crags can cause their eggs to be knocked off as they fly off in panic (Edington and Edington, 1986).

Due to a high preponderance of recreational vehicles (RVs) coming in off the Dempster highway, there is also potential for considerable impact on the Beaufort-Delta's terrestrial environment (Derek Murray Consulting Associates, 1994). Much of the tundra vegetation found around tourism "hot-spots", such as in Tuktoyaktuk, are particularly vulnerable to damage from visitor trampling. As nature-based tourists embark on "hikes" from

recreational campgrounds (where most RV's are stationed) or tour boats, they often follow the same path, eventually compacting plants and exposing soil to the sun and wind. Vegetative compaction by tents at campgrounds, or at remote back country locations, is also a possibility. High winds, a short growing season, low nutrients, and little sunlight results in slow growth and recovery of vegetation (Bird, 1967; Edington and Edington, 1986; Girard, 1996). Damage to tundra vegetation helps to accelerate erosion of the land, which is no longer protected from runoff, wind and sun (Girard, 1996). Manners in which erosion can occur are a) gully erosion increasing trail width and depth, b) development of muddy stretches, and c) the development of parallel trails, often considered as short-cuts ("informal trails") (Giongo and Bosco-Nizeye, 1997). The fragility of the tundra landscape is illustrated through the everlasting presence of cart tracks on Melville Island left in 1819 by a British expedition (Hampton and Cole, 1988).

CHAPTER 3: METHODS

This chapter describes the analytical frameworks and methods used to reveal and gauge Inuvialuit elder, tour operator, visitor, and institutional perspectives towards nature-based tourism's impacts in the Beaufort-Delta region. Each target population requires a distinct methodological framework, and within these frameworks, various qualitative and quantitative methods were used.

3.1 Initial Contacts

To initiate this project, the Fisheries Joint Management Committee (FJMC), a co-management body arising out of the Inuvialuit Final Agreement (IFA), worked with the Department of Fisheries and Oceans (DFO), Winnipeg, to acquire the support of the Aklavik Hunters' and Trappers' Committee (HTC), Inuvik HTC and the Tuktoyaktuk HTC. To become acquainted with the Inuvialuit and local community organizations, the researcher attended HTC and Inuvialuit Game Council (IGC) meetings to communicate research intentions. Locally relevant groups and individuals were contacted and consulted to help define the project, and the hiring of an Inuvialuit research assistant was a precondition for the continuation of the project.

3.2 METHODOLOGICAL APPROACHES

This study uses and integrates both quantitative and qualitative research methods in order to produce a composite picture of stakeholder perspectives on nature-based tourism development. This approach is known formally as triangulation, and is discussed later. A quantitative approach was deemed most practical and effective to survey tourists, while other stakeholders, i.e., tour operators, Inuvialuit elders, and various institutional representatives, were more appropriately approached using qualitative methodologies. The reasons for choosing specific methods for certain stakeholder groups are outlined in greater detail below.

3.2.1 A QUANTITATIVE APPROACH

As a quantitative approach, a questionnaire survey provides a numerical description of a certain segment of a population (Creswell, 1994, p. 117). If conducted in a non-random manner, questionnaire data reveals general group characteristics which are confined to the group sampled. Questionnaires typically have close-ended questions within distinct response categories. Questions are often scaled, and once answered by the respondent, they allow the researcher to quickly tabulate and analyse results statistically. Hence, questionnaires are valuable tools that describe a group's characteristics, motives, attitudes and preferences (Creswell, 1994; Jackson, 1988).

For this study, tourist questionnaire responses were grouped into three categories pertaining to socio-cultural, economic, and environmental considerations. This allowed tourist responses to be easily compared to similar response categories from the other stakeholder groups, thus potentially leading to new relationships and conclusions for and between each stakeholder group's perspectives.

3.2.2 The Visitor Survey

A visitor survey (Appendix I) was conducted both independently and with the help of the Great Northern Arts Festival organizers during the summer of 1998 in Inuvik, NWT. The objectives of the survey were:

- to explore whether visitors and tour operators are willing to exercise "on-tour" cultural and ecological conservation and education practices;
- to determine whether tour operators promote "on-tour" cultural and ecological conservation and education practices;
- to determine the value tourists place on various cultural and natural amenities for their trips, and to extrapolate further on how these values may shape their interests in tourism activities;

- to reveal perceived positive and negative cultural, economic, and environmental impacts from visitors and tour operators in the Beaufort-Delta region;

- to elicit the perspectives of visitors regarding their satisfaction and expectations on environmental quality, societal conditions, and professionalism within the Beaufort-Delta's tourism industry and communities;

- to determine the degree of local level cultural, economic, and ecological impacts by estimating tourist consumption of country foods, expenditure on local goods and services, and tour frequency and *relative* tour location.

These objectives were developed because nature-based tourism market studies and anthropological tourism studies have shown the need to assess not only the attitudes and behaviour of tour operators but also those of visitors (Wight, 1998). The tourist questionnaire represents an attempt to addresses these various cultural, economic and environmental issues as they relate to visitor, tour operator, and aboriginal host dynamics.

3.2.2.1 Questionnaire Design

The questionnaire was modelled after those applied in studies that have successfully dealt with the perspectives of tourists in relation to socio-cultural, economic, and environmental variables (Pizam, 1978; Perdue *et al.*, 1990; Keogh, 1990; Wilkinson, 1989; Nickels *et al.*, 1991; Grekin, 1994). This study's questionnaire was also broken down into these three response sections. Within each of these sections, questions probed visitor perspectives on the potential impacts of nature-based tourism. Since previous studies in the Beaufort-Delta region (see Notzke, 1995; GNWT, 1989,1995; Bufo Inc, 1992) have already collected extensive visitor demographics, the present study placed little attention on this aspect.

To encourage respondent confidence, initial sections of the questionnaire contained easier questions (Foddy, 1993). In general, the questions moved from general to specific.

There were 18 questions in total, with 5 related to environmental factors, 5 related to socio-cultural factors, and 4 related to economic factors (see Appendix I). The remaining 4 dealt with general trip characteristics, such as length of stay. All tourists answered the same closed-ended questions. The first seven questions applied a rating scale (e.g., 1 being very important and 5 being of little importance) and a Yes/No response option. To illustrate, questions #4 sought to determine how important tourists thought it was that tour operators promoted their involvement in conservation practices. Similarly, question #5 asked tourists to reveal how important they felt it was that tour operators provided them with educational material or discussion on the local landscape. In contrast, for question #6, visitors indicated either yes or no on their willingness to pay a $1.00-$2.00 user-fee for conservation purposes. A similar question and answer format was used throughout the questionnaire.

For those questions dealing with economic factors, tourists were asked to estimate their total, regional and local trip expenditures in Canadian dollars. This identified differences in external and local expenditure during various stages of a tourist's vacation. Finally, tourists were asked to reveal how satisfied they were with various services and activities during their trip. Tourists indicated this by again rating their satisfaction level (e.g, 1 being extremely satisfied and 6 being extremely unsatisfied). To allow visitors to express their opinions on trip experiences, the final question was open-ended.

3.2.2.2 Questionnaire Limitations:

Three questions: #8, #11, #12 (see Appendix I) were somewhat ambiguously phrased thus making their reliability/ validity somewhat questionable. As a result, the thesis does not place too much weight on the responses.

3.2.2.3 Questionnaire Administration and Data Collection

As stated above, the applied questionnaire attempted to collect visitor perspectives on nature-based tourism in the Beaufort-Delta. This survey was designed to supplement data from past GNWT Exit Surveys (see 1994 Western Arctic Visitor Exit Survey in chapter 2). From June 1st until July 31st 1998, questionnaires, enclosed within a self-addressed and stamped envelope, were personally delivered and explained to visitors. In written form (as part of the questionnaire cover sheet) and also verbally, tourists were informed that their identity and responses would be held confidential. An outline of the purpose and objectives of the study was provided in the questionnaire cover sheet. Tourists were requested to return the questionnaires by mail to the Natural Resources Institute, University of Manitoba. Following Notzke (1995), visitor groups were chosen in an opportunistic manner at different locations, such as tour operator drop off points, camp sites, local hotels and the Inuvik airport . In the early evening, when most tourists were back from their tours, and when the researcher had conducted all scheduled verbal interviews (see below under "qualitative approach") during the day, he walked to campgrounds or hotels to ask tourists to fill out the questionnaire. Choosing visitors arbitrarily at specific sites led to a non-random sample. However, this approach was necessary largely due to time constraints and attempts to increase sample size and return rates.

Two-hundred and six (206) of three-hundred and twenty-five (325) questionnaires were returned, providing a 63% response rate. However, only those tourists indicating that they had spent money on a tour (land n=100, water n= 42, air charter n=29; question #15) were considered in the final analysis. The reason for only considering tour participants was because the survey sought to evaluate tour operator and tourist interactions, as well as the economic and ecological impact of various tourism activities. In total, 171 tourists had travelled on a tour, giving an effective response rate of 53%. The remaining questionnaires

were filled out by independent travellers not directly involved in tours. Fifteen surveys were not filled out at all, and three had been filled out by one person for other party members.

Statistical analysis was conducted using the SPSS v.8.0 computer programe. All tourist ratings and yes/no responses were key-punched into an SPSS spreadsheet. Multiple responses, such as tourist country food consumption, were enumerated using MS Excel v. 7.0. Both SPSS and Excel are available on the University of Manitoba's mainframe. Since data were selected in a non-probabilistic manner, only descriptive statistics (ie., response frequency, mean, median, mode, etc.,) were used.

3.2.2.4 Advantages and Disadvantages:

This study's questionnaire was self-administered for various reasons. First, a self-administered survey reduces the cost of reaching a given sample of the population; this is in contrast to an interview survey which potentially requires several paid interviewers to be in the field administering a survey. Second, since less organization is required for a self-administered survey, a larger number of respondents can be solicited in a shorter period of time. For example, the time required to hire or train people to conduct a survey may reduce the time needed to increase sample size. Third, as Burton and Noad (1968) argue, questions in a self-administered survey are answered more frankly than in an interview survey. Antagonism towards the researcher is also avoided, as the respondent may fill out the questionnaire at his or her leisure.

As is delineated above, the tourist survey sample was collected in a non-probabilistic manner. A non-probability (or non-random) sample is typically drawn from only those members of a population who are available at a given point in time. Because the researcher's choice for acquiring a new sample is based on previous arbitrary decisions, there is no likelihood that every member of a population has an equal chance of being selected for the

sample (Earickson and Harlin, 1996). If members of a population are chosen independent of each other, they have an equal chance of being included within a sample (i.e., with random sampling, generalizations can be drawn upon the entire population). Thus, the disadvantages of non-probability sampling are threefold: 1) it does not result in a representative sample; 2) judgement samples introduce sources of bias; and 3) one cannot generalize the results to the larger population (Ryan, 1995, p. 175). However, a main advantage is that one can cover a wide geographical area to reach a large sample size within a short period of time.

To help reduce sampling bias, various types of visitors were chosen to fill out the questionnaire. By targeting various tourists types in various locations, it was thought that a more representative cross-section of visitors could be obtained. To illustrate, Parks Canada and Territorial Parks representatives distributed questionnaires at the Parks Canada office in Inuvik and at the visitor reception centre at Herschel Island Territorial Park. Thus, adventure tourists participating in white water rafting at Ivvavik National Park, and hiking tours at Herschel Island also filled out the questionnaire. All of this widened the sampling base considerably and, therefore, helped to increase the validity of the questionnaire results.

3.2.3 A QUALITATIVE APPROACH

As a qualitative approach, structured and unstructured interviews were used to obtain the perspectives of tour operators, Inuvialuit elders, and institutional representatives. For each of these stakeholder groups, the use of a qualitative research approach over a quantitative one was deemed as more appropriate. To illustrate, qualitative research focuses on words and observations that provide a holistic view of people in their natural environment (Krueger, 1988). Rather than quantifying perspectives, it is an endeavour to understand how people, or stakeholder groups, make sense of their lives and experiences within their own world structures (Creswell, 1994). For example, to obtain Inuvialuit perspectives, qualitative

techniques proved to be ideal as results were not confined to absolute measurements. The less structured, more personal and creative side of qualitative research allows the researcher to accommodate different cultural values (Walker, 1985). Such considerations were critical to the sensitive nature of this study.

3.2.4 Structured interviews: Tour Operators and Inuvialuit Elder Interviews

Cottle (1992) argues that structured interviews pose a fixed array of questions that define the discussion at hand. Although a structured interview may have open-ended questions, they are usually designed to help focus responses. With structured interviews, informants are often sought out in a non-probabilistic manner, and similar information is collected from a largely homogenous group of respondents (Burton and Noad, 1968). Since questions are standardized, interview responses can be compared and classified.

For this study, structured interviews were used to examine local tour operators' and elders' perspectives on the impacts of nature-based tourism development. In order to make it easier to cross-reference results between each stakeholder group, structured interview questions were again broken down into identifiable units (i.e., socio-cultural, economic and environmental). In every instance, the questions attempted not to lead the informant's responses. To help remove researcher bias, questions were designed to be as neutral as possible (Ryan, 1995). Although several questions were predetermined and close-ended, others were open-ended to allow informants to freely express their opinions. As such, informants could introduce new, and largely unanticipated information. Due to cultural differences and potential influences from the interviewer, open-ended questions allowed the respondent to spend as much time as necessary to articulate their ideas and concerns. For all interviews, the researcher attempted to ask questions that were culturally sensitive. This entailed being considerate and respectful of the interviewees' cultural background, as well as being sensitive to their needs during the actual interview process.

3.2.4.1 Tour Operator Interviews

The are several important reasons for interviewing local and international tour operators in the Beaufort-Delta region. To list them all, however, would go beyond the scope of this chapter. In general, there are 8 basic, and interrelated, reasons for interviewing tour operators:

- they can determine how and how much of a certain natural resource is used for tourism (e.g., they can offer site-sensitive accommodations that conserve local resources and educate tourists);

- they serve as the best mediator between hosts and guests, thus being able to influence positive and negative economic, cultural and ecological impacts (Notzke, 1999);

- if properly organized, they are able to quickly and effectively implement sustainable tourism policy (they can educate their own employees and work with government agencies to prevent negative impacts on culture and ecology);

- they are able to facilitate cross-cultural learning and environmental awareness between hosts and guests (this helps to enhance visitor understanding on how to behave in the Beaufort-Delta);

- they can directly maintain and enhance their environment and promote indigenous culture in their communities (e.g., garbage clean ups, collecting and redirecting user-fees for conservation, and demonstrating traditional activities to tourists within the centre of town);

- they and their clients are most likely to be the causes of and solution to conflict and ecological degradation (e.g., tour operators and their clients have the potential for self-regulation through various compliance strategies);

- they have a strong economic influence by providing direct and indirect employment benefits, and by purchasing domestic supplies;

- they communicate what is and is not working in a tourism industry (e.g., are guidelines working, and if so, how? If not, why not?).

Due to time constraints, and the availability of tour operators, managers from 22 of 25 tour companies operating in the Beaufort-Delta were interviewed between June 1st and early August, 1998, in Inuvik, Aklavik and Tuktoyaktuk. In May 1988, the Department of Economic Development and Tourism (ED&T) provided by fax to the researcher's home institution in Winnipeg an address list of 25 licenced tour operators operating out of Aklavik, Tuktoyaktuk and Inuvik. These 25 tour companies were first contacted by phone from Winnipeg to discuss the objectives of the research project. Roughly half were reached by telephone, and the remaining few were contacted by fax to outline the project's intentions. Of the 25, two internationally-based tour operators were interviewed over the phone, and 20 tour company representatives were later interviewed in Aklavik, Tuktoyaktuk and Inuvik. However, since most tour companies are situated in Inuvik, the majority of the interviews were conducted there in a face-to-face setting: homes, cafés and local businesses were the most common venues. Three of the 20 local tour companies interviewed are tour booking agencies, which also conduct their own tours. The remaining 17 served the dual role of tour company and outfitter. All interviews were conducted in English. Each informant was told at the beginning of the interview that his or her identity would be kept confidential. The tour operator interview schedule consisted of 44 questions. Open and close-ended questions addressed specific details concerning the tour company owner's yearly operations and resulting impacts on local economy, culture and environment. Questions were developed and adapted from literature focusing on tourism development in the Arctic (see Ward, 1996; Sandhu, 1998; Grekin, 1994; Nickels *et al.*, 1991). Within the interview schedule, questions were ordered (or clumped) to address each of the three categories (i.e., socio-cultural, economic and environmental sections) sequentially. Before interviews began, tour operators were asked whether they preferred tape-recording or note-taking. Most tour operators, preferred note-taking over tape-recording. For tape-recorded interviews, the researcher

transcribed tapes on the same day the interviews took place. Interviews were transcribed directly from cassette (or note-pad) to personal computer. The length of interviews ranged from 45 minutes to approximately an hour. In addition to being an effective interview prompt, topographic maps were used to help tour operators identify their tour route and frequency.

3.2.4.2 Elder Interviews

Among all stakeholder groups, revealing and gauging the perspectives of community residents (Inuvialuit elders) is by far the most important step in assessing the impacts of nature-based tourism and planning for its sustainable development. While not meant to be comprehensive, there are 8 reasons why Inuvialuit elders were interviewed:

- currently very little is known about overall Inuvialuit perspectives on tourism development within their communities;

- often residents are the first to identify which socio-cultural, economic, and environmental costs associated to tourism development are most likely to arise (e.g., Inuvialuit may reveal discrepancies between actual and perceived impacts, whereby perceived impacts can be used to avoid actual future impacts);

- resident perspectives inform tourism managers what level of tourism development is acceptable (Cooke, 1982);

- by eliciting Inuvialuit elders' perspectives, locally appropriate tourism activities and other development priorities can be identified;.

- integrating the perspectives of Inuvialuit elders into tourism planning constitutes an ethical practice which may facilitate long-term public participation. As public participation begins, and community residents gain more control over tourism development, they may become more acceptant of it;

- if residents are in continuous dialogue with tourism managers, the opportunity for tourism's economic impacts to become distributed equally increases as well;

- the perspectives of local residents reveals overall degrees of self-sufficiency or dependency on tourism.

Thirty Inuvialuit elders, 10 in each community, participated in formally structured interviews. Elder interviews took place between June 1st and July 31st, 1998. During this time, the researcher spent roughly 5 days interviewing elders in both Aklavik and Tuktoyaktuk, with the remaining time being spent interviewing Inuvik elders. Each community Hunters' and Trappers' Committee (HTC) provided a list of elders' names (i.e., those individuals 50 years and older). In total, 15 female and 15 male Inuvialuit elders were interviewed. If elders were out on the land hunting, trapping or fishing, interviews were obtained through a "snow-ball" sampling approach. That is, the researcher approached elders who suggested others who might be interviewed, who in turn suggested new informants (who were known to hold the most appropriate information)(Ryan, 1995). Recommendations to move onto new informants were also based on an Inuvialuit research assistant's suggestions. For all elder interviews, a fixed order and form of questions concerning relevant socio-cultural, economic and environmental variables were asked in a face-to-face setting. Again, questions were ordered (or clumped) to address each of the three categories sequentially. Elder interviews took place in either their homes or out on the land. Questions were designed in response to issues (e.g., conflict, species harassment) mentioned in the current literature on tourism development in the Beaufort-Delta (see Fast *et al.*, 1998; Notzke, 1995). They were also developed and adapted from literature focussing on tourism development in the Arctic in general (see Ward, 1996; Sandhu, 1998; Grekin, 1994; Nickels *et al.*, 1991). Each elder was told at the beginning of the interview that his or her identity would be kept confidential. Before interviews started, elders were asked whether they preferred tape-recording or note-taking. Most elders preferred note-taking over tape-recording. For most tape-recorded interviews, the researcher transcribed tapes on the same day the interviews took place, and directly from cassette to personal computer.

Inuvialuit elders were asked a total of 20 questions. Questions were designed to elicit elder perspectives on how nature-based tourism impacted their day-to-day cultural and economic activities (e.g., wildlife harvesting) and flora and fauna in the Beaufort-Delta region. Both open and close-ended questions were used during the interviews. To raise the comfort level during the interviews, several open-ended questions were used at the start. This gave elders a chance to give long answers, and encouraged conversation. Since most elders spoke English very well, there were few communication barriers. Averaging between 1-2 hours, elder interviews took longer than most stakeholder interviews. An Inuvialuit research assistant was present during all interviews. His presence was of particular value to this research. Had the research assistant not been along, interviews would certainly not have gone so smoothly, or perhaps not even have taken place at all. Elders were paid a set honorarium for the interviews, and the payment amount was negotiated during an Inuvik HTC meeting.

Similar to the tour operator interviews, topographic maps were used as a prompt during elder interviews. Maps were particularly useful when discussing the impacts of water and land-based tourism on hunting and animals. Topographic maps helped elders to identify: (1) tour operator travel routes and frequencies, (2) past whaling camps and hunting activities, and (3) seasonal migrations of beluga in relation to the operators' travel paths.

3.2.4.3 Limitations of Structured Interviews

Many structured interviews can often "digress" to open-ended discussions, so an exchange of views and opinions is often inevitable. Therefore, in many ways the researcher and the respondent both manipulate the path and thus the answers in the interview process. Below is a list of concerns that were considered during this research.

Respondent	**Researcher**
(1) the informant's current emotional state (such as anger, fear, anxiety or depression);	(1) over-encouragement of a question;
(2) the values of the informant (i.e., the feelings that underlie his or her opinions);	(2) interruption of interview process;
(3) the informant's attitudes or sentiments (i.e., his or her emotional reactions to the discussed topics);	(3) personal idiosyncrasies, opinions;
(4) the informant's opinions;	(4) values of informants;
(5) ulterior motives;	(5) urgency of data collection.
(6) an informant's desire to please ;	
(7) idiosyncratic characteristics.	

Key Concepts Followed in the Interviewing Process

(1) listening more than talking;
(2) listening in a lively and sympathetic manner;
(3) rephrasing and reflecting back to the informant;
(4) accepting statements that violate your own ethical considerations (Strauss, 1987, p. 313).

3.2.5 Unstructured Interviews

Unstructured interviews were used during institutional interviews due to the degree of flexibility they granted the researcher. For example, unstructured interviews are particularly useful if a researcher is looking for a diverse range of information from a diverse group of informants. If a researcher were to use standardized questions, he or she may not necessarily capture the full meaning of informants' differing positions (Burton and Noad, 1968). Institutional representatives are not a homogenous group, and, as such, they will have different understandings and perspectives on nature-based tourism development.

Since questions can vary from one respondent to another, unstructured interviews gave the researcher total freedom to explore very broad and detailed topics in considerable depth. During unstructured interviews the researcher guides the interview so that all topics

related to the subject are covered. However, Burton and Noad (1968) warn that unstructured interviews are limited by how well the researcher understands his or her topic (*ibid.*). As a result, the researcher had the responsibility to research the informant's area of expertise as thoroughly as possible.

3.2.5.1 Institutional Interviews

"Institutional representatives", as used in this study, were persons from various government agencies, such as the Territorial Government and Parks Canada, and various Inuvialuit institutions. Institutional representatives interviewed were those charged with promoting and developing nature-based tourism; enforcing regulations and issuing tourism licences; screening tourism proposals; as well as protecting local culture and environment from its development. In general, institutional representatives, by carrying out their institution's mandate, define the operational (or legal) environment of nature-based tourism in the Beaufort-Delta. They, therefore, play an important role in ensuring that the development of nature-based tourism is sustainable. Below is a list of reasons why the researcher interviewed various institutional representatives in Inuvik:

- institutional representatives from the Territorial Government who are charged with economic development (employees of ED&T), issue and enforce tour operator and tourism establishment licences; they are also charged with promoting and developing tourism in the Beaufort-Delta.

- institutional representatives from the Inuvialuit Corporate Group Structure (employees of IRC, IDC, and CEDO) are charged, in consultation with the Inuvialuit, to develop new tourism activities in different areas of the Beaufort-Delta; they ensure that Inuvialuit are given first priority for guiding and outfitting in the Inuvialuit Settlement Region, as stipulated in the Inuvialuit Final Agreement (IFA). Attempts are also made to ensure that tourism activities do not infringe upon subsistence activities;

- institutional representatives from the Territorial and Federal Government who look after environmental conservation (employees of Resources and Wildlife, DFO, DOE, CWS, Parks Canada) are charged with minimizing the impact of nature-based tourism

on all ecosystems and species therein on Territorial and Crown Lands. Each department has legally backed regulations with which to minimize tourism's environmental impacts (e.g., Parks Canada, National Parks, RWED, Territorial Parks);

- institutional representatives from the renewable resources joint management committees (FJMC, EISC, EIRB, WMAC-NT, WMAC-NS see chapter 2 and 4), co-operatively manage the extent and type of impact from nature-based tourism development with Federal and Inuvialuit Departments;

- Inuvialuit institutional representatives (employees of the IGC, all six HTCs) make sure that Inuvialuit benefit financially from nature-based tourism, and that it does not negatively impact their environment and/or infringe upon their right to harvest (as stipulated in the IFA, see chapter 2 and 4). The IGC communicates with the relevant HTCs and then through the joint management bodies to the relevant Federal departments on issues related to tourism and land use conflict and/or harassment of terrestrial and marine wildlife;

- often the extensive bureaucracy of institutions only allows representatives to become involved in tourism planning by virtue of their institution's mandate (Haywood, 1988). Due to excessive bureaucracy, tourism development strategies can become fragmentary in their approach, and overlapping institutional mandates become obfuscated. As a result, the concerns of smaller communities (and residents) become lost in an unfocused planning process (*ibid.*).

This study therefore sought to determine whether institutional representatives and local residents actually collaborated during the planning process. Among government, co-management, and tourism agencies, 23 key representatives were interviewed in Tuktoyaktuk and Inuvik. However, since nearly all institutions are located at Inuvik, most interviews took place there between June 2nd and August 3rd 1998. In addition, one interview took place in Tuktoyaktuk over the phone. The 23 interviews were conducted in a face-to-face and unstructured manner. Key informants were asked open-ended questions and were encouraged to speak freely about past and present experiences regarding the benefits and drawbacks of nature-based tourism development. While most interviews had an interview guide drawn up

beforehand, most progressed into a thorough conversation. Informants were later asked whether they wanted their names and quotes within the study. Most agreed. For those who did not want their names in the study, or could not be reached, their identity was signed anonymous. Depending on the respondent's preference, interviews were either tape-recorded or hand-written, and lasted between 45 minutes to an hour. In most cases, interviews were transcribed on the same day that they were conducted. Transcriptions from cassettes (and note-pads) were directly inputted into a personal computer. Again, due to time constraints and the availability of key informants, interviews did not follow a fixed schedule. By following the snowballing sampling approach, the researcher interviewed key institutional representatives from co-management, Inuvialuit bodies, territorial and federal government agencies. All respondents play a role (although to varying degrees) in managing local land resources and economies in relation to nature-based tourism development. The following chart breaks down the management mandate of each organization, and shows how institutional interview results are organized in chapter 5.

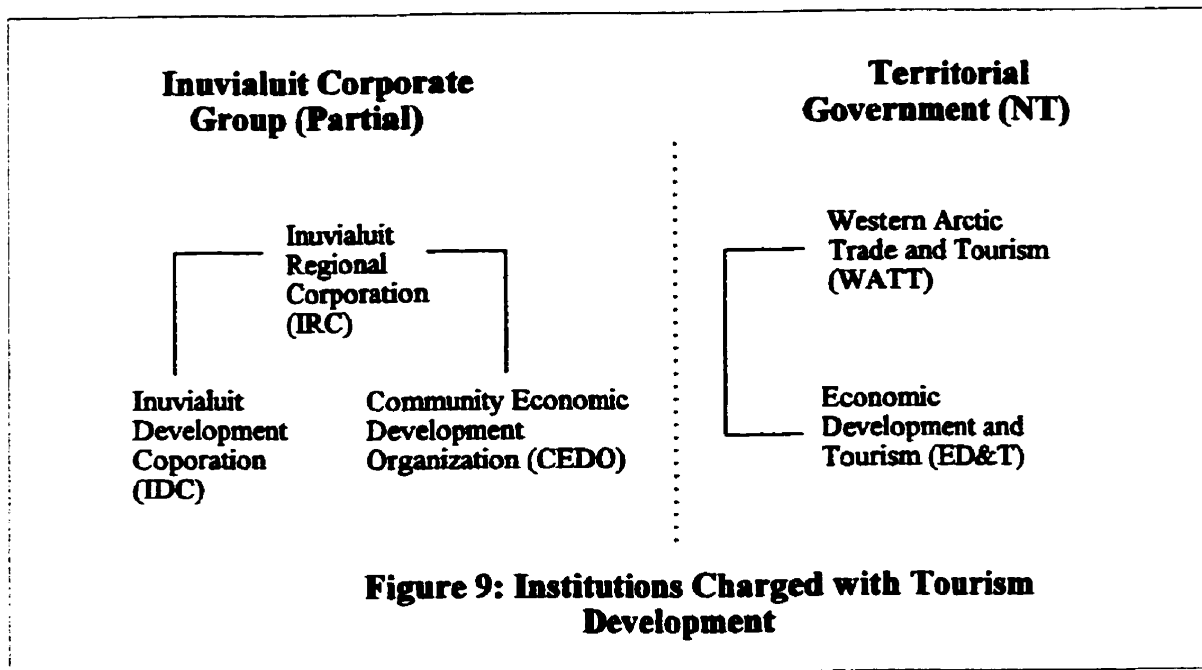


Figure 9: Institutions Charged with Tourism Development

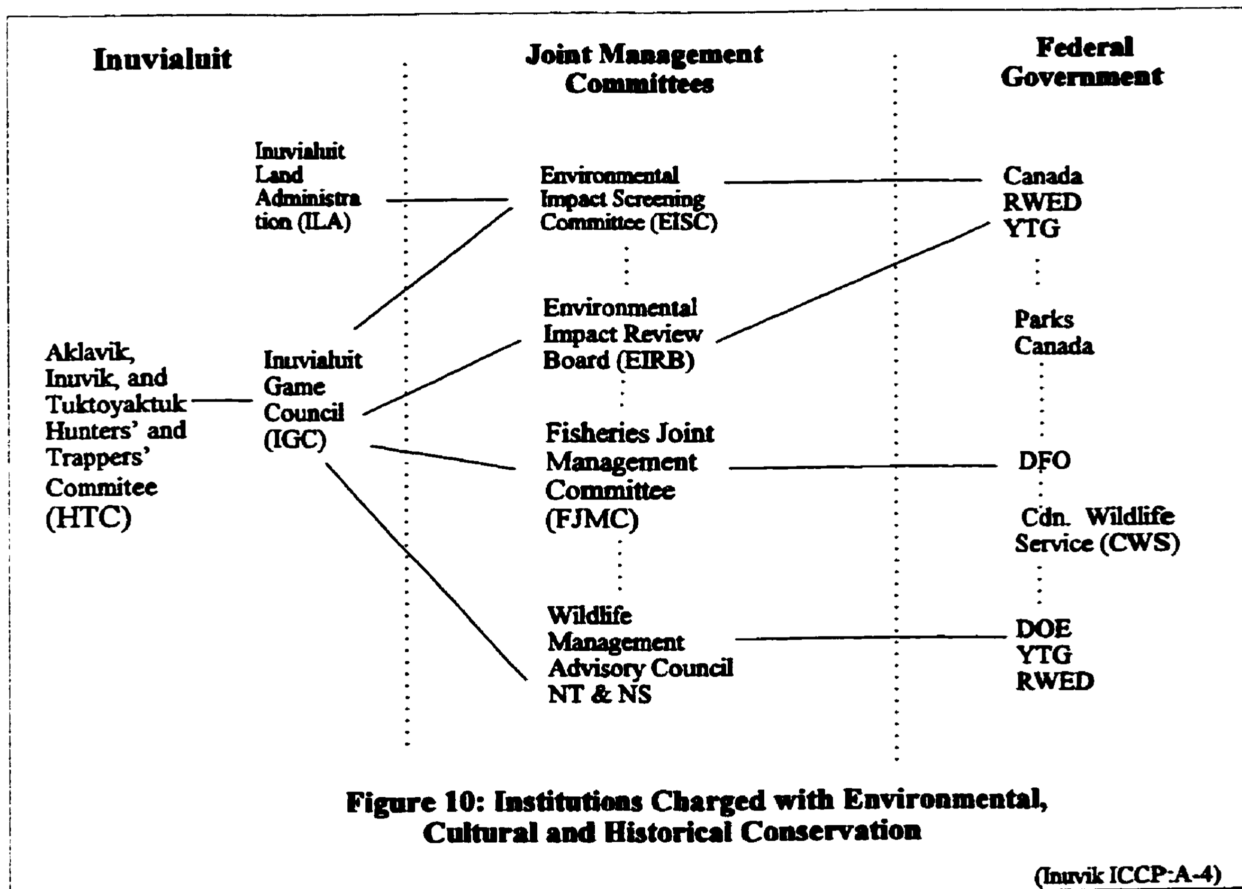


Figure 10: Institutions Charged with Environmental, Cultural and Historical Conservation

(Inuvik ICCP:A-4)

3.2. 6 Analysis of Interview Text:

Following Creswell (1994), during and after the research season the researcher sorted interview text into categories and themes. By doing so, interview results became easier to manage. By placing similar interview responses together, comprehensive themes (or issues) slowly developed, such as the distribution of economic benefits. Once a theme was defined, it was filled with data, up until the point that any new data added no longer contributed to the theme.

3.2.7 Participant Observation

Participant observation facilitates interaction and understanding between the researcher and community members during research and data collection. Using this technique, the researcher "gathers" data by participating in the daily life of a group or organization (Burgess, 1982). The researcher's task is to observe the study group in order to see what situations arise and how people deal with them. If appropriate, the researcher enters into conversation with the group members to uncover their interpretation of events (*ibid.*). As the researcher participates with informants in a local setting, often during day-to-day activities, he or she attempts to become immersed in the host culture in order to better understand their perspectives (Walker, 1985). How well the researcher understands a host culture depends on his or her length of the stay and how he or she communicates with the group.

Participant observation was employed at the major whale hunting camps situated along the Beaufort Sea coastline. It was used to help the researcher understand the cultural and economic significance of certain subsistence hunts (i.e., the beluga whale hunt) in relation to the impacts of nature-based tourism operations. The researcher and Inuvialuit were fully aware that their interaction revolved around research. Nonetheless, although it was important to remain as an "outside researcher," it was still necessary to facilitate a certain degree of interaction.

3.3 THE MULTI-METHOD APPROACH TO DATA ANALYSIS AND EVALUATION

The methodological approach used for this thesis follows a multi-disciplinary approach to data collection. Despite the short-comings of each quantitative and qualitative method used, a multi-method approach suggests that if congruent findings arise among different data sources, that data can be accepted with more confidence. This approach is also known as triangulation. Triangulated measurements attempt to pinpoint the values, or facts, of a situation by focussing in on them from different methodological positions (Burgess, 1982). If data obtained from the various methods are consistent, the researcher is reassured that bias has been minimized.

CHAPTER 4: THE LEGISLATIVE ENVIRONMENT OF NATURE-BASED TOURISM DEVELOPMENT IN THE BEAUFORT-DELTA

This chapter summarizes how the Inuvialuit Final Agreement (IFA) works in conjunction with federal and territorial regulatory regimes to manage nature-based tourism. First, the IFA's renewable resource management structure is considered in order to reveal how Inuvialuit concerns are carried through to eventually reach governmental decision-makers. The chapter then examines the function of various federal and territorial legislation in regards to developing and/or controlling various types of tourism. This overview provides the backdrop of how the Beaufort-Delta's legal environment ultimately shapes stakeholder perspectives on how to manage nature-based tourism (see Fig 2).

4.1 The Inuvialuit Final Agreement (1984) and its Role in Managing Nature-based Tourism within the Beaufort-Delta Region

The IFA holds several implications for nature-based tourism development taking place within the Inuvialuit Settlement Region (ISR) (see Fig 5). The IFA's renewable resources management committees affect the consumptive side of tourism, as they determine the quota of more vulnerable species, such as the polar and grizzly bears (Notzke, 1995). Furthermore, subsection 14(42) states that "the Inuvialuit shall have the first priority in the Western Arctic for guiding, outfitting, or any commercial activities related to wildlife as authorized by governments from time to time" (DIAND, 1984, p. 28). This pertains to Inuvialuit participation in nature-based tourism as well. Through various environmental and cultural protection provisions, the IFA's five resource co-management bodies, the relevant Hunters' and Trappers' Committees (HTCs) and the Inuvialuit Game Council (IGC) are also mandated to minimize the negative impacts of nature-based tourism.

4.1.1 The Hunters' and Trappers' Committees (HTCs) and the Inuvialuit Game Council (IGC)

Established under the IFA, the local Hunters' and Trappers' Committees (HTCs) represent the interests of all Inuvialuit living in the six communities of the ISR on matters related to local resource management (DIAND, 1984). The HTCs draw their membership from land claim beneficiaries and they advise the Inuvialuit Game Council (IGC) on all local renewable resource management and harvesting issues, such as quotas and hunting areas (Bailey *et al.*, 1995). In addition to collecting harvesting data, the HTCs are able to write by-laws that help to maintain their harvesting rights (DIAND, 1984, p. 30). The HTCs also encourage Inuvialuit participation in various activities related to conservation and research (Johnston, 1996, p. 34).

The IGC is made up of representatives from each of the six HTCs. Section 14(74) of the IFA states that the IGC represents "the collective Inuvialuit interest in wildlife" (DIAND, 1984, p, 30). The IGC appoints Inuvialuit members to all joint management committees and advises the territorial and federal governments on policy legislation, regulation and the administration of wildlife (Muir, 1997). Moreover, the IGC assigns community harvesting quotas and advises any federal departments on national and international issues related to wildlife harvesting that may affect the Inuvialuit (*ibid.*). Any proposals made by the joint management committees, and any federal or territorial departments must also be referred to the IGC and the HTCs.

4.1.2 The Wildlife Management Advisory Council- Northwest Territories (WMAC-NWT)

IFA subsections 14(36) through 14(50) discuss the establishment of the WMAC-NWT with the goal of cooperatively managing wildlife within the ISR's NWT section. The advisory council "provides advice to the appropriate ministers on all matters related to wildlife policy and the management, regulation and administration of wildlife, habitat and harvesting for the Western Arctic Region" (DIAND, 1984, p. 28). Thus, the WMAC-NWT plays an important role in managing Inuvialuit harvests, and ultimately big-game hunting and fishing. Under IFA subsection 14 (60)(c) the WMAC-NWT must set, in consultation with the IGC and RWED, appropriate quotas for Inuvialuit harvesting in the region. Decisions to allocate a quota are based on a final review by the WMAC-NWT, and final recommendations are passed on to the Territorial Minister of Renewable Resources. The allocation of Inuvialuit harvest quotas are governed by two IFA principles: preferential and exclusive harvesting rights. Preferential harvesting rights refer to granting quotas to Inuvialuit first if a species population is able to sustain a harvest, whereas exclusive harvesting rights, which take place upon Inuvialuit private lands, grant the Inuvialuit an entire harvestable quota. Conservation and public safety are the only two factors limiting an Inuvialuit harvest. The allocation of quotas for public and private use is governed under the *Territorial Wildlife Act* and the *HTC Big Game Hunting Regulations*. That is, a certain number of tags amounting to a specified harvest quota are allocated to the local HTCs each year. The HTCs then allocate these tags for commercial sports hunting and subsistence use. The *HTC Big Game Hunting Regulations* state that tag allocation must be split equally between general licence holders and Inuvialuit beneficiaries between July 1st and June 30th of the following year. According to Notzke (1995), the allocation of tags is never an easy matter, as bag limits and community politics can enter into the picture.

4.1.3 The Wildlife Management Advisory Council- North Slope (Yukon Territory) (WMAC-NS)

The WMAC-NS, created under IFA subsection 12 (46), is an advisory committee for the IGC and appropriate Ministers regarding the management of the Yukon North Slope (Roberts, 1994). Decisions pertaining to the impact of tourism on the Yukon North Slope are co-ordinated in conjunction with the FJMC, WMAC-NWT, EISC and the EIRB (this is particularly the case with terrestrial species in Ivvavik National Park) (DIAND, 1984, p. 22). Both WMAC-NWT and WMAC- NS also work in collaboration with the IGC and the Canadian Wildlife Service (CWS) to conduct studies that set out to determine the impact of non-consumptive tourism on terrestrial animals.

4.1.4 The Environmental Impact Screening Committee- EISC

The Environmental Impact Screening Committee (EISC) was created under IFA subsection 11 (1) (DIAND, 1984, p. 1). The EISC's mandate is to screen all development projects, by way of an environmental and social impact screening assessment process, to determine any potential negative environmental/ social impacts (EISC Operating Guidelines and Procedures, 1994). To maintain consistency in assessing development activities, the EISC adopted the definition of development that is found in the IFA[7].

7 "Any commercial or industrial activity undertaking or construction whether federal, territorial, provincial, municipal, local or by any Crown agency or corporation, except government projects within the limits of communities not directly affecting wildlife resources outside those limits and except government wildlife enhancement projects" (DIAND, 1984, p. 1).

The EISC's mandate clearly states it has a legislated responsibility to screen all proposed activities inside and outside the ISR that may negatively impact ecosystems and/or Inuvialuit wildlife harvesting (EISC Operating Guidelines and Procedures,1994, p. 2). As a result, pursuant to subsection 11(31), no development licence can be issued to the proponent unless the provisions of the EISC process are complied with (DIAND, 1984, p. 18). *This includes tourism developments.*

According to Linda Graf, Executive Secretary of the EISC, if Inuvialuit, or any other individuals, wishes to or has already obtained a permit for tourism development, it is obligatory for his or her proposal to go through the EISC screening process (*pers. comm.* June 1998). This includes temporary or permanent shelter or activities on crown land. For nature-based tourism development, it is the proponent's responsibility (typically RWED) to submit the tour operator's proposal 30 days in advance to the EISC's regular monthly meeting. If development occurs on Crown land, the EISC receives tourism development proposals directly. Conversely, if the tourism development is to take place on Inuvialuit private lands, the proposal is referred to the Inuvialuit Land Administration (ILA). However, when tourism applications are considered to have a negative environmental effect on Inuvialuit private lands, the ILA submits tourism applications to the EISC for further review. When development projects fall on both private and public lands, they are immediately referred to the EISC. A project occurring on both Gwich'in and Inuvialuit community lands is referred to EISC and the Gwich'in Land Administration. In each case, the tourism proposal would undergo an independent environmental impact screening. For a nature-based tour operator to receive his or her operating licence, a detailed proposal must first be submitted. In order for a proposal to be accepted by the EISC it must contain all relevant

information[8]. Once the EISC receives a proposal, it notifies the proponent of the screening date (which must occur within 60 days of receipt). If the tourism proposal is exempt from screening, the EISC notifies the proponent in writing that there is no significant environmental impact, in which case a licence can be issued. However, screening is deferred on three accounts: 1) inadequacy of information in the proposal; 2) the proposal holds potential for a significant environmental impact in which no licence can be issued; and, 3) a proposal is referred to the Environmental Impact Review Board if more issues must be addressed[9] (DIAND, 1984, p. 17).

Enforcement of a tour operator's project description is often carried out through a project's timetable and schedule. For instance, if a tour operator strays off his or her scheduled route for more than 2 weeks, or if the tour changes location altogether, the development is once again subject to review. Although the screening process was previously an annual procedure for tour companies, many now opt for the multi-year screening plan (where an annual screening is not required). Furthermore, if a project takes place on

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[8] This includes, for example: 1) title- project description; 2) project summary; 3) location; 4) project timetable;5) new technology; 6) environmental overview; 7) proposed mitigation and anticipated environmental Impacts; 8) emergency response plans; 9) clean up and reclamation; 10) other environmental assessment; 11) community consultation;12) regulatory approval;13) key government and proponent contacts.

[9] In Appendix D, further evaluative criteria is listed as 1) potential significant habitat loss, disturbance, or population decline of any species with special conservation status, keystone species or species harvested by the Inuvialuit, as determined by the WMAC (NWT/NS) and/or the Fisheries Joint Management Committee (FJMC); 2) encroachment on area with particularly high biodiversity potential; 3) conflict with traditional Inuvialuit harvesting where this has not been waived by the affected HTC's (EISC, 1994, p. 26). Under Appendix F, campsites must be cleared (burial, burning or removal) of waste, garbage, and debris in connection with an operation. Also, a licence holder must suspend an operation if he or she is "in the course of an operation and suspects that an archaeological site or burial ground may be unearthed or otherwise discovered" (ESIC, 1994, p. 27).

Inuvialuit private lands, it is broken down into Intrusive Use or Non-intrusive Use[10]. For the latter case, only the notification of the tourism activity is necessary, while for the former, a more thorough assessment of the proposal is required by the EISC (Harvey Arens, *pers. comm.* June 1998).

4.1. 5 Environmental Impact Review Board (EIRB)

The EIRB, created pursuant to IFA subsection 11(18), is responsible for reviewing a proposed tourism development that requires further assessment and review in the opinion of the EISC (EIRB Operating Guidelines and Procedures, 1997, p. 4). Under IFA subsection 11(24), the EIRB recommends whether a project should proceed or if further review is required. If it is to proceed, the terms and conditions, including mitigative and remedial measures, are provided by the EIRB (*ibid.* p. 17). A public review is carried out if the EISC feels it cannot adequately address the assessment and review process, or if the review body declines to carry out such functions (*ibid.*, p.17).

4.1.6 Fisheries Joint Management Committee (FJMC)

The FJMC, created pursuant to IFA subsection 14(61), must "assist Canada (DFO) and the Inuvialuit in administering the rights and obligations relating to fisheries under this Agreement and to assist the Minister of Fisheries and Oceans of Canada in carrying out his[her] responsibility for the management of fisheries" (DIAND, 1984, p. 29). The FJMC, as set out in section 14(64), is responsible for 1) reviewing the state of fishing on Inuvialuit

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[10]Non-intrusive land use is loosely defined as a development activity, such as tourism, that holds little environmental impact (tourism that is casual and individual in nature). Intrusive land use is considered to be a development activity that holds a significant environmental impact (tourism that is highly mechanized (e.g., flightseeing with a helicopter)) and that is permanent (e.g., lodge) (Harvey Arens, *pers. comm.* June 1998).

private lands and Crown lands; 2) assessing current fishing levels and quotas; 3) developing, maintaining and controlling a public fishing registry for fishing in water on Inuvialuit private lands and Crown lands; 4) allocating subsistence quotas; 5) preventing conflict with Inuvialuit activities; 5) preventing interference with other Inuvialuit use of the land to which they have title; 6) making recommendations to the Minister on subsistence quotas for fish, marine mammals, Inuvialuit commercial fishing, and the allocation of the preferential fishing licences; 7) making regulations on the location and manner of sport fishing; and 8) advising the Minister on regulations, research and policies of fisheries within the Inuvialuit Settlement Region (Doubleday, 1989, p. 215).

Perhaps of greatest significance to nature-based tourism development is the FJMC's Beaufort Sea Beluga Management Plan (BSBMP). First created in 1991 by the DFO, the FJMC and local HTCs to help implement the FJMC's responsibilities (s.s.14(61)), the Plan sought to: "1) maintain a thriving population of beluga in the Beaufort Sea, and 2) to provide for optimum sustainable harvest of beluga by Inuvialuit" (FJMC, 1993, p. 3). This mandate holds three main objectives: 1) protect beluga, beluga habitat and beluga harvesting; 2) provide guidelines and information to assist government, the EISC, EIRB and the ILA in their evaluation of development proposals which may affect beluga, beluga habitat and beluga harvesting; and 3) provide guidelines to assist industry in preparing development proposals. Tourism development is given special attention in the BSBMP. The Plan places weight on the economic value of tourism, while also understanding that certain activities can negatively impact beluga whales as well as Inuvialuit culture. The BSBMP objective for tourism development is:

> ***"To facilitate tourism opportunities associated with beluga while minimizing the impacts of such activities on belugas and beluga harvesting"*** (FJMC, 1997p.15).

To realize the BSBMP's objectives, the FJMC drafted zones at Kendall Island, Mackenzie and Kugmallit Bays that prohibit nature-based tourism activities from taking place. For implementation purposes, HTC By-laws and the BSBMP Tourism Guidelines (see Appendix I) were set up in accordance to the BSBMP's zoning (Table 4). Up until this point, however, the Tourism Guidelines have only had limited success in separating tourism and hunting. To help overcome regulatory set backs, the Aklavik, Tuktoyaktuk and Inuvik HTC By-laws, which are enforceable under the *NWT Wildlife Act,* can help to reinforce certain sections of the Tourism Guidelines. For example, they state there shall "be no interference during the hunt by tourists or tour operators, or anyone else that is not involved in the hunt". HTC by-laws can be drafted and passed with the assistance of the Territorial Justice Department. Similarly, Muir (1997) reveals that only those Tourism Guidelines (#1, 1a, #3 and #9) dealing with beluga and beluga habitat protection can be enforced under the *Fisheries Act* and its *Marine Mammals Protection Regulations* (1993). She argues further that all remaining guidelines may only be enforced through IFA clauses.

Table 4: BEAUFORT SEA BELUGA MANAGEMENT ZONES (FJMC, 1993, p.15)

Zone	Description of Zone	Guidelines for Zone
Zone 1a Traditional Harvesting Concentration Areas	1800 sq. km of shallow waters at the mouth of the Mackenzie River, but also encompasses summer concentration areas (including Shallow Bay, east Mackenzie Bay and Kugmallit Bay). The Beaufort Sea beluga are harvested by Inuvialuit from Tuktoyaktuk, Aklavik and Inuvik.	Zone 1a and 1b guidelines. 1)A Protected Area according to guidelines in the IRRCMP*. 2) Oil and gas development (exploration, production or related construction) should not be permitted. 3) No mining (e.g. gravel removal) should be permitted from break-up until August 15th. 4) Those development activities, even located outside of Zone 1 water, should be evaluated for their potential deleterious effects on water quality and quantity, or on the stability and integrity of ice in Zone 1a waters. 5)All shipping activities should be confined to designated routes and areas. 6)Commercial fishing proposals should be evaluated with respect to beluga food species. 7) All developers must consult the appropriate HTCs. 8)No *water-based tourism or related* activities are permitted in Zone 1 (A).
Zone 1b Occasional or Potential Harvesting Areas	Areas where beluga are occasionally harvested by Inuvialuit of Paulatuk and Holman, and where Sachs Harbour residents have also expressed an interest in hunting whales.	
Zone 2	Includes all Mackenzie Shelf waters shallower than 20 metres not already included in Zone 1. It extends from the Baillie Islands to Kay Point on the Yukon NS coast to the west. Considered as a major travel corridor used by the Beaufort beluga to move into, out of, and among the bays of the Mackenzie estuary.	Zone 2 and 3 Guidelines. 1) Industrial development permitted if it does not adversely beluga, beluga habitat, and beluga hunting. 2) Activities must be controlled and run in a responsible manner. 3) The direct and indirect effects of development on Beluga must be considered. 4) Assessment must consider cumulative impact and long-term effects. 5) Proposals by commercial fishing fleets are evaluated with respect to beluga food species. 6) Developers and regulators and other interested parties should consult with the HTCs.
Zone 3	Remaining geographic range of beluga in the Canadian Beaufort Sea and Admundsen Gulf (waters greater than 20 metres deep). It is bounded by Victoria Island in the east, permanent pack ice in the north and the Alaska-Yukon border in the west.	
Zone 4 Inter-national Waters	The winter ranges for the Beaufort beluga population, and outside Canadian waters. It includes the Alaskan Beaufort Sea, Chukchi Sea and the Bering Sea.	Since beluga migrate, an international agreement should be developed to ensure that beluga are managed and protected throughout their range. Further, there should be an exchange of information bet. Canada and Alaska regarding industrial activities that could affect the well-being of the beluga.

4.2 Inuvialuit Community Conservation Plans (ICCP)

In 1988, the Inuvialuit Renewable Resources Conservation and Management Plan (IRRCMP) recommended that each community in the ISR develop an Inuvialuit Community Conservation Plan (Aklavik ICCP, 1993). Each conservation plan identified regions which the Inuvialuit felt to be culturally, economically and environmentally significant. These regions were broken down into five distinct categories, from A to E, which rate in increasing order lands upon which cultural or renewable resources are of a certain sensitivity and significance.

Lands of particular importance to Inuvialuit living in Inuvik, Aklavik and Tuktoyaktuk (category C lands, i.e., cultural or renewable resources of particular significance and sensitivity during specific times of the year; lands that must be conserved) are Mackenzie, Shallow, and Kugmallit Bays. Tourism and heavy industry interferes with conservation and hunting within these areas to a high degree. Kendall Island was listed under category C as well, as it is important for the same reasons. Similarly, Aklavik residents rated the Richardson Mountains under category D (i.e., lands where cultural or renewable resources are of particular significance and sensitivity; lands upon which no development may take place). (Aklavik ICCP, 1993). Four of the six communities in the ISR (Holman, Sachs Harbour, Inuvik, and Aklavik) have site-specific tourism guidelines within their ICCP[11]. In contrast, the Tuktoyaktuk HTC largely follows the BSBMP Tourism Guidelines, which are primarily aimed at reducing conflict between beluga hunting and tourism.

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11 All guidelines regulate tourist numbers and tour operators within ecological sensitive areas; they suggest that aircraft fly no lower than 3000 metres over a migratory bird sanctuary during times of brooding (whereas the Holman ICCP suggests greater than 1000 metres for flying over migratory birds sanctuaries, whereas no low-level flying is permitted for wildlife viewing); they stress to maintain a distance of more than 500 metres from active wolf dens (the Holman ICCP suggests that frequent tourism activity be restricted to at least 2.4 km from an active wolf den); that tourists and tour operators must not harass wildlife (the Holman ICCP indicates that tourists must keep a distance of at least 150 metres from birds of prey); and that the ED&T should inform tour operators to preserve heritage resources as they issue an outfitter's licence.

4.3 FEDERAL LEGISLATION APPLICABLE TO NATURE-BASED TOURISM DEVELOPMENT

As part of the IFA's mandate, local co-management bodies work together with various governmental departments to ensure that nature-based tourism activities, as well as other development activities, are carried out sustainably and equitably. In some cases, federal statutes legally enforce the IFA's regulations; thus, nature-based tourism's operational environment is defined and influenced at the local, regional and national level. The Inuvialuit Final Agreement, territorial and federal legislation all work together in varying capacities to help manage nature-based tourism in the Beaufort-Delta region.

4.3.1 The Oceans Act (1996)

The *Oceans Act* was proclaimed law on December 18th, 1996, and addresses Canada's role in sustainable oceans management. In following the principles of sustainable development, the Act emphasizes the use of a precautionary and integrative resource management approach to oceans conservation (Muir, 1997, p. 40). For example, emphasis is placed on addressing oceans management issues by collaborating with pertinent stakeholders such as coastal communities and aboriginal organizations. The Act clearly recognizes the rights of aboriginal organizations and co-management boards created under Land Claims Agreements (*ibid.*). The Act states that *"For greater certainty, nothing in this Act shall be construed so as to abrogate or derogate any existing aboriginal or treaty rights of the aboriginal peoples of Canada under section 35 of the Constitution Act, 1982"* (s. 2.1) (Oceans Act, 1996). With many aboriginal groups reasserting their right for self-government, such considerations are becoming increasingly important to address.

As a part of the *Oceans Act*, the Department of Fisheries and Oceans (DFO) was chosen to develop and implement a *National Oceans Management Strategy* (OMS), as well as other *Oceans Act* initiatives. Under section 29, it is the Minister of Fisheries and Oceans' responsibility, in collaboration with other ministers, boards and agencies to "lead and implement" the Strategy for the management of estuarine, coastal and marine ecosystems in Canadian waters (Oceans Act, 1996). The OMS capitalizes on the abovementioned principles to allow for marine resource conservation, economic diversification and collaboration, largely through the development of marine protected areas (MPAs). According to Lamboo (1998), the "national OMS . . . is proceeding through the development stages with consultations taking place throughout Canada" (p. 38).

There are three main parts to the *Oceans Act:*

1) Recognizing Canada's Ocean Jurisdiction;
2) Oceans Management Strategy; and
3) Consolidation of Federal Responsibilities for Canada's Oceans.

As parts one and two of the *Oceans Act* are most applicable to nature-based tourism development, they will be the only ones considered here. Part I of the *Oceans Act* discusses the declaration of two marine zones: 1) the Contiguous Zone (CZ) and 2) the Exclusive Economic Zone (EEZ) (Oceans Act, 1996, p. 4). Within this section, and of relevance to nature-based tourism, is the provision that misdeeds, such as pollution through the dumping of waste, are now punishable under the Criminal Code (section 477.1(1)(a)) beyond 12 nautical miles until the seaward extent of the EEZ (200 nautical miles (from the low-water mark)) (Fast *et al.*, 1998). This is delineated within section 11 and 22(4) of the *Oceans Act (1996)*, and represents a significant step forward in enforcing marine conservation measures beyond Canada's Territorial Sea.

Part II of the Oceans Act (1996), the Oceans Management Strategy (OMS), is of even greater significance to nature-based tourism management. The OMS holds three initiatives: 1) to facilitate integrated management of activities (including tourism) in marine estuaries, coastal and marine waters; 2) to establish environmental quality guidelines; and 3) to create marine protected areas (MPAs) (Oceans Act, 1996, p. 15-17). Under the third initiative, the development of an MPA[12] is currently being considered within section Zone 1a of the BSBMP. Under subsection 35(3) regulations pertaining to nature-based tourism development can be established and enforced through an MPA. For example, upon the designation of an MPA, three prescriptive measures may hold: (i) the zoning of MPAs; (ii) the prohibition of classes of activities within MPAs; and (iii) any other matter consistent with the purpose of the designation (Oceans Act, 1996, p. 18). Within the boundaries of an MPA, commercial and domestic fish resources, threatened or endangered marine species, and the conservation of biodiversity and biological productivity are ensured (s35(1)). Since summary and indictable offences apply, such regulations would help to enforce the BSBMP Tourism Guidelines (s35(3)(b), s. 37b, s.39.6 (3)). Enforcement jurisdiction would encompass the geographical extent of an MPA: internal waters, the territorial sea, and the EEZ. The rules and regulations of an MPA might be implemented through an enforcement officer, as would be designated by the Minister (s39(1)).

[12] Under subsection 35 (1), an MPA is defined as "an area of the sea that forms part of the internal waters of Canada, the territorial sea of Canada or the exclusive economic zone of Canada and has been designated under this section for special protection"(Oceans Act, 1996, p. 18).

4.3.2 The Fisheries Act (1985)

The *Fisheries Act* and *Regulations* protect fish and marine mammal habitat from many sources of pollution, including that arising from nature-based tourism. For example, it is unlawful, pursuant to subsection 35(1) and 36(1), to place deleterious substances into water that will adversely affect fish habitat (food supply, migration routes, etc.) (Fisheries Act, 1985). The *Marine Mammal Regulations* (1993) apply when regulating tour operator harassment of beluga whales: pursuant to section 7, "No person shall disturb a marine mammal except when fishing for marine mammals under the authority of these Regulations"(MMR, 1993, p. 2).

4.3.3 Migratory Birds Convention Act (1994)[13]

The intent of this Act is "to conserve the diversity of migratory birds in Canada by controlling and managing areas important for the protection of migratory birds"(Robinson-Lewis and Associates, 1997, p.1). Under section 5 of the *Migratory Birds Convention Act* (1994), it is prohibited for any person, without lawful excuse, to be (a) in possession of a migratory bird or nest; or (b) buy, sell, exchange or give a migratory bird or nest or make it the subject of a commercial transaction. The Act also stipulates that nests may not be damaged, destroyed, removed or disturbed (MBCA, 1994, p.6). These considerations are enforced through establishing Migratory Bird Sanctuaries (MBS), five of which were

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13 IFA Section 14(d) states Inuvialuit may not harvest migratory non-game birds and migratory insectivorous birds (unless a special permit is authorized by the Canadian Wildlife Service).

created in the Beaufort-Delta region in 1961.[14] Since tourists are known to birdwatch by the MBS, the Act's regulations could apply to this ecotourism activity as well.

4.3.4 Miscellaneous Federal Legislation Applicable to Nature-based Tourism

- The ***Aeronautics Act*** (1976, p. 18) has the power to regulate (i.e., change) airline routing (s. 4.2 f) over the territorial sea as well as noise emanating from aircraft (s.4.9f). These regulations may govern the conduct of chartered "flight-seeing" tours and scheduled flights between communities and islands in the Beaufort-Delta region.
- The ***Arctic Waters Pollution Prevention Act*** (1985), pursuant to s.2, s. 4(1), prohibits the dumping of waste into waters of off the Canadian Arctic mainland or islands (i.e., a 100 nautical mile pollution prevention zone around the Canadian Arctic Archipelago) (Meltzer, 1997, p. 19). The Act may regulate the discharge from cruise ships coming into the Beaufort-Delta region.
- The ***Canada Shipping Act*** (1985), under s. 7(8), enables the Governor in Council to reroute ship traffic beyond designated sensitive areas, such as MPAs (Meltzer,1997, p. 18). Moreover, pursuant to s. 5(1), it is prohibited for any pleasure craft owner (which includes tour boats) to discharge sewage into any body of fresh water (*Pleasure Craft Sewage Pollution Prevention Regulation, 1991*).

4.3.5 National Parks Act (1985)

The *National Parks Act* and IFA clauses co-ordinate and regulate all nature-based tourism activities taking place in the ISR's three National Parks. Both Zone I –Special Wilderness and Zone II -- Wilderness apply[15] for Ivvavik, Aulavik and Tuktut Nogait National Parks. In either case, motorized access and circulation is prohibited. For Zone I,

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14 These are 1) Banks Island Migratory Bird Sanctuary #1 (20, 642sq.km); 2) Banks Island Migratory Bird Sanctuary #2 (142 sq. km); 3) Anderson River Migratory Bird Sanctuary (1083 sq. km); 4) Kendall Island Migratory Bird Sanctuary (606 sq. km); and the 5) Cape Parry Migratory Bird Sanctuary (3 sq. km) (Robinson-Lewis and Associates, 1997. p.7)

15 Five zones exist in total: see above for Zones I and II. Zone III- Natural Environment (areas which are managed as a natural environment, outdoor recreation and motorized vehicles are allowed, but are restricted; Zone IV- Outdoor recreation (direct access by motorized vehicle, limiting private access and circulation of motorized vehicles, and a diversity of cultural and nature activities are encouraged); Zone V- Parks Services (visitor services and support facilities, managed by the community planning process) (Parks Canada, 1994, p. 33).

special (wilderness) preservation is a precondition and public access and economic development is precluded. For Zone II, air access is strictly controlled, and outdoor recreation activities are encouraged only if they are compatible with the integrity of the wilderness setting. Economic development is also prohibited in Zone II.

4.3.5.1 ***Business Licencing Regulations:***

All outfitters and guides operating in a National Park require, pursuant to subsection 4(1), a separate *National Parks Act* business licence. Subsection 4(2)(a)-(f) states that the application for a licence must specify those activities the proponent is wishing to (or is entitled to) conduct.

The *National Parks Business Regulations* (1994, p.1) reveal, pursuant to section 3, that "no person shall, within a Park, carry on any business listed or described in these Regulations unless he or she is a holder of a licence to carry on that business". Section 9 states that the superintendent has the authority to revoke any (tourism) business licence. Guiding in a National Park is subject to holding a valid guiding licence, while concurrently being employed by a licenced outfitter. The *National Parks Act Wildlife Regulations* (1981) determine guide qualifications and the issuing of a licence is pursuant to the *National Parks Business Regulations* (1994) (*ibid.*, p. 1). That is, guides are only licenced in National Parks if an outfitter employs them, or if guiding is considered to be a business on its own.

4.3.5.2 ***Visitor Management in Remote Wilderness Parks*:**

The *National Parks Act* holds several regulations with which to manage tourists in remote Arctic National Parks. First, pursuant to s 6 (1), under the *National Parks General Regulations (1978)* the superintendent requires any person participating in any activity that may pose a hazard to them, and perhaps the environment, to register prior to and on

completion of that activity at the Parks office (*ibid.*, p. 3).Visitor registration can limit the number of tourists coming into a National Park. Moreover, to address the harassment of terrestrial species, through perhaps low-level flying, the *National Parks Act Wildlife Regulations (1981)*, subsection 4(1)(f) states no "no person shall touch or feed wildlife in a park or entice wildlife to approach by holding out or setting out decoys or any such devices. Foodstuffs or bait of any kind" (*ibid.*, p.3). The *National Parks Act* also considers the management of campers and their waste. Under the *National Parks Act Camping Regulations* (1980) it is required, pursuant to subsection 3(1), to obtain a permit authorizing an individual to use an area for sleeping and cooking in National Parks. Furthermore, all waste paper, refuse, garbage or other material being discarded must be destroyed or buried in incinerators, trash baskets or other receptacles by the permit holder.

4.3.5.3 ***Business Regulations***

To mitigate the negative ecological and cultural impacts arising from nature-based tourism's physical infrastructure, the *National Parks Act Business Regulations (1994)*(s.s. 3(a)), state that "no person shall carry on, in a park, any business unless he or she holds a licence to carry on that business" (*ibid.*, p. 1). Under subsection 5(1), before issuing a business permit, the superintendent must determine the extent of businesses' cultural and ecological impacts.

4.3.5.4 ***Aircraft Accessibility***

The management of uncontrolled "flight-seeing", or illegal land-based wildlife viewing tours (via plane), in the ISR's National Parks is best achieved through the *National Parks Aircraft Access Regulations (1997)*. They stipulate, pursuant to subsection 2(1), that "no person shall take off or land an aircraft in a park, except in a park set out in Column I,

unless s/he holds a permit"(*ibid.*, p. 872). None of the ISR's three National Parks are listed in Column I. An individual may, however, apply for a permit. If an application is from a local charter airline company (for a flightseeing/ecotour business), the application must also include the requirements of subsection 4(1) of National Park Act's *Businesses Regulations* (1996) (which requires a full description and intent of actions and/or services). Furthermore, under subsection 4(a), the superintendent must before issuing a permit take the following into account: 1) the natural and cultural resources in a park; 2) the safety, health and enjoyment of visitors or residents of the park; and, 3) the preservation, control and management of the park. Failure to comply may lead to a flying permit being revoked. Not complying to these regulations and the *Aeronautics Act (1997)* results in a one-year licence suspension.

4.4 Territorial Legislation

Table 5: Summary of Territorial Legislation

Applicable Territorial Legislation	*The Objectives of Each Piece of Legislation*
The Yukon Territorial Parks Act: Herschel Island Territorial Park	As set out in the Inuvialuit Final Agreement (IFA), Herschel Island Territorial Park was to be designated as a Territorial Park by the Yukon Government (1984) (s12(16)). The IFA and the Yukon Territorial Park's Act stipulate that the Park be managed as a wilderness park. Within the Park's Wilderness Zones, which is at least 85% of the Island, hiking is the only authorized activity. Development is limited to those geared towards park management arrangements. In the Park's Historic Zone, only activities with interpretive and educational benefits are permitted; these sites are all managed as per the *National Historic Parks Act*. Development is limited to historic structures, park management facilities and traditional overnight dwellings, and all must go through the EISC review process. The Inuvialuit are given right of first refusal for Park employment opportunities (HITPP, 1991, p. 6).

The Territorial Travel and Tourism Act**(1988)	**Licencing:** Subsection 2(1), states that no person shall operate any tourism venture unless he or she holds a valid licence. It provides for the inspection of establishments and outfitters' equipment (s14 (f)). Hence, under subsection 14(i), regulations respecting the renewal, transfer, suspension and cancellation of permits and licences may be made (*ibid.* p. 7). This Act may limit the number of tourist establishments and may make regulations respecting the conduct, training and registration of guides and the issuing of licences to guides (*ibid.*, p. 8). The Minister may designate an area in the Northwest Territories as a Travel Restricted Area to limit tourist numbers for management purposes 5(1). An outfitter must distribute his or her proposal to all appropriate community groups (i.e., ILA, Community Corporation and HTCs) and government agencies.
Territorial Outfitter[16] Regulations (1988, p. 3-4)	**Refusal of Licence:** Under s. 5(1), a tourism officer will only issue a licence if: 1) equipment is safe; 2) the activity will not have a negative environmental impact; 3) the activity carried out is compatible with the activities of other licensees; 4) the activity will not conflict with the traditional use of the area of operation; 5) the applicant is capable of delivering the services for which the applicant seeks a licence; and 6) the activity will benefit the economy of the area. The refusal of a licence (s7)(a) can occur when a) the outfitter has rendered unsatisfactory service, b) the applicant has been convicted under an offence against the (i) the *Wildlife Act* (e.g., harassment of terrestrial animals), (ii) Forest Protection Act (tree felling), (iii) *Public Health Act*, and (iv) the *Fisheries Act* (e.g., the harassment of beluga, etc.). Under s. 7(a), the application for the renewal of an outfitter's licence may be refused. A licence may also be refused if an outfitter fails to provide insurance or satisfactory standards of service to clients (s8). Or, if he or she is convicted of an offence against the (a) Archaeological Sites Regulations under the *Northwest Territories Act*, or the b) *Historical Resources Act* or any regulations made under that Act.
Tourist Establishment Regulations (1988, p.5)	*Any tour operator who wishes to create an establishment, within or outside municipal boundaries, must obtain a tourism establishment licence (s2). Under s. 7(1) a permit is granted only if 1) the building plans have no adverse effect on the local environment, 2) the building is well designed, and 3) if it holds the potential to benefit the local economy.*

[16] Outfitter is used synonymously with tour operator

4.5 Summary

This overview has considered how the IFA's regulatory framework works with federal and territorial legislation to manage nature-based tourism's impacts. Due to overlapping mandates, resource management agencies work together to regulate the growth and the type of nature-based tourism allowed, thereby managing its cumulative cultural and environmental impacts. These agencies also determine how tourism's economic benefits are distributed amongst the residents of Aklavik, Tuktoyaktuk and Inuvik. Institutional perspectives, largely dictated by the Beaufort-Delta's regulatory environment, often overlap with Inuvialuit, tourists' and tour operators' perspectives, and so they all influence the extent of resource use and ultimately the sustainability of tourism in the region (see Fig 2), as is considered in the following chapters.

CHAPTER 5: INSTITUTIONAL PERSPECTIVES ON THE SUSTAINABILITY OF NATURE-BASED TOURISM

The Beaufort-Delta region's nature-based tourism industry has been promoted by governmental institutions as a source of income since the mid 1970s (Butler, 1975). In 1981, with much oil and gas development leaving the area, the Yukon and Northwest Territory Governments invested close to $18 million in support of tourism planning for the western Arctic (*ibid.*). Even a decade later, the 1991 *Community- Based Regional Land Use Plan for the Mackenzie Delta- Beaufort-Sea Region* heralded nature-based tourism as a sustainable economic development alternative:

"[t]ourism is a growing land use and a necessary source of further economic development in the planning region. Tourism can build on the skills and the lifestyles of the local people" (p. 23).

Moreover, within the *Inuvialuit Community Conservation Plans* (ICCP. 1990-1994) of all six Inuvialuit communities it is written that nature-based tourism is a valuable economic activity which, if properly managed, is compatible with conservation and cultural needs. However, with nature-based tourism having developed so quickly in the past decade, other local studies show that certain tourism activities are incompatible with the ecological, cultural and economic characteristics of the region (see FJMC, 1993,1997).

The perspectives of the principal decision makers of the Beaufort-Delta's nature-based tourism industry are contained within each of these documents. To uncover the reasoning behind their management decisions, this chapter goes to the roots of the industry's planning process to reveal a range of perspectives from 23 institutional representatives residing in Inuvik and one in Tuktoyaktuk. Based on their perspectives, the following paragraphs introduce the future development directions of the Beaufort-Delta's tourism industry, and describe how each institution struggles to enhance and promote tourism locally, while simultaneously attempting to contain its negative implications.

Before carrying on, it is appropriate to remind the reader of how institutional perspectives were obtained. Among the federal and territorial governments, co-management, and Inuvialuit bodies, 23 key-informants were interviewed in Inuvik and Tuktoyaktuk between June 2nd and August 3rd, 1998. The interviews were conducted face-to-face and in an unstructured manner, and key informants were asked open-ended questions. Open-ended questions allowed informants to talk freely about past and present experiences regarding the benefits and drawbacks of nature-based tourism development. Informants were later asked whether they wanted their name and quote within the study. For those who did not, their names were held anonymously. Depending on the respondent's preference, interviews were either tape-recorded or hand written. Due to time constraints, interviews were done opportunistically and thus did not follow a fixed schedule. Organizations contacted for interviews were: the IGC, FJMC, EISC, ILA, IRC, IDC, RWED, CEDO, DFO, and the CWS (see acronym listing). Interviews with institutional representatives are broken down according to their agencies management mandate, as is delineated in this chapter.

5.1 INSTITUTIONAL PERSPECTIVES ON THE ECONOMIC IMPACTS OF NATURE-BASED TOURISM

5.1.1 Development Horizons of the Nature-based Tourism Industry in the Beaufort-Delta Region

The Inuvialuit Development Corporation (IDC), a subsidiary of the Inuvialuit Regional Corporation (IRC), is 100% owned by the Inuvialuit and holds the mandate of looking after economic investment so to provide employment and career development opportunities for the Inuvialuit (IDC Annual Report, 1993). The IDC is currently attempting to develop the nature-based tourism industry in the Beaufort-Region. The distinct message given by David Bethune, IDC Vice President and Chief Financial Officer, is that the nature-based tourism industry must quickly determine its infrastructure requirements to become better organized and competitive (David Bethune, *pers. comm.* June, 1998).

Currently, many tourism industry representatives view the industry as lacking a cohesive development focus with an inconsistent product (Dennis Zimmerman, *pers. comm.* 1998; David Bethune *pers. comm,* 1998; Don Craik, *pers. comm.* 1998). This message is also echoed by the Department of Economic Development and Tourism (RWED). Attempts to "improve" the tourism industry are, however, already underway. The Department has a core funding initiative set aside for tourism development so that it may stimulate and guide the industry (Roger Israel. *pers. comm.* June 1998).

In the past two years, the IDC has co-ordinated efforts with government experts to help establish a comprehensive "Tourism Strategic Business Plan". Implementation of Phase I of the business plan is forecasted for the summer of 1999. The entire project holds a five-year development horizon, for both summer and winter seasons (David Bethune, *pers. comm.* June 1998). The IDC's recent purchase of the Arctic Nature Tour Company from long time owner Freddy Carmichael, indicates that part of the tourism development strategy has already begun. An Inuvialuit owned and operated cruise ship is favoured as one of the next development options (Zimmerman Consulting, 1997). The approach of the Tourism Strategic Business Plan is to facilitate infrastructure growth and retrofit. The IDC intends to acquire and retrofit old infrastructures that are considered to hold potential for nature tourism development. For example, David Bethune contends *"What we will do is find a site that is compatible with the cultural land use in the region and erect either permanent or non-permanent structures*" (David Bethune, *pers. comm.* April 1998). The IDC would act as an umbrella corporation to help increase tourism development opportunities, while raising the standards of existing tourism products. The IDC would also take over the training of tour operators and guides. It is thought that the nature-based tourism industry should increasingly reflect the "professional image" of the IDC. However, in order for the aforementioned to be achieved, it is estimated that the total capital investment must be $10 million, with a return of 20% before taxes (Fast *et al.* 1998)

Nellie Cournoyea, Chairperson of the Inuvialuit Regional Corporation (IRC), acknowledged that increased development and refinement of the region's nature-based tourism industry would increase its potential for economic development. She maintained that since the oil and gas companies departed the Beaufort-Delta region, that "*the Inuvialuit have been leaning more heavily on tourism as a prospect for economic development*" (*pers. comm.* July 1998). Nellie Cournoyea backs the IDC's claims that:

"*Tourism development must be pursued more aggressively this year (1998). We intend to look for new opportunity and source out to get a better sense of what is going on- the purchase of Arctic Nature Tours was the beginning. We will be trying to build on what other people are doing to expand to a broader scope toward all regions within the Inuvialuit Settlement Region*"(David Bethune pers. comm. June 1998)

Given this perspective, the question remains whether or not the IDC's long-term development initiative will place nature-based tourism in the realm of sustainable development, or whether it will only exacerbate its negative impacts.

5.1.2 Economic Drawbacks: Regulatory Impediments to Nature-based Tourism Development

According to Judith Venass, the Western Arctic Regional Tourism Manager, tourism has "*always been a top priority and a relatively stable means of economic development for the region*" (*pers. comm.* June 1998). She maintained, however, that there are still many impediments which must be overcome in order to make tourism development more successful in the long-term. For example, for many budding Inuvialuit entrepreneurs the current procedure of obtaining a tour operator licence, as well as annual renewal, is far too formal and extensive. To illustrate, the development of the formal proposal which, upon approval, grants tour operating licences is an onerous ten-stage process. Among these stages, insurance regarding workers and tourists under the *Workman's Compensation Act and Public Liability*, respectively, must be obtained with a coverage of a minimum of one million dollars (*ibid.*). Furthermore,

depending on where the tour operator intends to lead tours, he or she will need the approval of the respective community (i.e., community corporation and HTCs) to travel on their private lands. To address safety and environmental needs, the Canadian Coast Guard and the Department of Fisheries and Oceans must be contacted as well. Certain setbacks can also arise if a tour operator wishes to travel on Gwich'in lands which lie further south of the Inuvialuit Settlement Region (ISR). Finally, if a tour operator wishes to construct an establishment (e.g., for room and board) in association to his or her tour, and it lies within and outside of immediate municipal boundaries, it is necessary to obtain a tourism establishment licence (see chapter 4) (John Cournoyea, *pers.comm.* June 1998).

Even though regional Economic Development Officers help to explain the formalities of small-scale tourism development, many Inuvialuit tour operators still miss the submission date for operating proposals required by Resources Wildlife and Economic Development (RWED). Currently, it is a necessity that tour operators submit their proposals at least 30 days in advance of the Environmental Impact Screening Committee (EISC) meetings. All these bureaucratic requirements represent substantial impediments for new entrepreneurs, and may be streamlined in the near future.

5.1.3 The Distribution of Nature-based Tourism's Economic Benefits

Ideally, all Inuvialuit should benefit equally from their participation in nature-based tourism. Unfortunately, when smaller communities are compared to Inuvik, and to a lesser degree Tuktoyaktuk, it becomes clear that nature-based tourism's economic benefits are not evenly distributed among the communities. Roger Israel, Manager of Trade and Investment for Economic Development and Tourism, argued that most socio-economic benefits from nature-based tourism are only contained within Inuvik, and to a lesser degree in Aklavik (*pers. comm.* June 1998). There are, however, ways to overcome the polarization of economic benefits and

leakages in peripheral communities. To illustrate, the very nature of the smaller, more isolated, community is what attracts the "allocentric" tourist. Typically, the more discerning or adventurous ecotourist and big game hunter often travels further distances to reach more rugged and 'exotic' places (Wight, 1995). Such a tourist will bring in considerable more money per individual. According to Norman Snow, Executive Director of the Joint Secretariat, it is the big game hunter and the sport fisher that brings in the highest per trip expenditure (*pers. comm.* June 1998). But nature-based tourists are more likely to purchase smaller items, such as arts and crafts, directly from Inuit artists (Hinch and Butler, 1996; Smith, 1989, 1996). Thus, nature-based tourism produces "revenue [which is] distributed more evenly between different members of the community" (Roger Israel *pers. comm.* June 1998). This is largely due to the various informal economic spin-off effects and concurrent purchases by nature-based tourists.

In 1997, to help develop local tourism projects, Economic Development and Tourism (as part of RWED) allocated $50,000 under the Community Initiative Programme. Based on current economic conditions, population levels and unemployment rates, each community is allocated funds for local development initiatives (Community Initiative Programme Fact Sheet, 1997, p. 5). Unfortunately, the programme has had only marginal success with promoting community-based tourism development outside of Inuvik. The chair of the Inuvialuit Game Council (IGC) maintained that in most communities, money is flowing back south because tour operators are not fulfilling the IFA's hiring policy (s. 14 (42)) (DIAND, 1984). Furthermore, capital funding for tourism is often distributed on a first come first serve basis approach.

Another organization which deals with local tourism development is Western Arctic Trade and Tourism (WATT). WATT has just grown out of the dissolution of Western Arctic Tourism Association (WATA), and is currently undergoing a considerable organizational overhaul. In contrast to WATA, which had a strong aboriginal presence (see Notzke, 1995,

p.35), WATT's board will consist of individuals who meet position descriptions: while WATT actively seeks out aboriginal representatives, there is no formal policy in place to ensure aboriginal participation. Nevertheless, WATT plays an active role in attempting to distribute the economic benefits of nature-based tourism equitably. Its main function is to act as a liaison between government, insurance companies, tour operators and businesses. This way, it voices tour operator concerns, which are reported back from community reporters, narrowly defines their interests, which are then communicated back as tourism proposals to various public and private sector funding agencies.

WATT recently organized a conference for community tour operators to voice their concerns regarding long-term planning, product identification, marketing and hospitality training in a workshop format. Their thoughts were then amalgamated, with a few being reported back to funding agencies for further considerations. This was WATT's first attempt to develop tourism at the grass-roots level. However, due to the fractionalized and disorganized nature of the tourism industry, any further attempts to coordinate tourism development through committees have been avoided (i.e., aboriginal tourism association). WATT's perspective is that there is no sense in splitting up available funding into two organizations; tourism development is largely considered as one unit. If collective community interests are to be met, it is thought that one organization might achieve this best.

5.1.4 Training and Development for Nature-based Tourism

Haywood *et al.*, (1993) argue that tourism education and training can only be successful if they meet the needs of local people first; locals need greater control over the type of tourism training and employment opportunities that are offered to them. Don Craik, Economic Development Officer for the Community Economic Development Organization (CEDO), illustrates this problem well in an attempt to develop white water rafting on the Firth River,

Yukon Territory. To date, only three Inuvialuit men have managed to obtain certification; in all three cases they were flown to British Columbia to obtain their qualifications. An effort was also made to develop a three-year white water rafting training programme in Aklavik, with CEDO considering to purchase a large, but common supply of equipment. Craik noted that in the end the programme had marginal success. Because of disagreement between tour operators on what type of equipment they would like to use, CEDO never did purchase the equipment (*pers. comm.* June 1998). He stressed that while white water rafting training must increase, local decision-making must be first incorporated into the education and participation process. Nellie Cournoyea also argued that while tourism must be operated under certain quality standards, the attainment of qualifications must be adjusted to meet the standards of the local people (*pers. comm.* August 1998). However, although guide/outfitter exams are now available both in verbal and written form, the actual certification standards have not been lowered. In fact, half of the institutional respondents (N=23) felt that one of the most important aspects of tourism development was to ensure proper training, particularly for enhancing hospitality services. According to Judith Venass, the Inuvialuit are already realizing that different customer service skills are required for ecotourism and sports hunting (*pers. comm.* June 1998).

5.2 INSTITUTIONAL PERSPECTIVES ON THE CULTURAL IMPACTS OF THE NATURE-BASED TOURISM

Any long-term commitment to nature-based tourism development at the local level has remained a problem for some time. While this may be attributed to the seasonality of tourism, it may also be linked to the long-standing tradition of the Inuvialuit subsistence economy. Don Craik contended that many Inuvialuit consider subsistence activities to be much more important than trying to step into full-time entrepreneurial ventures. Nonetheless, in cases where tourism activities are co-ordinated around local cultural activities, funding and development progress seem to be slightly more secure. As Don Craik explains:

"In Tuk, for example, we secured funding for the Arts and crafts Co-operative. It really helped to get things going, it has been going up and down . . . but they seem to be back on stream"(pers. comm. June 1998).

In fact, it is estimated that 25 % of the Inuit labour force in the Canadian Arctic is receiving some form of stable income from more "culturally-oriented" tourism products, such as arts and crafts sales (Milne *et al.*, 1994). Nevertheless, many respondents from both the tourism industry and the renewable resource management sector agreed that the development of ecotourism (one component of nature-based tourism industry) —in its purest sense — still poses the greatest difficulties for many locals. It is argued that the customer service skills that are necessary for ecotourism[17], as well as meeting client expectations for consistent wildlife viewing opportunities and quality interpretation, are missing. Indeed, forty-three percent (10) of institutional respondents felt that ecotourism could be made more compatible with Inuvialuit culture (and appealing to visitors) if it were developed properly, while 17 % (4) felt that ecotourism was completely incompatible with Inuvialuit culture.

Table 6: Institutional Perspectives on Tourism Types and their Degree of Compatibility with Inuvialuit Culture

(N=23)	Ecotourism	Cultural Tourism	Big Game Hunting
Compatible	26%(6)	61%(14)	70%(16)
Incompatible	17% (4)	—	—
Compatible if Properly Managed	43%(10)	22%(5)	13%(3)
Do not know	14%(3)	17%(4)	17%(4)

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For a more detailed discussion see Claudia Notzke's (1999) work: Indigenous Tourism Development in the Western Arctic Annals of Tourism Research Vol. 26(1):55-76

Such comments arise today because ecotourism products are not being promoted properly. For example, various tour company advertisements appear to convey promises to tourists which simply cannot be kept. John Cournoyea, Parks and Visitor Services Officer, argued that "*the real concept of ecotourism is interpreted differently in the north*" (*pers. comm.* June 1998). He stated that there is lack of initial product definition in the northern marketplace (client demands) that helps to shape and promote the "ecotourism market". To illustrate, Anderson (1991, p. 214), notes that tourists travelling to the Arctic often expect a highly traditional setting covered in snow and ice, while in actuality summer days are filled with heat and bugs. Second, visitors are often ignorant of the harsh reality of northern life. For example, once visitors arrive, they may expect to find a smoothly running tourism industry, while in fact northerners follow their own schedule, and often do not enforce a 9 to 5 working day because of a mixed economic setting. Furthermore, southern visitors, who are usually sheltered from inclement weather, may not understand that weather in the high Arctic can change abruptly to quickly force the cancellation of a trip. Incoming weather systems have been known to strand tour groups at their destination points (e.g., Shingle Point Whaling Camp and Herschel Island).

The majority of institutional representatives interviewed felt that consumptive forms of tourism, like big game hunting or fishing, were much more compatible with Inuvialuit culture than non-consumptive tourism. Indeed, big game sport-hunting has existed in the Beaufort-Delta since the 1920s (Marsh, 1987). This is particularly the case in the communities of Sachs Harbour, Paulatuk and Tuktoyaktuk, where big game hunting has been followed actively since at least two decades (Lutra Associates, 1993). According to Norman Snow, the "*Inuvialuit are much more comfortable with guided sport hunts- it has become customary practice for many*" (*pers. comm.* June 1998). Moreover, any anti-fur or anti-harvest sentiment that may be present among non-consumptive tourists may not be present amongst sport hunters (Notzke, 1995).

It may even be that the Inuvialuit and many sport hunters share in the general philosophy of not wasting, or depleting, wildlife resources through over-hunting. For the same reasons, however, advertising for hunting and ecotourism on brochures are commonly split up. One institutional respondent argued that if hunting and ecotourism activities were ever advertised on the same page, neither type of tourist would come.

RWED representatives do surmise that although non-consumptive and consumptive tourism hold different philosophical mandates, that with the appropriate training the Inuvialuit might capitalize on both products. John Cournoyea contended that local interest and training in ecotourism and sport hunting can be best brought on with apprentice type training programmes, where learning is 'hands-on' (*pers. comm.* June 1998). He contended:

"That examples have and must be set by other locals ---face to face contact may be necessary for locals to appreciate tourism and get younger people to think about taking tourism development to the next level . . . finding people that are committed so that they can set an example through "learning-by-doing".

5.2.1 Land-Use Conflicts: Do the Beaufort Sea Beluga Management Plan (BSBMP) Tourism Guidelines Work?

Already in 1981, the *Beaufort Sea Beluga Management Strategy (BSBMS)*, and in 1990-1993 *the Inuvialuit Community Conservation Plans (ICCP)* discussed the need to manage tourism activities during the seasonal beluga whale harvest. In 1995, the FJMC, DFO, IGC and HTC *Beaufort Sea Beluga Management Plan (BSBMP)* went further by developing the BSBMP Tourism Guidelines. However, to a large extent, the actual land use conflict between whalers and tourists has not been documented to expose the efficacy of the BSBMP Tourism Guidelines. Therefore, institutional perspectives on the effectiveness of these guidelines are revealed below.

According to the Inuvik HTC Chair, beluga whaling and whaling camps are one of the oldest Inuvialuit traditions still maintained today. A family of four can live off of one or two beluga whales for the entire winter (Anonymous *pers. comm.* July 1998). Nature-based tourism, which is considered to be 'compatible' with Inuvialuit culture, holds the potential to adversely affect the hunt and the beluga whales themselves. Roughly six years ago there was the most dramatic increase in tourism; during this time the complaints from hunters increased proportionately. Norman Snow agrees that whale hunting and tourism are activities that must be kept separate. He argued that the degree of interaction and complaints "*depends on the level of intensity of tourism and hunting in an area*" (*pers. comm.* June 1998). As the tourist season peaks, so too does the beluga whale harvest and the number of offences related to tourism. Although the issues are multifarious, all question the efficacy of the Tourism Guidelines. Today, charter aircraft still fly low over Inuvialuit whaling camps; they are even known to tilt and circle back to allow tourists to take photos of hunters out on the water. Three years ago it reached the point where one local tour operator positioned him or herself between hunters and a pod of beluga whales. Since the hunts take place with high-powered rifles with a low trajectory, chances of an accident happening are high. The interaction between tourists and whale hunters is, therefore, also an issue of safety. Furthermore, through unauthorized "under the table payments" tourists can easily take advantage of any able local to bring them into the whaling camps unannounced.

The issue of independent tourists arriving or passing by unannounced at coastal and inland whaling camps, or in other hunting territory, by way of kayak or charter plane is also unappreciated: this shows that the Tourism Guidelines' requirement of undergoing a community consultation process is being neglected. Of all respondents charged with renewable resource management, 39 % (9) felt this was an issue that required serious attention. However, the issue remains fairly complex. To date, many visitors and tour operators feel that the Mackenzie

River system and Beaufort Sea are public domains and that they should, therefore, be treated as a common property resource.

Inuvialuit renewable resource management representatives feel that when an independent (or dependent) traveler plans to come to a whaling camp that they should first consult the local HTC and camp owner. Furthermore, since tourists are often given dinner, tea and bannock, that they should also give money to the camp head, and perhaps other camp members. They argued that under no circumstances should a visitor take a photo of whale processing. The Inuvik HTC chair pointed out that tourists "should only take photos of clean-stuff" (Anonymous *pers. comm.* June 1998).

Indeed, the more frequent contact between hunter and tourist becomes, the greater the possibility of visitors misinterpreting and misrepresenting the hunt, and once a perspective is obtained, it becomes very difficult to control. Of those institutional representatives interviewed, 22 % (5) felt that controlling misrepresentations of Inuvialuit culture was an important and very difficult issue to tackle. According to Norman Snow, "*[M]ischievous activities of some tourists, particularly those with Greenpeace type convictions, are most likely to misrepresent the beluga hunt*" (*pers. comm.* June 1998). It is also stressed that "*whale watching development would have to have an upper limit that would be defined by Inuvialuit cultural parameters*" (John Cournoyea, *pers. comm.* June 1998). Therefore, a public right to pursue leisure activities and the Inuvialuit right to pursue a traditional lifestyle reach a stalemate. This "stalemate" will certainly become accentuated as tourists and hunters continue to cross each others' paths.

On several occasions it was suggested that land rather than water-based (i.e., from a boat) whale watching would pose less of a threat to the whales and the hunters. Half of the institutional respondents felt that land-based (i.e., from a fixed land base) whale watching held greater compatibility with hunting than water-based whale watching would. Conversely, only 10 % of respondents felt that water-based whale watching would be compatible with whale hunting (see Table 7).

Table 7: Institutional Perspectives on the Degree of Compatibility between Water and Land-based Whale Watching and Traditional Hunting

(N=23)	Water-based Whale Watching and Hunting	Land-based Whale Watching and Hunting
Compatible	10%	50%
Partially Compatible (if managed properly)	26%	22%
Completely Incompatible	35%	—
Do Not Know	29%	28%

Locations with limited hunting and clear water (besides Zones 1 and 1A (traditional hunting and beluga calving ground as established in the BSBMP)), such as Summer Island, are considered to be the most suitable for water-based whale watching. However, others feel that alternatives must be sought out to ensure that the economic potential of water-based whale watching is realized. It is felt that the marketability and thus economic viability of land-based whale watching is considerably less than water-based whale watching.

5.2.2 Enforcement Capabilities

For the most part, it is "fly-by-night" tour companies that do not follow guidelines or recommendations. Due to a lack of organization and capital investment, many tour operators are

busy trying to make ends meet and fail to educate themselves and their visitors about the BSBMP Tourism Guidelines. However, although to a lesser degree, the difficulty of getting well-organized tour companies to comply with the Tourism Guidelines is also a pervasive issue. To illustrate, an Inuvik Fisheries Officer stressed that where there are high concentrations of whalers and tour operators, especially at Kendall and Gary Island and East Whitefish Station, there are more complaints. He argued further that due to the expanse of this area, and the Beaufort-Delta region in general, that enforcement of guidelines and investigating complaints becomes very difficult. Moreover, because the number of tourists and weather varies from year to year, the number of complaints coming from visitors also becomes highly variable. However, the DFO, Parks Canada and RWED all contest that they are attempting to follow a proactive approach in enforcing guidelines and managing tourism traffic in the estuaries and on the land. For example, the DFO, Parks Canada and the FJMC work together to post signs indicating tourism codes of conduct at some of the major tourist departure points.

Currently, under a proactive enforcement approach, three options exist:

1) To keep information and communication about intrusive forms of tourism circulating (i.e., a newsletter is considered to be suitable);
2) To maintain the personal presence of a fisheries or renewable resource officer (this is seen to be a big deterrent), and;
3) To use "undercover" tourists, tour operators and wildlife officers to do spot checks on other tour operators (Anonymous *pers. comm.* 1998).

Others profess that "wildlife guardians" could keep the communities informed on continuing tourism misconducts; although, a wildlife guardian may not legally enforce the BSBMP Tourism Guidelines. Various institutions, however, have already discussed this option, and they feel that providing liability insurance for wildlife guardians is too cost prohibitive. Since the threat of liability always arises with the appointment of wildlife guardians, they contended that without liability insurance, the idea could not be implemented.

Unfortunately, in most instances it is a case of "preferred ignorance" where tour operators and visitors knowingly ignore voluntary guidelines. Sandy Koep, Herschel Island Park Officer, contends that curiosity often gets the best of tour operators and visitors, and that this may lead to many negative ecological impacts. For example, visitors will often go where they are not supposed to get in order to a unique photo opportunity (*pers. comm.* August 1998). As Sirakaya (1997) suggests, if a gain is to be expected from non-compliance, or if the benefits of compliance are not immediate, the chance of voluntary adherence to any guidelines becomes limited.

Even if legal enforcement is called for, it can be a rather slow and complex process. Previous complaints will slowly build upon each other, eventually proceeding to formal court action (Anonymous *pers. comm.* July 1998). Often providing evidence for persecution becomes extremely difficult; this is particularly true of cases involving species harassment. According to Carol Arey, Aklavik HTC Chair, for a charge of marine or terrestrial species harassment to hold in court, the following is required: 1) the exact date and time of the incident, 2) a vehicle's licence number, 3) (if a plane) the distance or elevation away from the animal in questions, and preferably 4) an eye witness and photograph of the event (which must be later used as testimony in a court of law) (*pers comm.* July 1998). After all of this is obtained, the question remains as to how one actually proves harassment. The BSBMP Tourism Guidelines, the *Territorial Outfitter Regulations*, and EISC requirements, which must be complied with if tourism licences are to be issued, are also non-binding to companies which sub-contract to tour operators, such as air-charter companies. According to Judith Venass, flight -service providers are regulated through Transport Canada.

With respect to the harassment of marine mammals, reference is made in the BSBMP that tour operators should look further to follow the DFO's more detailed cetacean watching guidelines[18]. Although, many renewable resource managers argue that the BSBMP Tourism Guidelines have made their presence somewhat felt. This can be attributed in large part to community members communicating the general context of the BSBMP Tourism Guidelines.

5.3 INSTITUTIONAL PERSPECTIVES ON THE ENVIRONMENTAL IMPACTS OF THE NATURE-BASED TOURISM INDUSTRY

The Environmental Impact Screening Committee (EISC) process has helped to partially overcome nature-based tourism's negative environmental impacts, especially with respect to the dichotomy between the consumptive and non-consumptive use of wildlife. The EISC's goal is to effectively review all development projects (see chapter 4 for a more detailed discussion), which includes tourism projects, by way of an environmental and social impact assessment. The mandate of the EISC is defined as follows:

"EISC has a legislated responsibility to screen all proposed activities inside and outside the ISR which may negatively impact ecosystems and/or Inuvialuit wildlife harvesting" (EISC Operating Guidelines and Procedures, 1994, p. 2).

Although many tour operators find the formal application procedure to be an impediment to development, all parts of it prove to be a very constructive way in regulating the number of tourists and activities that come into an area (Judith Venass *pers.comm.* June 1998). The Client and Heritage Services Manager for Parks Canada explained that such an approach is always applied to visitors and tour operators traveling into the Beaufort-Delta's remote National

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Entitled *"Guidelines Applying to Small Craft Owners and Tour Boat Captains to Prevent any Disturbance of the St. Lawrence Beluga and Guidelines Applying to Cetacean Watching in the St. Lawrence River"*, these guidelines go into greater detail concerning different levels of harassment and what tour operators and tourists should do to avoid harassing beluga. The guidelines suggest that the endangered St. Lawrence beluga should not be used for whale-watching at all (DFO, 1989 Management Plan, Quebec Region).

Parks (Anonymous *pers. comm.* June 1998). He contested that all outfitters in any park must register and de-register upon arrival and departure (*ibid.*). Registration therefore serves an essential component to visitor and tour operator management in National Parks, and elsewhere (see chapter 4, under the *National Parks Acts General Regulations* (1978) s6(1)). Park officials also patrol areas frequented by visitors for vegetation trampling and waste. This is of particular concern in Ivvavik National Park, where up to 200 people per year may raft the Firth River. The Firth River Corridor is very narrow and already requires that campsites be rotated frequently (Brian Johnston, *pers. comm.* July 1998). To help minimize negative environmental impacts along the Firth River corridor from adventure tourists, Parks Canada developed guidelines which stress minimum impact use (see Ivvavik National Park Firth River Use Guidelines, 1998).

Despite attempts at keeping track of visitors and mitigating environmental impacts, many institutional respondents are still concerned about the effects of low-level flying over terrestrial and marine mammals. An Inuvik based (RWED) Wildlife Officer maintained that:

> *"Low-level aircraft have a significant effect on land animals, such as sheep and caribou. There are many pilots who have very little sensitivity for these animals. Harassment is certainly an issue, as pilots fly low it will increase the stress level. For instance, Grizzly Cubs can be left behind when a sow is harassed"* (*pers. comm.* July 1998).

Wildlife biologists contended there was a tendency for tourists to tip pilots in order to get closer to larger mammals. In such instances, tourist behaviour has a direct bearing on tour operator (or pilot) behaviour. There are two interrelated factors behind low-level flying:

1) Tour operators have to make money and will, therefore, look after their clients' needs (a good reputation is essential to the success of northern tourism businesses- and the best way to distribute messages is by word of mouth). This brings problems, however, as rules are bent to accommodate client wishes.

2) Since tourists can influence a pilot's actions, they must be made aware of the need to follow rules and regulations themselves; this would help to take the pressure off of tour operators and pilots.

Every time a new and typically younger pilot is hired by a local charter company, a letter is issued to clarify appropriate flying behaviour (as stated in the BSBMP Tourism Guidelines). Many letters have been issued, however, with none resulting in a long-term solution. Various jurisdictional boundaries also increase the difficulty of enforcing the Guidelines. Respondents indicated that when complaints from the Yukon North Slope arrive, which are typically from Aklavik residents, that variation in the Yukon Government's legislation makes it difficult to assess the situation (*Anonymous pers. comm.* July 1998). These problems are surmountable, however, as all of RWED's Wildlife Officers have the ability to enforce Yukon Game Regulations.

Two very recent reports developed by the Canadian Wildlife Service (CWS) for the Environment Impact Screening Committee, described the effect of low-level flying on birds and terrestrial mammals. The first report, written by Jim Hines and Myra Wiebe of the CWS, recommends minimum altitudes for charter aircraft (Fixed Wing Cessna 185) for migratory water fowl[19]. The second report was completed by Suzanne Carriere of the CWS, and focuses on the effects of low-flying chartered aircraft (Fixed Wing Cessna 185 at ferry flight elevations) over caribou and muskoxen[20].

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They conclude that aircraft must maintain a minimum altitude of 650 meters (2100 feet) whenever flying over an area likely to have birds, while aircraft must maintain a minimum altitude of 1100 meters (3500 feet) when flying over any of the five Migratory Bird Sanctuaries in the Inuvialuit Settlement Region. The effect of aircraft disturbance, when flying at less than 400 meters, on birds can range from nest abandonment, increased destruction of eggs and mortality of young from predation and long term changes in population distributions. **It is also noted that disturbance of birds could potentially result in reduced opportunity for the Inuvialuit to harvest them.** They conclude that with a >650 meter overflight, that all birds were most likely to fly when grouped together in molting and migration flocks (Hine and Wiebe, 1998).

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The recommended minimum altitude for caribou varies during different times of the year. Calving and post calving periods are apparently the most sensitive times of the year. Flying at less than 300 meters, the effects of overflights were seen as standing up from resting position to long distance panic runs. The latter may induce calf mortality and physiological stress. Muskox cows and calves also appear to be most sensitive to overflights even at a flight elevation of 400 meters. Therefore, the minimum recommended flight elevation is 300 meters for both species (Carriere, 1998).

As discussed, tour boat traffic and low-flying charter aircrafts may harm beluga whales too. However, Lois Harwood, Fisheries Management Biologist, stressed that marine-ecotourism traffic is still negligible and, therefore, no direct threat (*pers. comm*. June 1998). She contended that residuals from heavy industry, as well as heavier water transport traffic, are more likely to affect the whales and their habitat. She warned, however, that if marine tourism traffic does increase in the shallower bay waters, that it may eventually lead to the excessive harassment of the whales.

5.4 Summary

Nature-based tourism in the Beaufort-Delta region has evolved into a much needed and desired economic development alternative. The principles and practices of nature-based tourism are now being endorsed under the emblem of sustainable tourism, and represent a sustainable alternative to heavy industry. Nevertheless, other institutional representatives still point out that nature-based tourism is the cause of many negative ecological impacts, which may grow in the future if tourism continues to develop in the same way.

Consequently, as the IDC plans to develop the region's nature-based tourism industry, careful planning is required to avoid past mistakes. Loss of control by the Inuvialuit over the planning process and participation in tourism development must be prevented, and tourism activities that complement their lifestyles and ecology must be created and marketed. Moreover, there is a particular need for increased and thoughtful communication between institutional representatives and community residents. A lack of awareness and disrespect of guidelines and codes of conduct among tour operators and pilots, and a lack of communication and enforcement from institutional representatives illustrate this well. If this continues, the ecological, cultural and economic drawbacks associated with nature-based tourism will out weigh its benefits. Most important is that community residents be given an active voice in deciding how tourism development is to occur, as is outlined in chapter six.

CHAPTER 6: INUVIALUIT ELDER PERSPECTIVES ON THE SUSTAINABILITY OF NATURE-BASED TOURISM

This section documents Inuvialuit elder perspectives in order to demonstrate the important role they play in identifying planning issues and priorities for sustainable tourism development. Studies show the perspectives of residents living in communities affected by tourism help to identify those aspects of tourism which must be enhanced or contained (Cooke, 1982; Wearing and Larsen, 1996; Liu and Var, 1986). Based on these premises, the positive and negative cultural, economic and environmental impacts of nature-based tourism, as perceived by 30 Inuvialuit elders from Inuvik, Aklavik and Tuktoyaktuk, are documented here. Since Inuvialuit elders hunt, trap and fish out on the land, they are likely to be the first to be negatively affected by tourism, and, conversely, the first to require a cash supplement from it in order to continue harvesting.

To identify their perspectives on nature-based tourism development, 10 Inuvialuit elders in Tuktoyaktuk, Aklavik and Inuvik participated in formally structured interviews. Elder interviews took place between June 1st and July 31st, 1998. During this time period, the researcher spent roughly 5 days interviewing elders in both Aklavik and Tuktoyaktuk, with the remaining time being used to interview Inuvik elders. Community HTCs provided a list of elders' names (i.e., those individuals 50 years and older, *as defined by the local HTCs*[21]), and a fixed order and form of questions concerning relevant socio-cultural, economic and environmental variables were asked in a face-to-face setting. Questions were designed to

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21 The researcher understands that in many aboriginal societies, including that of the Inuvialuit, an elder is not necessarily defined by his or her age, but rather by the special wisdom and esteem they hold. Communities themselves, often by consensus, identify an elder's cultural and social significance. In this capacity, it is stressed that this study, which is partially biassed by an outsider's perspective, attempts not to misrepresent the term "elder".

uncover elder perspectives on how nature-based tourism impacted their day-to-day cultural and economic activities (e.g., harvesting), and their surrounding flora and fauna. Interviews took place in either their homes or out on the land. Each elder was told at the beginning of the interview that his/ her identity would be kept confidential. Once again, before interviews started, elders were asked whether they preferred tape-recording or note-taking. Elders were paid for their time, and an Inuvialuit research assistant was present to help with the interviews. Communication barriers were largely absent. Even though an elder's perspectives may be considered as "collective" wisdom, their views are not necessarily representative of total community perspectives. Participant observation was employed in the region's major Inuvialuit whaling camps during June and July 1998.

6.1 INUVIALUIT ELDER PERSPECTIVES ON THE ECONOMIC IMPACTS ASSOCIATED WITH NATURE-BASED TOURISM DEVELOPMENT

6.1.1. Inuvialuit Elder Perspectives on the Nature of Economic Benefits from Nature-based Tourism

When community elders were asked whether they felt economic benefits were to be gained from nature-based tourism development, almost three-quarters strongly agreed. A great majority of elders stressed that nature-based tourism was one of the only stable and accessible employment alternatives in the area. Elders stressed that it was nearly impossible to make an income from hunting and trapping, and others felt that the oil and gas industry employed very few Inuvialuit as well. Tourism, which is culturally and ecologically oriented, was felt to be accessible to both old and young Inuvialuit. For example, one Inuvik elder stressed:

"Yes, 100% – I really think that tourism can help our community. Well, I will tell you the tourist is the only one that brings in money. Tourism brings in lots of money in here in the summer time you know".

"My thought was always to set up a tourist camp in the bush, you know where there is a boat and a canoe and go show them how to set a fishing net, how you catch them and cut them up in a camp — a traditional camp. I would like to get a nice cabin out there you know, not just for the tourists but for myself too, and for the people in town to just get away from it all. I would like to get a good boat and motor, in case we break down and stuff. And the people up here I can depend to get information to the visitors and stuff. If they pay me, I could have a go at it. And of course there would also be employment benefits from those who started the company and for those who cook house meat and clean, and even guide later on. If the money was coming in then a few dollars would be spread between people. This is not only for myself, but there is a lot for others too" (Anonymous *pers. comm.* Inuvik, June 1998).

However, community elders expressed a range of opinions regarding the desirability of an increase in nature-based tourism development. While the vast majority of Inuvik elders desired an increase in its development, Tuktoyaktuk and Aklavik elders thought quite differently. In Tuktoyaktuk, when compared to other economic activity (e.g., heavy industry), elders felt that nature-based tourism held considerably lower economic benefits, while slightly more than half agreed that it should be developed more. This may be due to the high number of visitors coming to Tuktoyaktuk (averaging between 2,000-3,000 in any year) raising discontent among residents. Similarly, responses from Aklavik contained greater skepticism, as only half of the elders interviewed perceived there to be any economic benefits. This may be due, in part, to there being traditionally very little visitation (rarely over 300 tourists per year) and thus minimal tourism development and distribution of economic benefits in Aklavik. As is delineated in the following pages, Tuktoyaktuk elders' perspectives regarding overall economic, cultural, ecological impacts fit into the latter stages of Doxey's (1979) "Index for Tourist Irritation". Theoretically, the irritation, antagonism, and final stages involving ecological damage may represent Tuktoyaktuk resident perspectives on increased tourist crowds and

services. To illustrate, during the first stage, Inuvialuit become irritated with tourism. Next, signs of irritation become overt and eventually change into direct antagonism towards the tourist. Finally, high volumes of tourists begin to degrade Tuktoyaktuk's local resource base (Doxey, 1979, p. 298).

6.1.2 Desire for Community Involvement in Nature-based Tourism Development

A strong interest in community participation in nature-based tourism is obvious in all communities. In Aklavik, most elders felt strongly about community involvement in nature-based tourism, but the desire was highest in Inuvik and Tuktoyaktuk, with all but one elder agreeing that the entire community should become involved in its development. In Inuvik, for example, several elders maintained that cultural activities and nature interpretation were the best tools to use to involve communities. Tuktoyaktuk and Aklavik elders were even stronger proponents of using cultural activities for tourism development. Elders expressed a desire to take advantage of traditional knowledge and skills, i.e., the production of handicrafts (especially bead work), carvings, and fish netting for tourism development. When asked how they would manage nature-based tourism, two-thirds stated that they would be very interested in contributing their expertise for nature-based tourism development.

One elder from Tuktoyaktuk commented, *"One of the good things of tourism is when lots [of tourists] come in, interactions with towns people takes place. Tourists watch Inuvialuit hunters cut whales and they can have tea with us.*(Anonymous, *pers. comm.* July 1998).

6.1.3 Inuvialuit Elder Perspectives on the Economic Drawbacks of Nature-based Tourism

Currently, the region's tourism industry is dependent on a relatively inconsistent volume of visitors, which are spread among three distant communities. As a result, it becomes very problematic to manage tourism's economic benefits in an equitable manner. This is apparent in Inuvialuit elder perspectives on the distribution of nature-based tourism's economic benefits within each of the three communities. The majority of elders contended that only those individuals who are directly involved in tourism benefit most, while overall community benefits are low. Overall, one-third of the elders felt that tour operators benefitted most from nature-based tourism, and then artists and carvers, guides, people with equipment, and people selling country foods. Thus, nature-based tourism's economic benefits are narrowly distributed, a possible factor for why Inuvialuit still maintain subsistence activities and other more stable forms of employment.

To illustrate, a Tuktoyaktuk elder stressed, *"Carvers' carvings can really help out the community. But if everyone had a chance to get involved, they would get money too. It is only through directly owning an outfit of some type that people make money. Community leaders should get more involved — they should lead the community into starting up low capital ventures"* (Anoymous, *pers. comm.* July 1998).

Elders from Aklavik and Tuktoyaktuk stressed this opinion even more, with all but two feeling that direct participants benefitted most from nature-based tourism development. Many elders claimed that if a wider range of cultural activities were used in tourism, then perhaps Inuvialuit could become more beneficially involved. For example, one Tuktoyaktuk elder exemplified the sentiments of many Inuvialuit in the settlement communities:

"Well, ok, only the tour companies make money and no one else or just a few carvers or maybe a few handicrafts but not too much, you know. I used to bring a lot of tourists to Mona's shop, but they hardly leave with anything from the shops. They just go there to see the shop and ask a lot of questions -- they should look for the really rich ones and send 'em north" (Anonymous *pers. comm.* July 1998).

"They (tour operators and tourists) should go to the fur shop and buy things — there should be more sales. The tour operators should bring people to the local shops. Again, there are not enough young people involved — tourists should come around more and tell their friends" (Anonymous, *pers. comm.* July 1998).

The discrepancies in responses between Inuvik and the other communities may be due to the formal (regulated) structure of nature-based tourism in Inuvik and the informal, or laissez-faire, approach to nature-based tourism in Tuktoyaktuk and Aklavik. Speculatively, perhaps due to a stronger subsistence economy and/or a lack of sufficient government support, Tuktoyaktuk and Aklavik have a visibly weaker infrastructure and bureaucracy, within which tourism may be carried out more freely. To illustrate, elders from the latter two communities indicated that in a less regulated atmosphere, the existence of multiple "home-based" spin-off occupations, such as the sale of country foods to tourists, could lead to increases in casual and opportunistic employment opportunities. Since Inuvik is the Beaufort-Delta's administrative hub, more closely resembling a southern town than a typical Inuit community, Inuvialuit involved in tourism there may have less access to land resources and may also feel less comfortable selling goods to tourists in a formal and open setting. Tour operators are also less likely to offer country foods to tourists in Inuvik. Thus, a variety of negative attitudes toward the economic potential of nature-based tourism stemmed from a lack of involvement in tourism development and management.

Despite the seasonal fluctuations associated with a tourism income, the perceived economic drawbacks of nature-based tourism are consistently few in all communities. Aklavik elders in particular felt there to be no real economic drawbacks, while in Inuvik and Tuktoyaktuk only three elders felt there to be any significant and moderate economic drawbacks. Several reasons may be attributed to such perspectives. First, going back to Doxey's (1979) Index for Tourist Irritation, Aklavik residents may be enveloped within the "Stage of Tourist Euphoria". That is, they may appreciate tourism initially because of new opportunity. In Doxey's words "[t]hey welcome the stranger and there is a mutual feeling of satisfaction" (p. 297). Similarly, other academics argue that in many cases, residents just find the initial economic gains of tourism favourable during earlier stages of tourism development (Grekin, 1994; Haywood, 1986; Keogh, 1990; Liu and Var, 1986). It is argued that the tourism industry may still be too small in order for tourism's negative economic impacts (e.g., increases in land prices, greed, envy, resentment) to be really felt and to possibly erode endemic cultural identity (*ibid.*). Liu and Var (1986) also stress that in many cases locals may perceive that the economic contribution of tourism (such as employment and raising standards of living) outweighs the potential risks.

Finally, it may be that Inuvialuit perspectives of overall community benefits from tourism are more closely tied to, or are a reflection of perceived individual benefits obtained from tourism. This may certainly be the case among Inuvik elders. For example, individuals in Inuvik who stand to benefit from tourism may be less likely to notice the negative economic impacts that are perceived by others (who feel they do not benefit from tourism) (Perdue, Long and Allen, 1990, p. 593). Personal benefits from tourism are, therefore, conveyed upon the entire community.

Table 8: Collective Inuvialuit Elder Perspectives on the Economic Drawbacks and Benefits of Nature-based Tourism Development

N=30	High (%) Agreement	Medium (%) Agreement	Low (%) Agreement
Overall economic benefits	63	30	7
Desire for an increase in tourism	70	27	3
Desire for community involvement	87	—	13
Community benefits	7	13	80
Individual Benefits	84	—	16
Overall economic drawbacks	3	7	90

6.1. 4 Inuvialuit Elder Perspectives on the Adequacy of Government Support for Tourism

Some degree of skepticism toward the adequacy of current government support for nature-based tourism development exists. In Aklavik, where only half of the respondents thought there to be any tangible benefits from nature-based tourism development, all but one elder agreed that Economic Development and Tourism was not effectively marketing tourism products. It was repeatedly stressed that the government should encourage the involvement of the younger Inuvialuit generation in nature-based tourism. An interview with an Aklavik elder expressed this best:

"I would like it if the younger people could get involved in tourism. They could really learn from the elders. Anyone starting tourism should take a young person out on the land so that they act as a trainee. A lot of education doesn't really go that far anymore- tourism would certainly help out- especially when the oil company left we got really broken hearted. Especially for these young grade twelve kids that are ready for jobs" (Anonymous *pers.comm. July 1998).*

In 1995, the Aklavik Tourism Strategy identified several ways in which younger Inuvialuit could become involved in cultural tourism through incorporating existing bush skills (Lutra Associates, 1995). The study also revealed that Aklavik residents placed greatest emphasis on improving tourism management skills/training (*ibid.*). However, several elders commented that they would personally help to improve the training and condition of Aklavik through various programmes. Two elders thought that Aklavik should find better means of solid waste disposal, find more things for visitors to do, and build better accommodations in town and on the coast. Aklavik elders did heavily emphasize that the GNWT needed to increase tourism advertisements for their community. They maintained that institutions should help to advertise the special things that Aklavik has to offer, such as a strong Gwich'in and Inuvialuit cultural presence in an enormous Delta.

More importantly, many Aklavik and Inuvik elders stressed that they were not kept informed on how to apply for a tour operator's licence. One Inuvik elder was bewildered to find her friends already so heavily involved in tourism. She and others declared that in addition to a lack of communication existing between tourism agencies and local people, the administrative hassle of engaging in any business was often too great and, therefore, not surmountable. Many contested that they should be able to take tourists out on a tour without the bureaucracy imposed by southerners. For example, an Inuvik elder argued:

"It is good for the community if you can take them out with your own outfit, but always have to have permission to do that. We always have to fill out papers and stuff that is why we can't take tourists out. It would be good if we could take tourists out whenever they come to Inuvik" (Anonymous *pers. comm.* July 1998).

One respondent discussed that in some instances, proposals from Aklavik are rarely considered. And even if they are considered, results must first be shown before any financial assistance for capital can be given.

In contrast to Aklavik, most Inuvik elders maintained that sponsorship from Economic Development and Tourism was significant. Similarly, Tuktoyaktuk elders agreed that current government efforts in nature-based tourism development were more than adequate. Overall, the perception of the adequacy of current government efforts in nature-based tourism development is divided evenly among all Inuvialuit elders interviewed, with only half feeling that government support for nature-based tourism development was suitable. Many elders stressed that in order for them to fully exploit the employment benefits from nature-based tourism (i.e., in a more sustainable manner), training and development strategies must first meet their own and local businesses needs and concerns.

6.1.5 Inuvialuit Elder Perspectives on the Socio-economic Drawbacks of Nature-based Tourism Development

The introduction of nature-based tourism within the study area also seems to have awoken marginal levels of animosity within the communities. For example, elders asserted that they were not paid enough and that they should also benefit by taking tourists out to whaling camps. On several occasions, elders noted that any extra money collected just covered the costs of providing tourists with food and transportation. Or, in some cases, elders who were charged with cooking for tourists were not paid at all, or the pay was inappropriate. One Inuvik elder explained that: *"They try to take people down to the whaling camps at Baby Island. I have been flown down even. I cooked for them three to four times a day. But some of the tourists only give $20- $50 a day"* (Anonymous, *pers. comm.* June 1998).

As access to perceived tourism resources (in this case whaling camps, visitors and equipment) becomes limited, the result is intensified competition between tourism participants, and this invariably leads to local disputes and resentment. For example, one Inuvik elder stressed that one needs a big boat in order to take tourists out to the coast, and since they are very limited and expensive, obtaining capital for nature-based tourism becomes difficult. Because of this, only a few individuals, those with money, are able to take tourists out onto the water. Moreover, when a boat captain takes visitors out to whaling camps belonging to his or her next of kin, he or she is often refused camp entry because money was not shared previously. The elder stated:

"There is no real sharing between all of the groups or even friends . . . we don't mind at all when people take photos in the camp so long as it is not just one person that takes them down all of the time...but now we don't let any of the tourists to come over to our whaling camp.... " (Anonymous *pers. comm.* July 1998).

Moreover, *"It is only people that are contracted that can take them out, but it should be really open to everyone and especially the Inuvialuit. You know they go to Airport Lake and go for a little hike, but we can't just pick them up and go. It is usually the people with all of the equipment that can take people out on the land. All of the white people are taking over our land too, we need to do things on our own Inuvialuit lands— we are the ones that should be running it how we want to . . . "* (Anonymous, *pers. comm.* July 1998).

The competitive individualistic nature of nature-based tourism development may negatively affect familial relations through a lack of sharing and disassociation. Thus, although the Inuvialuit prove to be adaptable and resourceful, tourism does not necessarily ensure livelihood security, due to dependency and individualism. Co-operative efforts during whaling, for example, could be strained due to tourism. For example, two Tuktoyaktuk elders thought it was 'unfair' that tourists take photos of them processing whales, while other community residents make money from them. The same is argued for the preparation of dry fish.

One Tuktoyaktuk elder claimed:

"I know for sure that it is good for tourist companies with more tourists to come here, but for us we'll be making dry fish and they just go ahead and take pictures and we get nothing out of it. We are just being nice to them --go ahead and take pictures. We don't get a cent out of it. If we don't get a cent out of it, why have tourists?" (Anonymous. *pers. comm.* July 1998).

Tourism and entrepreneurial ventures call for a competitive advantage that often results in economic benefits not being distributed among next of kin or friends. As a result, co-operation between families, and potentially communities, wanes. Nature-based tourism may, therefore, exacerbate existing disputes within communities and between individuals.

6.2 INUVIALUIT ELDER PERSPECTIVES ON THE CULTURAL IMPACTS ASSOCIATED WITH NATURE-BASED TOURISM DEVELOPMENT

6.2.1 Inuvialuit Elder Perspectives of Cultural Benefits of Nature-based Tourism Development

It is apparent that perceived cultural benefits by elders may be associated with their acceptance of tourists visiting their community. In all three communities, the overall perception of significant cultural benefits arising from nature-based tourism, such as the revitalization of tradition through arts and crafts production, was fairly moderate, and only half of all elders were completely acceptant of non-resident tourists visiting their communities. In Tuktoyaktuk, only four elders considered there to be any cultural benefits arising from nature-based tourism, while only one elder felt very pleased toward tourists coming into Tuktoyaktuk. Indeed, on several occasions, Tuktoyaktuk elders stressed that the GNWT should let local residents control the number of tourists coming into their community annually. For many elders, the thought of their community becoming overrun by too many tourists was not a desirable one. One elder from Inuvik commented *"If you let too many tourist come in they might take over the whole country. They might just take over and start living on the land"* (Anonymous *pers. comm.* June 1998).

Similarly, in Aklavik, slightly more than half of the elders felt that nature-based tourism could be culturally beneficial. In contrast, all but one Inuvik elder was very pleased with having tourists coming into town, and most thought that nature-based tourism could bring significant cultural benefits.

For many elders, only certain types of tourists are enjoyable. Tourists who were appreciated the most were those who were very friendly, polite and interested in learning about Inuvialuit culture. Such comments mainly originate from Inuvik elders and may be due to Inuvik being a comparatively culturally diverse northern community[22]. Since Inuvik has a mix of cultural backgrounds, tourists may be seen as less obtrusive, thereby staying longer to spend more money than in either Aklavik or Tuktoyaktuk. One Inuvik elder insisted that today the Inuvialuit are often taking a different approach to nature-based tourism:

"Tourism people, you know, promote your life and your lifestyle you know. If you work good with it you promote it and more people come around. Everybody [tourists] are really friendly people you know. There is nothing really wrong with that. They make you feel proud they make you feel that you are the people" (Anonymous *pers. comm.* June 1998).

Nature-based tourism can serve as an excellent medium for breaking down cross-cultural barriers between hosts and guests (Smith, 1989; Mathiesson and Wall, 1982). Keogh (1989a, 1989b). Smith (1990) comments that encounters between different cultural groups can provide an exchange of ideas, promote better understandings, and can also be very educational.

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In 1996, Inuvik, Aklavik, and Tuktoyaktuk had 1215, 430, 845 Inuvialuit, respectively, the latter communities (besides Metis) only hold a minority of ethnic groups. Inuvik held "ethnic" groups, according to the language declared, of 185 French, 160 German, 20 Chinese, 25 East Indian, 25 Filipino, and 10 Lebanese, among many others (Census, 1996).

In Inuvik, Aklavik and Tuktoyaktuk, almost three-quarters of the elders felt that there were significant benefits to be derived from nature-based tourism through cultural exchange. Many elders contended that an exchange of questions and ideas concerning 'life in the south' and 'life in the north' through casual conversation brought significant benefits to each party. The interviews revealed that in and around all communities, exchange of socio-cultural information was often done through capitalizing on traditional bush skills, such as hunting and trapping. The majority of elders interviewed felt that land-based (nature-based) tourism, which is highly participatory and culturally oriented, was the best means of educating tourists, particularly southerners, on subsistence living. For a nominal fee, tourists were often brought out to a Delta bush camp or coastal whale hunting camp where they were taught and fed through traditional means. Particularly among the younger Inuvialuit generation, nature-based tourism was also considered to help revive traditional knowledge and bush skills (Hinch, 1995; Walle, 1993). Or, as Smith (1989), states:

"Indirectly, [tourism] has . . . also shown the Eskimo that their culture is of great importance to tourists who are directly prepared to pay substantial sums to visit the Arctic to see the Eskimo lifestyle. This reaffirms their sense of ethnic self-worth that had been eroded in the early years of this century by missionary, health and school personnel..." (p. 78).

Indeed, many elders attested to the fact that they were already too old to become involved in nature-based tourism. They thought that it would perhaps be best if the burgeoning younger Inuvialuit generation learned bush skills, such as hunting and trapping, for their own sake and then for the sake of developing tourism. These results also correspond well to Storace's (1998) and Notzke's (1995) findings that reveal the Inuvialuit are strong proponents of using land-based activities as a tool for tourism, cultural renewal and education.

Table 9:Collective Inuvialuit Elder Perception on Cultural Benefits and Drawbacks Regarding Nature-based Tourism Development

N=30	High (%) Agreement	Medium (%) Agreement	Low (%) Agreement
Overall Cultural Benefits	63	13.3	23.3
Desire Toward Tourists Visiting Community	50	43	7
Benefits Derived from Cultural Exchange with Tourists	73	—	23 (2 no answer)
Tourism Helping with Subsistence Activities	67	20	13
Thoughts on Tourists Coming to Hunting Camps	53	33.3	13.3
Level of Tourism Interference with Hunting	53	—	47
A Need for Restriction on Visitors	77	—	23
A Need to Educate Tourists on Inuvialuit Culture before Coming to Community	77	—	23

Interestingly, two-thirds of all elders felt that if they were to manage nature-based tourism, they would increase the use of land-based resources. To illustrate, most elders felt that sharing country food was the best way to involve tourists in cultural activities. They stressed that if tourists are to truly learn about the Inuvialuit way of life, they must eat the food they do. Interview responses from Inuvik were typically:

"Tea and donuts is what tourists like to do- we would like to see people get involved with traditional activities more-- they like to see how things are done differently"(Anonymous, *pers. comm.* June 1998).

Several elders discussed how "participatory" tourism was best since tourists would learn more if they actually did the things they did during tours, i.e., got out onto the land to hunt, trap and fish. As tourists get out to traditional Inuvialuit bush or whaling camps, both the host and guest can benefit from the experience. For instance, the host (elder) might keep the fish that were hauled up during the fish-netting "demonstration", while the tourist would learn from the experience. One Tuktoyaktuk elder stressed that no matter what, nature-based tourism should be promoted through traditional activities. He contended:

"People are still hesitant to show our traditional ways of life though this may be an impediment to development. But at the same time it gives a little encouragement to keep things going...this is what attracts tourists. Everybody should see a different lifestyle. I don't see anything wrong with this at all. Just because the tourists come in doesn't mean that I am going to change the way I eat" (Anonymous, *pers. comm.* July 1998).

Despite interactive tourism being considered as the best medium for cultural exchange, two-thirds of the elders indicated that land-based tourism also supplemented their subsistence activities with cash. All but one respondent in Aklavik agreed that tourism money greatly contributed to the financing of hunting, fishing and trapping. In Tuktoyaktuk, several elders believed that nature-based tourism only partially helped with subsistence activities, while half strongly agreed. Similarly, in Inuvik, respondents found that a tourism-generated income would greatly support subsistence activities, while only two elders contended average levels of support. A reoccurring theme was that money was largely generated through nature-based tourism side attractions, such as arts and crafts sales, country food sales, guiding and drum dances. Inuvialuit elders stressed though that these activities brought in just enough money to fully or partially cover the cost of southern foods and supplies needed for hunting, such as gas and tools. Nature-based tourism is, therefore, seen as a long-term economic objective which

helps to sustain subsistence activities in a mixed economy. In Tuktoyaktuk, one elder maintained that:

"Today, once they [kids] turn eighteen, they can get social services and welfare, eh, that's the way it works today. But the ones that don't get social services we still work hard to survive off the land. I can't afford to buy steaks and other meats at the Northern Store, they cost too much there. So therefore I have to live off of the land, I have to eat dry fish or fish. So activities like tourism do help us out a bit" (pers.comm. July 1998).

In Aklavik, another elder asserted: *"Yes, I think that tourism can help us with traditional activities. Tourism should help all of the people involved- we really need employment benefits"* (Anonymous *pers. comm.* July 1998).

In Inuvik, an elder agreed that *"[T]ourism helps if it provides a little bit of money to cover the costs of taking them [tourists] up there, like the gas and the food, and a little bit on top to cover my costs and expenses for my house and my motor" (pers. comm.* June 1998).

In the remoter communities of Aklavik and Tuktoyaktuk, where hunting, trapping and fishing are still very visibly strong and where unemployment (as per Statistics Canada's definition) is much higher (26% and 23.2%, respectively) than in Inuvik (10%), tourism income was perceived as being a more significant source of financial support for subsistence activities. However, all Inuvialuit elders appreciated the fact that they may require a steadier volume of tourists to keep money flowing and to keep themselves directly or indirectly involved in tourism.

6.2.2 Inuvialuit Elder Perspectives on the Nature of Cultural Drawbacks of Nature-based Tourism Development

Although Inuvialuit elders expressed a desire to educate tourists and earn money from nature-based tourism, others expressed resentment towards specific cultural and ecotourism activities. Because of intrusiveness, fear of cultural misrepresentation and commoditization, and even envy, elders expressed great concern over tourists coming into traditional settings. Four

elders felt that under no circumstances should tourists be allowed into hunting camps, and others held largely mixed feelings towards inviting tourists into their camps. Overall, one-third of the elders felt that mixing "staged" bush and whaling camp activities with nature-based tourism was largely an ambiguous experience, which, unless tourists acted courteously to Inuvialuit, could lead to undesirable conditions.

Tuktoyaktuk and Aklavik elders held a much lower regard for tourists visiting their camps and participating in cultural activities than did the elders living in Inuvik. Such a discrepancy may be because within Aklavik and Tuktoyaktuk, fish and animal processing is often carried out at the edges of town (close to water), or at nearby hunting camps. As tourists and subsistence activities move closer together, the chance of visitors interrupting with too many questions and photographs, or even touching of food is enhanced considerably. Academics show that visitor intrusiveness on traditional activities in northern tourism settings is very common (Hinch, 1995; Grekin, 1994; Robinson, 1993). The impacts are often seen by way of fears of cultural misrepresentation and commoditization (Milne *et al.*, 1991; Nickels *et al.*, 1991; Butler and Hinch, 1996). These negative cultural impacts have been witnessed in town, out on the land, and closer to the coast.

Within the two settlement communities, cultural community tours evoked the most resentment amongst community members. This is particularly the case in Tuktoyaktuk, where the "Tuk Town Tour" is as popular as ever, often involving over 2000 visitors a year. With so many visitors participating in cultural community tours, disapproval and fear of cultural misrepresentation (through photos) was consistently mentioned by Tuktoyaktuk elders. A common concern of Tuktoyaktuk elders is that they feared their treatment of the whales would be taken out of context by tourists once they travelled back south. Two elders claimed that

"Photos should not be taken while we are hunting or preparing foods — this is our way of life and should not be misrepresented"(Anonymous *pers. comm.* July 1998). Moreover,*"many people react differently. Some care others don't care. Most important is that people should ask permission before they take photos while locals are preparing whale and other foods"* (*pers. comm.* July 1998). For many Inuvialuit living in Tuktoyaktuk, pulling up a whale for processing onto a sandbar or a small island near town was only efficient until visitors encroached upon them to take photos and ask questions. In fact, the longer it takes a hunter to process a whale, the greater the chance of *maktak* spoiling, with the end result of a potentially painful bout of botulism (Field Notes, 1998). Moreover, one elder declared that he did not appreciate the "gawking eyes" of tourists. The effects of the "tourist gaze" is illuminated by Smith (1989, p. 64), who writes of how Eskimo women in Kotzebue erected makeshift barricades to shield their seal processing from tourists. Tuktoyaktuk elders also received questions from tourists that revealed ignorance and a lack of respect. The question of whether *"Do you Eskimoes still live in Igloos?"* came up all too frequently for elders. The impact of the "tourist gaze" may be felt especially by younger Inuvialuit. A Tuktoyaktuk elder expressed grave concern that children were starting to ask for money after having their pictures taken by tourists. Concern of this leading to children "begging" was emphasized. The elder stressed that *"this is not the way we want our children to be educated— this type of visitor behaviour spoils it for the community and is very unacceptable"*. Nevertheless, for most Inuvialuit elders, the problem was not so much that tourists took photos of them personally, but rather that they disapproved of photos being used to escalate fear and misrepresentation of whale processing/hunting and local social conditions.

To illustrate, on one occasion, an animal rights activist took a photo of sled dogs chained up. Thinking this to be a form of cruelty, he or she sent the photo to several American newspaper companies to indicate inhumane treatment of animals. Apparently, the following summer, after potential American tourists read their newspapers, visitor numbers in the Beaufort-Delta dropped, or so one Inuvialuit tour operator thought. Fear of cultural misrepresentation seems to abound in Tuktoyaktuk.

Tourists can also be rude. Lucy Adams, a long time cultural bush tour entrepreneur, felt that although the majority of her visitors have been very polite, there was one occasion were they very rude. A few summers ago, one tour group told Lucy's aboriginal friends to "shut up" as they wanted to hear the sounds of nature. After the incident, however, the visitors called (upon the request of Moe Grant, a non-aboriginal tour operator) to apologize to Lucy Adams.

However, ever since mini-vans have been incorporated into the community cultural tours, guides can now tell visitors (before they leave the van) that they must ask permission to take a photo of anyone cutting whale, fish or caribou. The guide would also communicate with someone ahead of time to find out who was preparing country foods. This way, the local guide could ask the hunter's permission directly before he or she brought tourists over to view his work. Before the tour buses were introduced, tourists would walk around Tuktoyaktuk with little direction. Overall, elders expressed great disapproval of tourists taking photos and asking questions while they were busy processing caribou or beluga whales. Indeed, a few Inuvialuit elders commented that they and their friends are shy and feel objectified when tourists take their photos.

Despite tour groups being considered as more manageable than independent tourists, a common concern for all types of tourists was how to determine their ideology before they

entered whaling (and bush) camps. When asked what type of tourist was preferred least or most, nearly half of all respondents mentioned they disliked "environmentalist" tourists (those with a preservationist ideology) as they objected to their way of life and interfered with their freedom to hunt. Again, concerns with "environmentalist" tourists were highest in both Aklavik and Tuktoyaktuk. Several elders felt suspicious that actual Greenpeace activists might be posing as cultural tourists trying to infiltrate whaling camps, often by marine kayak, to film and interfere with the hunt itself. One Tuktoyaktuk elder commented on the difficulty of screening tourists' ideological position:

"No, I would never have tourists visiting my hunting camps. I can't understand that people would allow people to come to their camps in the first place. We don't know if it's people from Greenpeace, and Greenpeace is really against our way of living. It is very difficult to assess the whole situation" (Anonymous *pers.comm.* July 1998).

The elder goes on to argue that the Inuvialuit of Tuktoyaktuk and elsewhere try to live as they always do (i.e., hunting and processing whales) with or without tourists around. He contested that as tour operators bring visitors to Tukoyaktuk, "*we don't accommodate the fragile tourists-- we live as we always live*" (*pers. comm.* July 1998). Indeed, most Inuvialuit attempt to carry on as they always have. Concealing hunting and processing for the purposes of tourism was not thought of highly, although it was considered to be necessary by some.

An elder from Tuktoyaktuk expressed the concerns of others: "*The only thing is if there is a Greenpeace type, you gotta watch out . . . you gotta make sure there is no Greenpeace kind of person with the crew. You gotta know about them or otherwise it is bad for the Inuvialuit*" (Anonymous *pers. comm.* July 1998).

Similarly, "*I think that the tourism is good for the town, the more tourists the better, so long as they don't starting bitching that the locals want to kill something like whale— that is our food — that is the food we eat, we gotta kill it to eat it — it's our lifestyle. Maybe if tourists see someone killing a fox in a trap, that is something I don't want tourists to see at all, it is a matter of survival — it's just like a dog. But when you get animals, I am glad I got it, its food for the family at home. But white people don't think of it that way, oh, they think that we are cruel— we are not cruel at all this is my lifestyle . . . I am always so happy that I got that fox . . . I am gonna go over there and ring its neck. I am gonna dry them, when I see a fox, I think, oh boy, I am gonna have something to eat.* (Anonymous, *pers comm* July 1998).

Conflict invariably arises as new activities are imposed upon pre-existing resource uses –i.e., beluga whale watching during beluga whale hunting. Grekin (1994) describes a very similar situation where the Inuit of Pond Inlet also fear that "Greenpeace tourists" will reduce their freedom to hunt and misrepresent their subsistence activities. Again, elders from Tuktoyaktuk stressed that it is participatory cultural tourism which best serves to educate "Greenpeace people".

It seems that due to the much publicized 1992 Bowhead hunt at Shingle Point, Greenpeace's presence has been felt most by the residents of Aklavik and Tuktoyaktuk. One Aklavik elder contended that during the 1992 Bowhead hunt, Greenpeace attempted to frighten the whales away with a microphone that resonated killer whale sounds. He argued that Greenpeace activists hid behind large icebergs and managed to escape.

A means of addressing this issue is discussed by one Tuktoyaktuk elder. He proposed that tourists, or any individual with preservationist philosophies, join him on the trapline so that they understand the importance of country foods. Overall, when asked if there was a need to educate tourists on Inuvialuit culture before they enter their communities, more than three-quarters of the respondents agreed there was a considerable need. Between the communities, the responses were very consistent. Nearly all elders stressed that there is considerable need

to educate visitors on their culture before they arrived. Elders pointed out that this might be best accomplished through providing a small factual pamphlet.

One Inuvik elder commented that he does not mind when tourists visit; however, if they do start to dictate how the Inuvialuit ought to live, they would not be appreciated. He claimed that many tour operators and tourists do not follow the existing BSBMP Tourism Guidelines which prohibit both parties from entering traditional hunting Zone 1A (see Fig. 7 and 8). He stressed,

"I would like to do a lot of tours on my own but we got this hunters and trappers too you know and we have those regulations that we should follow. I just tell the tourists that they should go by the HTC rules. In some ways I am very careful about who I let take my picture you know. You know those pictures that they are putting on TV like those "Greenpeace pictures"-- they angered a lot of people you know" (Anonymous. *pers. comm.* June 1998).

Furthermore, an Inuvik elder stressed that there are other ways of interacting with tourists that are less personal, although still pleasant. He felt that casual conversation during the "Elder Feasts" provided good opportunity for a question and answer period, while allowing elders to control the amount of information and time they wished to give to tourists (Anonymous *pers. comm.* June 1998). MacCannell (1973) suggests that such "staged"[23] sets of authenticity allow for cultural exchange, while also allowing for the control of negative impacts.

As tourists continually ask questions and photograph real and even staged events, the item being shown, most probably an authentic component of culture, becomes inauthentic as it is endowed with a monetary exchange value (Cohen, 1988, p. 373). For Cohen (1988),

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In reality, although some Inuvialuit elder feasts are often put on for the purposes of tourism, not all are "staged" sets of authenticity. Tourists usually encounter Inuvialuit cultural activities that are being carried out regardless of their presence.

commoditization engendered by tourism "destroys" not only the meaning of cultural products for the locals but, paradoxically, for tourists as well. For example, Freddy Carmichael, former owner and operator of Arctic Nature Tours, contended that those Inuvialuit and Gwich'in involved in cultural tourism are now charging tourists for tea and bannock. This is a change from the past; he can remember when the preparation of tea and bannock was typically used as a welcoming gesture for incoming family, friends or guests. He felt that this may increase resentment among locals towards cultural tourism *(pers. comm.* June 1998).

A problem continually mentioned is the difficulty in dealing with the independent adventure tourist traveling in kayaks. Elders mentioned that on nine occasions kayakers got close to the whales while the hunt was on, and that they often arrived unannounced at the whaling camps. Fearing that there may be safety issues at hand, camp owners feel obligated to bring the kayaker(s) into their camps. The major destination for many kayakers traveling along the Yukon North Slope is a community (e.g., Kaktovik) on the Alaskan North Slope. Thus, for the Inuvialuit living in Aklavik, the majority of kayakers will first stop off at Running River and Shingle Point whaling camps and then Herschel Island (see Fig 12). Given their increasing numbers along the coast and their unannounced visits, a female elder from Aklavik felt suspicious of adventure tourists spying on her.

In Tuktoyaktuk, elders commented that kayakers often travel up the East Channel to navigate Kugmallit Bay in order to reach their community (see Fig 12). Along the way, however, the more exposed whaling camps of East Whitefish Station (belonging to Inuvialuit living in Inuvik) and Hendrickson Island (the location where Inuvialuit living in Tuktoyaktuk often hunt out of) are frequented by boaters.

Studies by Johnston (1997, 1998) show that new and comprehensive guidelines must be set up to address the needs of Arctic ecotourism, particularly for the management of adventure tourists. Visitor guidelines have failed to address a group of travellers known as "independent adventure travelers". This group's impacts, including solid waste, theft of artefacts, local resource use conflicts, and search and rescue costs are the reasons behind reassessing current regulations (Johnston, 1998, p. 28).

Elders are also concerned about chartered planes flying extra low over the water to view whale hunters in action. The most frequently used travel route by chartered planes is from Inuvik to Herschel Island and Tuktoyaktuk. Elders from Aklavik indicated that while en route to Herschel Island, the planes will swoop very low over both Running River and Shingle Point whaling camps. For Inuvik and Tuktoyaktuk elders, the issue was low level flying over Kugmallit Bay, East Whitefish Station and Hendrickson Island whaling camps. The threat of low level flying is greatest when a plane is chartered by "demanding" tourists (see Fig 11 for the major air charter and scheduled flight-paths). However, if a scheduled run is also filled with tourists, planes may also get too close to the camps and the hunters. Low level flying is considered by some respondents to affect the hunt by scaring away the beluga whales. Otherwise, it is seen as an unnecessary interruption during a busy day of *maktak* preparation. The Aklavik HTC took action against this occurrence in 1998 when it refused a tour operator's licence application due to previous unannounced disruptions to the Shingle Point whaling camp.

Community elders were also asked to what extent they perceived *current* nature-based tourism activity interferes with hunting. Again, Aklavik and Tuktoyaktuk elders agreed that they came into contact with tourists and tour operators fairly frequently. In Inuvik, however, such concerns were much lower. Inuvik elders also viewed nature-based tourism's *future* potential

to disrupt hunting activity as being low. They insisted that tourists and hunters each went their separate ways on the land. Some elders went even so far as to say that tourists should be allowed to watch subsistence hunting. The opinions of Tuktoyaktuk and Aklavik elders differed considerably from this. The majority agreed that nature-based tourism held considerable potential for disrupting hunting activity in the future. Most Tuktoyaktuk and Aklavik elders felt that there was considerable need for restrictions on visitors, while fewer Inuvik elders thought so. Overall, however, most elders felt that there was a greater need for restrictions on tourists.

A great majority of elders from Aklavik and Tuktoyaktuk felt that local "shore guardians" and nature-based tourism guides are key ingredients in deterring inappropriate tourist behaviour. In fact, over three-quarters of the elders stressed that the use of guides was an essential tourism management tool.

At East Whitefish Station, concerns common to those expressed by community elders surfaced. Three camp elders stressed that tourists only needed to introduce themselves properly in order to get a decent reception. One female elder commented that they would often bring tourists in for tea and "Eskimo" donuts. However, another elder maintained that although nature-based tourism might be good for jobs, it was also very disruptive during the hunt and whale processing. Elders also indicated that in the past year there have been fewer tourists visiting their camps. In comparison to more recent years, during the 1995 whaling season at Bird Camp, there were so many visitors out at the coast that an elder and his family could not carry out the whale hunt properly (see Fig 12). They were also worried for the safety of the tourists during this time.

At the Binder Camp, an interview with Richard Binder, IGC Resource Person, stressed that although cultural and ecotourism are ideal educational tools, hunting and whale watching are really two separate activities. He stated that:

"Tourism and whale hunting are and should be two separate activities - the two are not compatible in the same area. I don't disagree with tourism in the Delta --in fact I think that it is a really good thing for our people. But whale watching and other cultural activities should be further away from the shallow bay hunting areas. Just yesterday a plane circled around my camp and then later came out to me while I was whaling. I think that I may have lost my whale because of the plane's distraction from the hunt. The planes also scare the whales away" (*pers. comm.* July 1998).

During his stay at Tuktoyaktuk, the researcher talked to the very same group of tourists who flew low "to see the hunters in action". The visitors stated that the Inuvialuit beluga hunters had waved off their plane from the water (see Fig 11- 12). Despite the number of infractions, many elders stated that they, and most of the tour operators, are aware of the existing zoning and BSBMP Tourism Guidelines (see Appendix I).

Elders agreed that conflict could be best averted by word-of- mouth communication, and even by use of a "Trapper Radio." Often a misdeed is quickly communicated back to town. As the trapper radio is kept on open frequency, the location, time and offence can be communicated to others who may be closer, and even back to the DFO office in Inuvik.

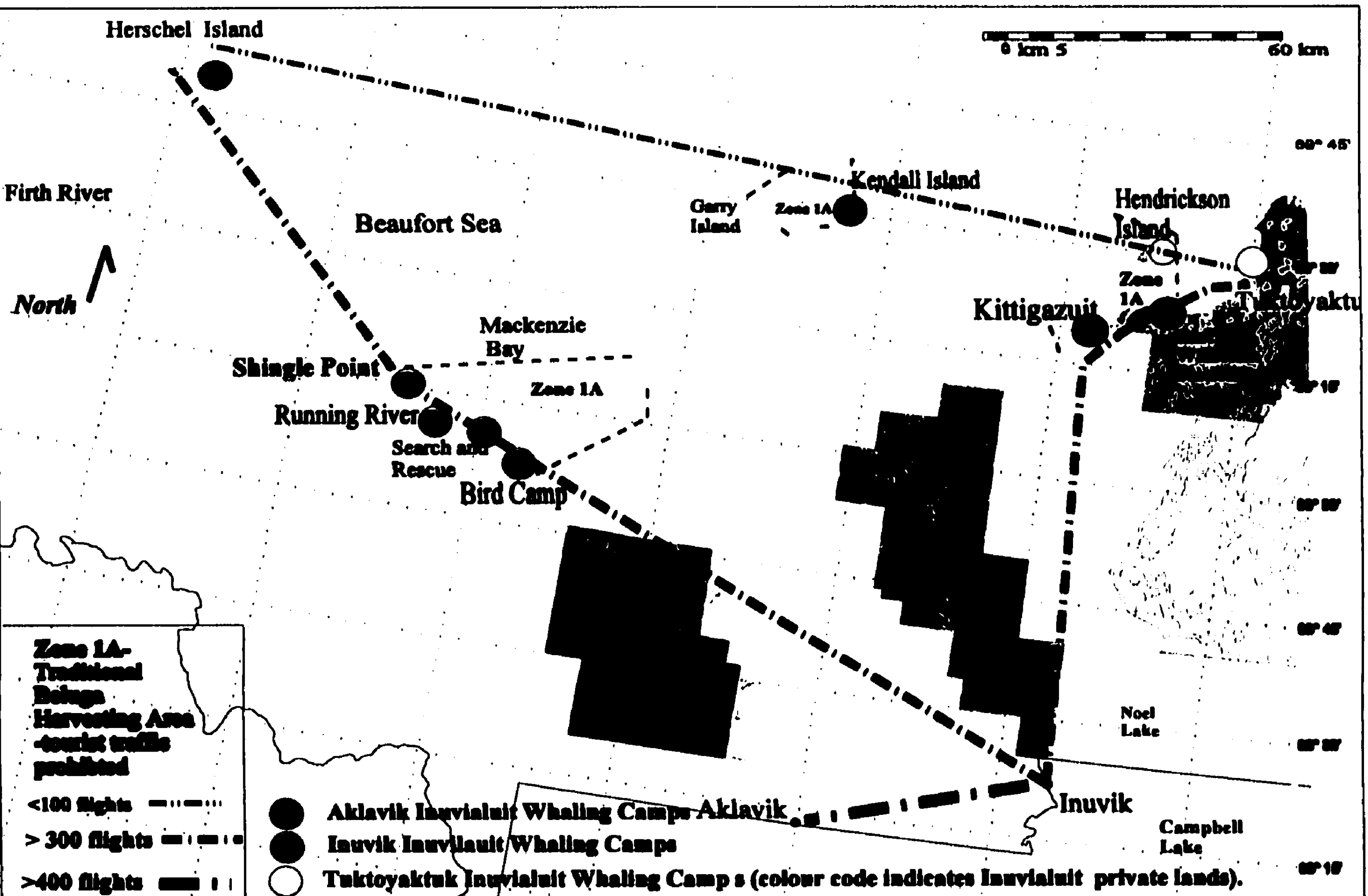

Figure 11: Chartered and Scheduled Flights Paths in Relation to Inuvialuit Whaling Camps

Flight Paths and Frequency Explanations:[24]

24 Flight frequency and paths are minimum estimates derived from weekly flight schedule information from two local airline companies and a tour operator purchase order form, which indicated chartered runs. Flight frequencies between Inuvik, Aklavik and Tuktoyaktuk are largely based on daily scheduled departures (seven days a week, roughly twice a day) from June 1st until August 31st, 1998. Conversely, routes between Tuktoyaktuk and Inuvik to Herschel Island are largely chartered flights. From Inuvik to Tuktoyaktuk, flight frequency represents a combination of chartered and scheduled flights. These dates are meant to correspond with the rise and fall of the tourism season in the Beaufort-Delta. All estimated departures are from Inuvik. Flight paths are not exact, and are only drawn to indicate approximate flight routes in relation to whaling camps. Colour variation by each Inuvialuit community indicates their private lands. Circles only indicate whale camp location, not size.

Total aircraft movements (departures and landings) in 1998 for Tuktoyaktuk are 4 272, of which 5% (193) may be "flight-seeing" tours (based on a minimum of 100 chartered flight departures for each of the three major tour brokers to Tuktoyaktuk (this is based on the tour operator purchase form) (Transport Canada, p. 93). Based on scheduled flights (rather than chartered), there was a minimum of 400 return flights passing between Inuvik and Aklavik. Total aircraft movement in 1998 for Aklavik was 1,831 flights (*ibid*, p. 83). Between the three tour brokers, perhaps 30 tourists travelled to Aklavik via chartered plane, representing approximately 8% of total flights between Aklavik and Inuvik, exclusively. Total aircraft movements to and from Inuvik in 1998 were 14, 869 (Transport Canada, p.34).

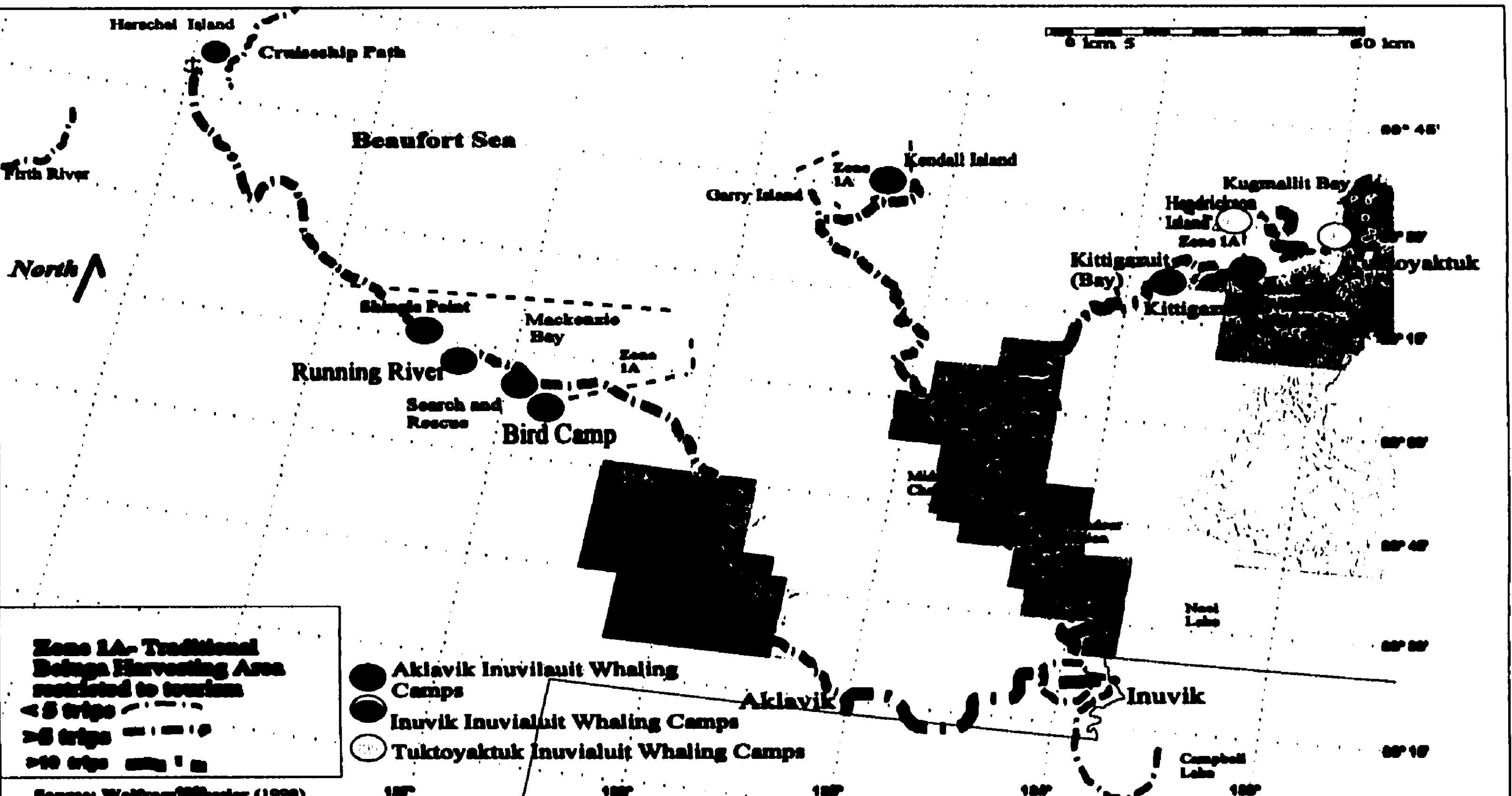

Figure 12: Tour Operator Water Routes[25] in Relation to Inuvialuit Whaling Camps

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Water route and frequency estimates are from tour operators themselves (drawn on topographic maps during the 1998 field season in Inuvik). Tour boat departures are from Aklavik, Inuvik and Tuktoyaktuk for June, July and August, 1998. Colour variation for each Inuvialuit community indicates their private lands. Circles only indicate whale camp location, not size.

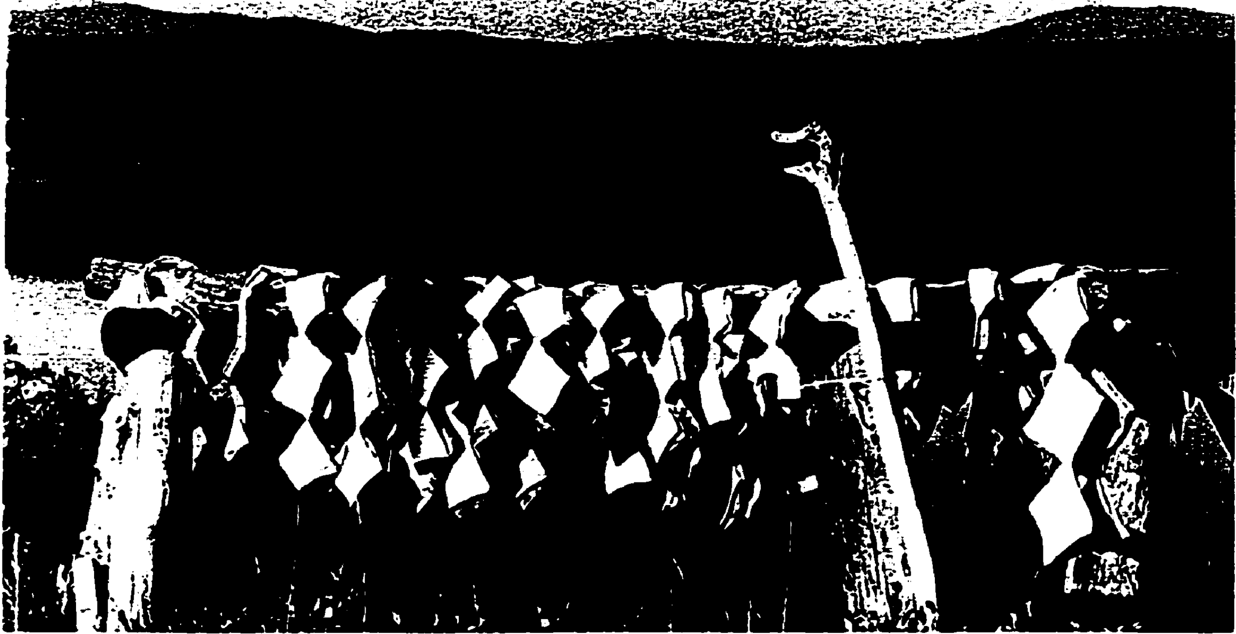

Plate 3: Maktak and Mipku Hang Drying at Bird Camp at the Mackenzie River's West Channel, June 30th, 1998

Plate 4: East White Fish Station Whaling Camp, July 6th, 1998

Plate 5: Killed Beluga Being Hauled Up on Land to Await Processing, Search and Rescue, June 30th, 1998

Plate 6: Beluga Whale After Processing, Bird Camp, June 30th, 1998

6.3 INUVIALUIT ELDER PERSPECTIVES ON THE ENVIRONMENTAL IMPACTS OF NATURE-BASED TOURISM DEVELOPMENT

The majority of elders agreed there was considerable growth of nature-based tourism in coastal areas. Most elders living in Inuvik and Aklavik agreed that it has progressively grown at the coast, and the vast majority of Tuktoyaktuk elders thought so as well. Elders from Aklavik and Tuktoyaktuk, largely because of their hunting locations, commented very accurately as to where and when nature-based tourism increases and consequent incidences occurred. For example, Tuktoyaktuk elders argued that with the departure of the oil and gas industry, many more organized tours and independent tourists arrived via the shallower waters of Kugmallit Bay. Tourists now travel farther away from Inuvik in order to view animals more easily.

Three quarters of the elders maintained that nature-based tourism did not affect marine mammals (beluga whales) at all. Most elders agreed that tourists would just look, watch and listen. Other elders also thought that if beluga whales could handle the more severe impacts of heavy industry, they could handle nature-based tourism too. As well, because smaller tour and hunting boats are faster than the whales, they stressed they would not be troubled since such boats would not be in any one area for too long. However, these elders were confident that tourists and tour operators were aware of the existing BSBMP Tourism Guidelines, and felt that they could be enforced. For instance, an Inuvik elder stated:

"I don't think that they have too much in the whaling camps now. Not that I know of anyway. I think that the laws out on the bay are really working"(pers. comm. June 1998).

For the remaining elders who felt nature-based tourism could harm the beluga whales, it was the noise of charter planes, the approach of the independent marine kayaker, and the noise of outboard motors (a.k.a "kickers") that scared the whales out of shallower waters (where hunting typically occurs) into deeper waters. One Inuvik elder commented that the beluga would stop and run with the approach of smaller tour boats. He maintained *"the beluga do run and they do stop — and they seem to be disturbed"*(Anonymous *pers comm.* June 1998). Similarly, an Inuvialuit man from Aklavik mentioned that during weekends, when boat traffic was heavier due to hunting, that it was more difficult than usual to harvest whales; again, he felt that it was the noise of "kickers" that disturbed the whales (Anonymous *pers. comm.* July, 1998). Thus, hunting boats as well as tour boats may harass beluga whales. Increases of marine kayakers, as well as low flying planes, encroaching upon coastal beluga habitats are qualified as it was largely Aklavik and Tuktoyaktuk elders who felt that nature-based tourism threatened the beluga. The majority of these respondents were either indirectly or directly involved in whaling and frequent the Beaufort Sea coast almost daily. The potential impact of larger vessels, such as cruise ships, disturbing bowhead whales (*Balaena mysticetus*) in deeper waters[26] was not mentioned. The majority of these respondents, as well as one hunter from Inuvik, are largely pessimistic about the efficacy of the BSBMP Tourism Guidelines. For example, an Aklavik elder suggested that:

"Most people don't follow the rules and enforcement is up to the HTC-- they could enforce the rules harder though because we have rights" (Anonymous. *pers. comm.* July 1998).

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See LGL Ecological Research Associates, Inc. (1983) Behaviour, Disturbance Responses and Distribution of Bowhead Whales *Balaena mysticetus* in the Eastern Beaufort Sea, 1982. November 1983 pp131-147

Overall, more than half of the elders agreed that nature-based tourism affected land animals significantly, and more so than it did beluga whales. Again, elders from Tuktoyaktuk and Aklavik stressed that land animals, such as caribou, Dall Sheep and geese would be most adversely affected. Slightly fewer than half of Inuvik elders also agreed to this. Most Tuktoyaktuk elders felt that tourists in charter planes, helicopter and kayaks posed the greatest threat to land animals, especially to geese and caribou. Two Tuktoyaktuk elders explained that on more than one occasion during the traditional spring goose hunt, large flocks of geese have been scared off by low-flying charter planes and helicopters. They perceive this to be not only bad for the geese[27], but also a waste of precious hunting time, as hunters wait hidden again for several hours for the birds to return.

One Tuktoyaktuk elder contended: *"It is really important for the tourists, because they are flying pretty low so that they can see the animals. Every spring the helicopters fly really low at the mouth of the river and on the same day 500-600 geese flew off at once and we were never able to hunt there for a while . . . I don't know which helicopter was there, but I know for sure it did it. I could see the chopper, but I couldn't see the licence number"* (Anonymous *pers. comm.* July 1998).

Hines and Wiebe (1998) also conclude that low over-flights by tourist charters may disrupt the Inuvialuit goose hunt considerably.

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Hines, J. and Wiebe, M. (1998) Recommended Minimum Altitudes for Aircraft Flying near Birds in the Inuvialuit Settlement Region. Canadian Wildlife Service Prepared for the WMAC NWT and EISC. *Unpublished Research Report*

Table 10: Collective Inuvialuit Elder Perspectives of Environmental Issues Regarding Nature-based Tourism Development

N=30	Yes (%)	No (%)
Tourism has increased on the coast	73	27
Tourism has harmed marine mammals	27	73
Tourism has affected land animals	57	43
Tourism has affected the land	20	80

Elders from Aklavik and Tuktoyaktuk felt that noise from low flying planes quickly drive caribou into a running panic. They claimed that such occurrences are most evident on the Yukon North Slope and Herschel Island (Anonymous *pers. comm.* Aklavik, Tuktoyaktuk, June and July 1998)(see Carriere (1998))[28]. Adventure travelers, generally with their own modes of transportation, are also known to camp on the shore of Herschel Island and on the Tuktoyaktuk town coast, inadvertently disturbing nesting shore birds and their eggs (Anonymous, *pers comm.* July 1998). Talarico and Mossop's (1988) study also found there to be significant disruption to shore breeding birds from hikers and kayakers camping along the banks of the Firth River and Herschel Island.

Although nature-based tourism is perceived to increasingly stress terrestrial and marine mammals, elders also contended that very few tourists, except for sport hunters with guides, ventured out onto the land near animals. For them, tourists posed as no direct threat to animals. The reason for this, they argued, is due to cultural community tours concentrating visitors in

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See Carriere, D. (1998) Summary Report on Recommended Minimum Ferry Flight Elevation and Survey Flight Elevation for Subsonic Aircraft Flying over Caribou and Muskoxen in the Inuvialuit Settlement Region. Canadian Wildlife Service. Prepared forWMAC NWT and EISC. Unpublished Research Report

town. Furthermore, without an All Terrain Vehicle (ATV), or any other important transport means, access to land animals is very difficult in the summer. Indeed, the majority of community residents must travel very far and be very patient in order to capture an animal. As one elder from Inuvik said:

"I don't think that tourism will harm the caribou, because sometimes we have to go so far because it is so hard to find animals. Sometimes it is a good catch, sometimes you don't" (pers. comm. Inuvik, June, 1998).

Other elders contended, however, there were not enough tourists in general (and out on the land) to be able to disturb wildlife in more remote areas. For these reasons, the vast majority of elders did not think nature-based tourism could in anyway adversely affect the land. Inuvialuit elders did contend that if tourism does continue to increase, that it may harm the land and its animals.

6.4 Summary

The Inuvialuit have mixed feelings toward the development of nature-based tourism in and around their communities. Although most stressed it was one of the only stable and readily accessible employment options, others maintained that its benefits do not always outweigh its costs. Inuvialuit elders argued that tourism's economic benefits must become more equally distributed among their people. Most felt that it was only those individuals directly involved in tourism (i.e., carvers and guides) who benefitted, while other residents experienced little or no economic gain. Overall, however, the vast majority of Inuvialuit elders strongly agreed that economic benefits arose from nature-based tourism development. Inuvialuit are strong proponents of nature-based tourism for several reasons: 1) it increased cultural exchange

while practicing bush skills, 2) it provided a cash supplement for subsistence activities, and 3) there was potential for it to reintroduce bush skills to the younger Inuvialuit population.

Still, strong concerns emerged regarding the fear of tourists misrepresenting Inuvialuit culture and social conditions, especially by tourists with environmentalist predispositions. To hinder tourists misrepresenting their culture, Inuvialuit elders contended that they themselves should control the number of tourists coming into their community. Inuvialuit elders endeavored to strike a balance between tourism's positive economic impacts and growth potential, and tourists' inquisitiveness, consumption of resources, and presence/ disturbance in traditionally significant hunting areas. Perhaps most important, however, is that elders emphasized that tourists and tour operators in low-flying charter planes, tour boats, and kayaks harassed (or held the potential to harass) many land animals and to a lesser degree, beluga whales.

The next chapter examines the potential impacts of tourists and tour operators on Inuvialuit culture, local economy and ecology, and discusses whether these stakeholders share the Inuvialuit desire to learn about and respect another culture and ecology.

CHAPTER 7: THE PERSPECTIVES OF NATURE-BASED TOURISTS ON THE SUSTAINABILITY OF NATURE-BASED TOURISM

Tourists' motivations direct their perspectives and behaviour, and may determine the degree of cultural, economic and environmental impacts that they have on a host region (Grekin, 1994; Mathieson and Wall, 1982). Part of the motivations of nature-based tourists includes high degrees of mobility and intellectual inquisitiveness, as previously discussed, but other factors are important to consider. Accordingly, by examining the interests of a segment of the Beaufort-Delta's tourist population, this chapter explores tourist perceptions of and interactions with the Inuvialuit, and the implications that arise. It also explores the relationships between visitor motives, spending habits and environmental stewardship during and after their tour experience. In each case, the cultural, environmental and economic benefits and costs of visitor impacts are considered, with the goal of sustainability in mind.

Visitor perspectives on the impacts of nature-based tourism were collected through the use of a structured questionnaire survey. Of 325 questionnaires handed out, 206 were returned. However, only those tourists participating in land (n=100), air (n=29), and water (n=42) tours (N= 171) were considered. This gave an effective response rate of 53%. Question #15 revealed those tourists who participated in tours. By way of a convenience sample, questionnaires were personally delivered by the researcher to tourists in Inuvik. This is largely because Inuvik is the staging point for nearly all tours in the Beaufort-Delta region. Some questionnaires were left at the Parks Canada office in Inuvik and the visitor reception centre at Herschel Island. Questionnaire distribution took place between July and August 1998. Questions are broken down into three response sections dealing with socio-cultural, economic and environmental variables. Due to the awkward wording of some questions, responses should be taken with lower degrees of reliability/validity. Rather than rating responses, a consistent Yes/No response would have been more appropriate (see Appendix I for Q #8, #11 and #12). Despite

results being statistically insignificant, they do indicate general trends in tourist perspectives on economic, ecological and cultural impacts in the Beaufort-Delta region.

7. 1 Tourism Motives

Fodness (1994) and Wight (1996) argue that for tourism managers to understand the reasons behind tourist behaviour it is necessary to consider tourist motivations. To explore what factors may have enticed tourists to come to the Beaufort-Delta region, using a 5-point rating scale (with 1 equaling very important and 5 equaling of very little importance) tourists were asked what local services and activities they felt to be most important for their trip. The majority of respondents at 63% (107), considered local wildlife and scenery to be the most important feature for their trip, and none felt them to be insignificant. Next to wildlife and scenery, the existence of Inuit people and culture was the second most important consideration for their trip at 61% (103), with historical aspects and learning traditional knowledge rated third and fourth as being very important at 51% (87) and 50% (82), respectively. Fewer tourists felt that arts and handicrafts and country foods were very important at 34% (57) and 31% (53), respectively. As shown in chapter 2, the 1994 NWT Visitor Exit Survey reveals that the Beaufort-Delta tourist population has similar interests in local ecology and culture to those surveyed in this study.

Table 11: Tourist Perspectives on the Importance of Natural and Cultural Services and Activities for their Trip

Q9(a) Importance of: (N=171)	Very Important (1)		Important (2)		Moderate Importance (3)		Little Importance (4)		Very Little Importance (5)	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
Inuit People/ Culture (N=169)	103	61%	50	29%	16	10%	0	0	0	0
Learning traditional knowledge (N=168)	82	50%	52	30%	31	18%	3	2%	0	0
Arts and handicrafts (N=167)	57	34%	60	36%	38	23%	8	5%	4	2%
Country foods (N=171)	53	31%	64	37.4%	34	20%	16	9.4%	4	2.3%
Historic aspects (N=171)	87	51%	57	33.3%	18	10.5%	7	4%	2	1.2%
Wildlife and scenery (N=169)	107	63%	51	30%	10	6%	1	0.7%	0	0

(n- number of mentions, % -percentage of response).

7.2 PERSPECTIVES OF NATURE-BASED TOURISTS ON THE CULTURAL IMPACTS OF NATURE-BASED TOURISM

7.2.1 Host-guest Relationships and their Cultural Implications: Potential Benefits

The previous results indicate that the surveyed tourists may come to the Beaufort-Delta region for two reasons: local environment and Inuvialuit culture. Once visitors arrive they are drawn to the unique attractions and activities associated with Inuvialuit culture and ecology; invariably, however, tourists will have an impact on them. Scholars point out that to determine the type and level of cultural impact, it becomes necessary to ascertain how visitors themselves perceive and engage with a local culture (Smith, 1989; Pi-Sunyer, 1989). In this section, various survey questions set out to explore this query.

The majority of visitors at 70.2% (120) replied that it was very important to them to see different cultures, while fewer at 24.5% (42) thought it was important. Seventy-nine percent (126) of visitors felt that nature-based tourism was either a very important or an important means of encouraging cultural activities among the Inuvialuit, as many of the Inuvialuit elders commented themselves. Hence, these visitors may see their experience in the Beaufort-Delta as not just an everyday vacation, but rather as an opportunity to make a difference in the lives of the host population. Many visitors did indeed show concern about perceived conditions in the Beaufort-Delta region. For example, one visitor from Michigan commented that "*we should stop the animal rights activists from running peoples' way of life in the north.*"

The idea of nature-based tourism encouraging cultural exchange between host and guest was also considered to be fairly important among visitors. Sixty-four percent (110) of visitors felt that it was either a very important or an important means of increasing cross-cultural understandings. This figure, however, is lower than the aforementioned responses, and may

indicate that many tourists are still apprehensive about communicating with locals, perhaps feeling that the cultural differences between themselves and the Inuvialuit are too great. In spite of this, comments from those individuals who agreed that cultural exchange did occur and that it was mutually beneficial, were fairly frequent. For example, one visitor commented:

"As most Canadians I am concerned about native communities all over the world. I don't believe areas of cultural exchange will ever be without casualty, but I am happy to know people are still talking and learning to establish some truths about both cultures where they meet and also where they stay removed in traditional means."

Table 12: Tourist Perspectives on the Importance of Nature-based Tourism's Benefits on Inuvialuit Culture

Q11 (a)(b)(c) How important is the following to you (N=171):	Very Important (1)		Important (2)		Moderate Importance (3)		Little Impor-tance (4)		Very Little Impor-tance (5)	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
Seeing different cultures? (N=170)	120	70%	42	24.5%	7	4.1%	1	0.6%	1	0.6%
Tourism encourages a variety of cultural activities ? (N=160)	61	38%	65	41%	28	17.5%	3	2%	3	2%
Your visit facilitated cultural exchange? (N=171)	54	31.6%	56	32.7%	46	26.9%	12	7.0%	3	1.8%

(n- number of mentions, % -percentage of response).

Almost three-quarters of the surveyed visitors felt it was important that locals were being friendly and hospitable, and 93% of respondents felt that locals were indeed friendly. Such pleasantness from the Inuvialuit towards tourists may, however, only be superficial. Being friendly to a visitor may simply be outward politeness with bitter feelings still contained, or it may just be a polite mannerism expressed to improve customer relations for the purposes of tourism. Studies looking at host-guest interrelationships show that as interaction grows between each group, animosity may often grow among the host population (see Pizam, 1978; Liu and Var, 1986). This suggests that local resentment of visitors may be expressed as a lack of friendliness and hospitality, thereby being an indicator of cultural stress. The perspectives of Inuvialuit elders did reveal local resentment towards certain types of tourist behaviour. This was delineated well under Doxey's (1979) model in chapter 6.

Table 13: The Importance of Locals Being Friendly and Hospitable to You

Q11(d) How important is the following to you (N=171):	Very Important (1)		Impor-tant (2)		Moderate Impor-tance (3)		Little Impor-tance (4)		Very Little Impor-tance (5)		Did They?	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	Y	N
You felt that locals were friendly and hospitable to you.	118	69 %	39	23%	6	3.5%	5	3%	3	1.8%	93.6%	4%

(n- number of mentions, % -percentage of response).

Studies also show that on many occasions, visitor understanding of the host culture is rather limited, and that consequently, the host group reads this as a sign of insensitivity, or even preferred ignorance (Liu and Var, 1986; Liu *et al.* 1987). Two types of situations involving

cultural conflict and misinterpretation may lead to unpleasant situations in the Arctic: the romanticization and the intolerance of the Inuvialuit way of life. Findings show that on occasion, tourists did indeed portray the Inuvialuit in a light that perceives them to be an "exotic other". To illustrate, of the 120 visitors who took photos of the Inuvialuit, 62% said they were very interested in Inuit people and culture. Van den Berghe and Keyes (1984) argue that this process can lead to the objectification of local people. The basic necessity, or commodity, of cultural tourism becomes a local's perceived exoticism. Southerners use prejudiced ideas about "natives" and observe them as a living spectacle "to be scrutinized, photographed [and] tape-recorded"(*ibid.*, p. 3). In essence, the tourist wants to witness what Van den Berghe and Keyes (1984) call the "unspoilt native".

Various comments obtained from this study's questionnaire show that many visitors view their relationship with the Inuvialuit as asymmetrical. For example, a visitor from Michigan commented:

"The natives were the friendliest we have ever met - --even the dogs are well behaved and friendly . . . It appears that the Canadian tax dollar is working hard in this region., I hope we're making a difference up here."

Advertisements in tour operator brochures may also exacerbate tourists' stereotypes. For instance in one brochure an owner writes that it is possible to spend 2 days at a whaling camp with an "authentic" aboriginal guide.

An overwhelming 71% of respondents said that they had taken photographs of local residents, and 35.5% (59) of visitors stated that they had taken photos of harvesting activity. Not only does this support Inuvialuit elders' fears regarding cultural misrepresentation through photos by visitors, it also shows that visitors are still "interfering" with subsistence activities. The majority of photos taken by tourists of Inuvialuit were in Tuktoyaktuk, with 62.5% of

visitors doing so. This comes as no surprise since 65.5% (112 of 170) of those travellers surveyed went to Tuktoyaktuk, and four of these tourists observed subsistence activities at the East Whitefish Station whaling camp en route to Tuktoyaktuk. Only five respondents visited Aklavik, and apparently no one took photos of residents there. The whaling camps of Running River, Shingle Point, and Herschel Island were also visited. However, only 11% (19 of 171) felt that they actually had a real encounter with Inuit hunting.

Table 14: Location of Photography and Whaling Camp Visits

(A) Q11cont. (N=171)	**Aklavik Trip**	**Inuvik-Tuktoyaktuk Trip**	**Tuktoyaktuk Trip**	**Inuvik-Herschel Island Trip**	**No Answer**
Where did you take photos of local residents?	0	76 (44.4%)	31 (18.1%)	13 (7.6%)	51(30%)
(B)	**East Whitefish Station**	**Herschel Island**[29]	**Running River**	**Running River and Shingle Point**	
What whaling camp did you visit?	4(2.3%)	6(3.5%)	1(.06%)	2(1.2%)	158 (92.3%)

To conclude, because of objections to social conditions, hunting and trapping, visitor misunderstanding and resentment is often accentuated in Arctic regions. Several visitors' responses delineate this well. One Canadian visitor in Inuvik stated:

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Refers to whaling activity around Herschel Island (questionnaires were left at Herschel Island). In most cases the whaling camps have been visited by boat, sea kayak, or float plane. However, respondents may have interpreted this question as seeing a whaling camp from the air as well.

"This is a depressing place to be --at least in summer--the native population seems like a lost people --hopeless and drifting drug and alcohol dependent --dispirited--I sensed an underlying hostility from them, I was lied to and cheated to and felt in a way like I was in New York City. Some people were very friendly, very nice, usually they were not natives. I really wonder if tourism will ever work here--or if it should."

Another tourist in Inuvik contended:

"The campground was full of drunks this year — one walked in on me while I was taking a shower, one camper had a broken window. Inuvik was much dirtier than it was two years ago — there is way too much litter around.

By no means can these comments be used to generalize upon the entire visitor population. They do, however, typify some unfortunate, and rather extreme and biased views by tourists toward indigenous peoples' social conditions in the Beaufort-Delta region.

Table 15: Percentages of Tourists Taking Photographs of Residents and Harvesting Activity

Q11(g)(h)(i)	YES		NO	
	n	%	n	%
Did you take any photos of local residents? (N=169)	120	71%	49	29%
Did you photograph any hunting (harvesting) activity?[30](N=165)	59	35.5%	106	64.5%
Did you (will you) visit a whale hunting camp?(N=171)	13	7.6%	159	92.4%

(n- number of mentions, % -percentage of response).

30 Includes all forms of harvesting (i.e., beluga whale, caribou, and fishing). Location of photography of harvesting activity not specifically specified by respondents. However, most photographs were taken in the inner Mackenzie Delta, Kugmallit Bay, and Tuktoyaktuk.

7.2.2 Visitors' Overall Perception of Community Life

To determine how visitors' previous understandings of northern life govern their attitudes toward the Inuvialuit and their communities, following Grekin (1994), respondents were asked if their previous expectations matched their trip experiences. First, the questionnaire asked visitors how they had expected the northern communities to look. Since this includes Aklavik, Tuktoyaktuk, and Inuvik these results should be seen as *overall* perspectives/impressions, which are most likely to be influenced by the atmosphere of Tuktoyaktuk and Aklavik. Many respondents at 45.3% (77) felt that the northern communities looked as they had anticipated, while 38.2% (65) felt they were more modern than they had initially thought. Such a realization may be attributed to visitors' initial impressions of Inuvik's modern infrastructure. In terms of dress, the majority of visitors at 67% (113) felt they already knew what to expect from Inuvialuit dress. In both cases, one can conclude that visitors may have already appreciated the fact that most Inuvialuit dress in a way similar to themselves. However, 9% (15) of visitors felt that Inuvialuit dress was more traditional than anticipated.

Similar responses surfaced when visitors answered questions regarding their expectations toward Inuvialuit subsistence activities. Over half felt that hunting methods and technology were as they had initially predicted, while 52.4% (89) felt that life on the land was as anticipated. Despite this, 17.6% (29) agreed that hunting methods/ technology was more modern than they had initially anticipated. Furthermore, 21.2% (36) perceived Inuvialuit land-life to be more modern than anticipated; even higher, 34% (57) of visitors agreed that Inuvialuit possession of western goods was more modern than anticipated (see Table 16). This suggests, as Fennell and Malloy (1998, p. 53) discuss, that even the "principled ecotourism culture" misses out on the fact that culture and the means to maintain it are not static. The degree to which a visitor's new understanding of Inuvialuit life may be used to criticize their subsistence

activities remains to be seen. Wenzel (1991, p. 8) notes, however, that new assumptions made by outsiders upon the Inuit have historically moved from stereotypes of romantic ecological stewards, to the exact opposite of Inuit "knowingly and willingly" degrading their own resource-base.

Finally, visitors were asked how they felt about the authenticity of local arts and crafts. Most visitors at 65.9% (112), found the authenticity of local arts and crafts to be as they initially thought them to be. This response comes as no surprise since many of the visitors who had been surveyed arrived to participate in the annual Great Northern Arts Festival. As these visitors may be more aware of the development of the Inuit arts and craft industry, they may also be more likely to appreciate the difference between locally produced art and imported "kitch". Overall, the sampled tourists had many of their preconceptions of local community life and culture validated upon arrival. This may be partly because indigenous peoples' cultural and economic conditions are slowly becoming better known throughout the world.

Table 16: Rating of Tourists' Trip Expectations[31]

Rating of Tourists' Trip Expectations (N=171)	Not At All As Anticipated		As Anticipated		More Modern Than Anticipated		More Traditional Than Anticipated	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	%	%
How the town looked (N=169)	15	8.8%	77	45.3%	65	38.2%	12	7.1%
How the people looked (dress) (N=168)	8	5%	113	67%	32	19%	15	9%
Hunting methods/tech-nology (N=165)	20	12%	89	54 %	27	16.4%	29	17.6%
Life on the land (N=170)	10	5.9%	89	52.4%	36	21.2%	35	20.6%
Possession of western goods (N=168)	3	1.8%	88	52.4%	57	33.9%	20	11.9%
Authenticity of arts and crafts (N=170)	2	1.2%	112	65.9%	27	15.9%	29	17%

(n- number of mentions, % -percentage of response).

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Does not take into account repeat or first-time visitors. Repeat visitors may have already determined their trip expectations before arrival, whereas first-time visitors may have had trip expectations shaped during their stay. Results should, therefore, only be seen as an overall picture of tourist trip expectations. It should also be noted that not all tourists will perceive the superficiality or authenticity of a situation.

7.2.3 The Tour Operator and Cross-Cultural Understandings

Often a visitor's cultural impact in a host region is determined by the information provided by a travel agent or tour operator. The expectations and images as presented by various information sources help to define a tourist's perception of an area and of the Inuvialuit (King and Stewart, 1996). For example, an advertisement for the arts and crafts market by Economic Development and Tourism (1989, p42)[32], portrays the Inuit and the Arctic in a romantic and sentimental way:

"In this kingdom of the North Wind, art... is an expression of the dauntless spirit of the people who have made this Arctic world their home".

The importance of tour agencies and operators in assisting and encouraging the nature-based tourist to respect and appreciate Inuvialuit heritage is often missed. For example, one Canadian visitor felt that his tour operator did not provide enough information about the region. He stressed:

"Though we are a group of 8, which can be very troubling sometimes, everyone we met in the NWT was very friendly, kind and helpful —which is very important when it turns up that the homely travel agent made several faults concerning us and the locals here".

In contrast, when asked whether tour operators did their job in assisting and encouraging visitors to respect and appreciate Inuvialuit heritage and culture, 83% replied in the affirmative, and roughly the same number felt that it was very important and important to do so. Seventy-nine percent of respondents also agreed that it was either very important or important that literature on Inuvialuit culture be given to them. In fact, 67 % (115) of visitors stated that they were given literature on Inuvialuit culture. From the visitors' perspective, this shows that tour operators are making an effort to reduce cross-cultural gaps between aboriginal and non-aboriginal peoples.

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[32] See NWT Economic Development and Tourism (1989) "Journeys of the Spirit" Up Here Sept/Oct:42

7.3 THE PERSPECTIVES OF THE NATURE-BASED TOURIST ON THE ECONOMIC IMPACTS OF NATURE-BASED TOURISM

Anecdotally, this section explores how the motives of the surveyed nature-based tourists may influence their choice of purchases in the Beaufort-Delta region. By comparing tourist expenditure in each community, it is hoped to reveal which local economic sectors are most influenced by tourist expenditure. Generally, following Grekin (1994)[33], visitor total trip costs (from departure point to destination point) are considered and broken down by direct expenditure in the Beaufort-Delta, Inuvik, Aklavik and Tuktoyaktuk. All expenditure is based on Canadian currency.

7.3.1 A Breakdown of Trip Expenditure per Settlement.

During the peak of the 1998 tourism season, total trip expenditure from 151 of 171 tourists surveyed equaled an estimated $406, 798.00. Of this amount, roughly $105, 793.00 was spent in the Beaufort-Delta region. This indicates a four to one ratio between outside and local spending; perhaps indicating that tourists spend much more money trying to reach the Beaufort-Delta than they actually spend within the communities. After spending large amounts of money, however, tourists may feel less inclined to spend money locally. Nevertheless, Downie (1993, p. 60) suggests reasons for such high overall expenditure levels for so few tourists. He claims that visitors coming to the Arctic, apart from being financially well endowed, usually make a sizable economic contribution through a high level of local expenditure per visit. Thus, fewer tourists who are financially well-off have the potential to contribute significantly to local economies in the north, often without the environmental stress imposed by more tourists.

[33] Questions 12, 14, 15 ,16 of survey adapted from Grekin (1994).

However, the amount of tourist expenditure varies tremendously in the Beaufort-Delta, and this is certainly the case between Aklavik, Tuktoyaktuk and Inuvik. In Inuvik, total estimated visitor expenditure was $60, 308, while in Tuktoyaktuk and Aklavik it was $35,068 and $1210.09, respectively. Reasons for such disparities may be due to poor accessibility and a lack of infrastructure in the latter two communities (Liu, 1993)[34]. However, because Inuvik is the terminus of the Dempster Highway, nearly all visitors end up there to eventually go on other tours. In addition, the extensive tourism infrastructure (i.e., the businesses and smaller enterprises) of Inuvik most likely captures the most tourist expenditure. At one point or another nearly all visitors spent money in Inuvik. However, many nature-based tours also occur in Tuktoyaktuk, although the physical infrastructure is less elaborate than in Inuvik. An estimated total of $35,068 was spent by visitors in Tuktoyaktuk. The number of visitors coming to Aklavik remains low, with only five tourists having travelled there. The poor tourism infrastructure in Aklavik, in terms of a built and marketing environment, may be the reason for such poor visitation. This is surprising since Aklavik is much closer to Inuvik than Tuktoyaktuk, making the cost of getting there negligible in comparison.

It is important to note, however, that since visitors are capable of multiple expenditure, and since expenditures are only estimates, obtaining the exact proportion of spending, other than for larger purchases such as on tours (where the exact tour prices were known), becomes rather difficult.

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For a more detailed discussion see Liu, Z. (1993) paper presented at the International Conference on Sustainable Tourism Development in Islands and Small States, Malta, November

While roughly one quarter (of 171) of the visitors only stayed between 3 and 4 days, exactly half desired to stay more than 7 days within the Beaufort-Delta. This suggests that many tourists may be interested in spending more time and therefore money in the region. Thus, if the number of activities for tourists is expanded, the potential for longer stays and more expenditure may increase.

Table 17: Breakdown of Tourist Trip Expenditure

Breakdown of Trip Expenditure (Exp.) (CDN $)[35]	**Average Exp.**	**Total Exp.**
Total Trip Cost (N=154)[36]	$2641.54	$ 406,798.00
Exp. in the Beaufort-Delta region. (N=152)	$696.07	$ 105, 793.00
Exp. in Aklavik (N=5)[37]	$362.00	$1, 210.00
Exp. in Tuktoyaktuk (N=112)	$2,677.4	$35, 068
Exp. in Inuvik (N=171)	$2,934.6	$60, 308
Total Estimated Community Expenditure	**$ 96, 586**	

Although the positive economic benefits of tourism do not always go directly to the host population (because of economic leakages), the production of goods and services with local resources will most likely ensure that economic benefits are retained locally (Harris, 1997). In fact, the Inuvialuit may rely more heavily on certain types of tourism activities than others to help accrue economic and cultural benefits.

35

Based on visitor estimates only; thus, total trip expenditure, total tourist expenditure in the Beaufort-Delta region, and expenditure per community does not add up.

36

Based on visitor estimates only; expenditures encompass total trip costs and **do not** reflect break down of individual tourists expenditure in communities (e.g., exp. on round trip flights, accommodations, etc.,). Additions made by tourists between overall expenditure and individual expenditure on various goods and services in communities often did not match and therefore cannot be reliably compared.

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To provide a more reliable picture, the results of overall estimated visitor expenditures in communities have been substituted total visitor expenditure on individual goods and services in each community.

7.3.2 Cultural Interests and Purchases and Their Implications on the Local Economy

7.3.2.1 Soap Stone Carvings, Inuit Prints, Paintings and Handicrafts

Tourist expenditures on handicrafts and soap stone carvings were the highest among all cultural items sold. Handicrafts such as bead work and wall-hangings were purchased in Tuktoyaktuk and Inuvik for a total of $1,387.00 and $4,933.00, respectively. The mean expenditure on handicrafts was $63.45 (at 21 purchases) in Tuktoyaktuk and $120.31 (at 41 purchases) in Inuvik. Second to this, a total of $1,000 and $4,869 was spent on soap stone carvings in Tuktoyaktuk and Inuvik, respectively; with a mean expenditure of $142.85 (7 purchases) and $162.30 (30 individual purchases) in each community. Furthermore, visitor expenditures on Inuit prints and paintings were also sizeable in Inuvik at $3,898 (22 purchases, with a mean purchase of $177.18), while being considerably lower in Tuktoyaktuk at $30.00 total (2 purchases, with a mean purchase of $15.00). Jewelry was purchased only in Inuvik at a total of $1,308.00. Among those visitors surveyed, no one had purchased arts and crafts in Aklavik.

These numbers suggest that arts and crafts purchases may provide a significant economic contribution to Inuvialuit living in Tuktoyaktuk and Inuvik. Since most Inuvialuit art can be classified as a "high end" value-added product, many of the more prominent artists are able to sell pieces anywhere between $3,000-$5,000. Thus, local artisans can earn considerable sums of money from few individual arts and crafts purchases. Inuvialuit also see the production of smaller arts and crafts pieces to be valuable. They argued that smaller soapstone carvings are more appealing to tourists because they are cheaper and more portable than most larger carvings. Evidence for this may be seen through a relatively lower arts and crafts expenditure of about $122.00. The Inuvialuit often sell their art in local hotel lobbies, craft shops, tour company houses, and local carving cooperatives.

Tourists who are interested in Inuit culture are also likely to stay longer within communities, perhaps to make additional art purchases from Inuvialuit artists directly (Milne *et al.*, 1994, p.31). Thus, the economic benefits from direct art purchases are thought to be retained within communities, as profits are returned directly to the artisan. Similarly, physical infrastructure requirements and exploitation of natural resource remains low, while use of local resources is high, thereby limiting economic leakages. Art and craft production can perpetuate apprentice programmes too, especially since the start-up cost is fairly low (*ibid.*).

There are, however, threats to this relationship. In Inuvik, many stores sell imitation Inuit art at much lower prices. Some stores have also been known to import art from the eastern Arctic, rather than purchasing art from the Inuvialuit themselves. Moreover, one local feels that the local municipalities do not pay enough attention to non-aboriginal artists. The owner of the local Fur Shop (today the local arts and crafts shop) in Tuktoyaktuk also suggests that direct sales to tourists, and even to southern clients, are not enough to make ends meet. She maintained that social services are still needed in order to help feed her children.

Table 18: Breakdown of Tourist Expenditure in Inuvik, Aklavik and Tuktoyaktuk

Q 15	Aklavik (n=5)		Tuktoyaktuk (n=112)		Inuvik (n=171)[38]		
Expenditure	Mean	Total	Mean	Total	Mean	Total	Grand Total
Soap Stone Carvings	0	0	$142.85	$1000	$162.30	$4869.00	$5,869
Inuit Prints and Paintings	0	0	$15.00	$30.00	$177.18	$3898.00	$3,928
Handicrafts	0	0	$63.45	1387.00	$120.31	$4933.00	$6,320
Jewelry	0	0	0	0	$65.00	$1308.00	$1,308
Clothing	0	0	$16.50	$33.00	$83.65	$3764.00	$3,797
Motel	0	0	$200.00	$400.00	$258.00	$3358.00	$3,758
Campground	$32.00	$160.00	$25.00	$50.00	$44.16	$4902.00	$5,112
Bed and Breakfast	0	0	$180.00	$360.00	$251.00	$2510.00	$2.870
Air Charter Tours N=29	0	0	$304.00	$3655.00 N=12	$530.00	$9024.00 N=17	$12,679
Water Tours N=42	$200.00	$800.00 N=4	$1438.00	$8630.00 N=6	$164.00	$5355.00 N=32	$14.785
Land Tours N=100	$100.00	$100.00 N=1	$238.00	$19 279.00 N=81	$344.00	$6196.00 N=18	$25,575
Local Transport	0	0	0	0	$574.00	$1149.00	$1,149
Groceries	$30.00	$150.00	$47.10	$237.00	$72.14	$7719.00	$8,106
Restaurants	0	0	$7.50	$7.50	$88.91	$1323.00	$1,330
TOTAL:	**$362.0**	**$1210.00**	**$2677.4**	**$35,068**	**$2934.6**	**$60,308**	**$96,586**

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Since Inuvik is the staging point for nearly all tours going to Aklavik and Tuktoyaktuk, most tourists had to pass through Inuvik at least once. Tourist purchases are estimates only. Moreover, because tourist expenditure may be based on more than one individual purchase, average expenditures do not necessarily total overall community visitor counts.

7.3.3 The Built Environment: Accommodations and Nature-based Tours

Motels, campgrounds, and bed and breakfasts are the three most common types of accommodation in Inuvik, Tuktoyaktuk and Aklavik. Among all types of accommodation, campgrounds were the most heavily used by the surveyed travellers. In Inuvik, 64% of (110 out of 171) visitors used local camping facilities (spending $4802), and in Tuktoyaktuk and Aklavik, only 2 and 5 visitors used them, spending $160 and $50, respectively. The reason for such high usage of camping facilities is because they easily accommodate those tourists travelling by recreational vehicle. Once recreational vehicles come in off of the dirty Dempster Highway, they are able to re-fuel and clean their vehicles with electricity and water from outlets located at the "campsite". Campgrounds are also the cheapest form of accommodation in all three communities, averaging between roughly $30 and $50 per night. In contrast, the region's motels are considerably more expensive costing upwards of $200 per night. Visitor expenditure for motels was $3,358 in Inuvik, $400 in Tuktoyaktuk, and zero in Aklavik. Currently, only one hotel, the Pingo Park Lodge in Tuktoyaktuk, is co-operatively owned. Hotel management is done by the board members of the Tuktoyaktuk Development Corporation (TDC). This serves to be a useful arrangement in incorporating Inuvialuit decision-making into hotel management.

It is generally the mainstream nature-based tourist that seeks out accommodations which are more comfortable, such as motels and recreational vehicles; while the dedicated nature-based tourist would be attracted to a more "rugged setting" such as a cottage, cabin or tent (Lindberg, 1991; Brandon, 1996: Lindberg and Huber, 1996). Consequently, exploitation of natural and cultural resources is likely to be higher by the mainstream nature-based tourist. Such a tourist often demands energy intensive southern luxuries while in town and out on a tour.

Thus, the level of tourism development in the Beaufort-Delta may be between the involvement and development stages of Butler's (1980) tourism area life-cycle; at this point, if mainstream nature-based tourists continue to increase, an area is said to enter into a "critical carrying capacity" range. However, Vince Brown, manager of the MacKenzie Hotel in Inuvik, states that most accommodations/resources are rarely ever strained due to high tourist numbers. He argued that even at the peak of the tourism season most hotels were seldom booked to full-capacity (*pers. comm.*, June 1998).

7.3.4 Nature Tours and the Nature-based Tourist

Air charter tours (i.e., flightseeing), land tours (i.e., cultural community tours, wildlife viewing and park tours) and water tours (i.e., water taxi services, ferry tours, ocean cruising, and the Mackenzie River Delta tours) are the three main types of tours in the Beaufort-Delta region. In total, 29 tourists participated in air tours. For Inuvik, 17 individuals participated in air charter tours bringing in $9,024, whereas in Tuktoyaktuk only 12 visitors participated in air charter tours spending a considerably lower amount at $3,655. This is because most visitors who purchase air charter tours directly out of Inuvik go to more remote and costly destinations. For Tuktoyaktuk, expenditure on air charter tours only included the cost of the flight. However, visitor expenditure for popular Tuktoyaktuk land tours includes both the cost of the flight, a land tour and a "cultural" lunch with an Inuvialuit family. Consequently, visitor expenditures on land tours were considerably higher in Tuktoyaktuk than Inuvik at $19, 279 (N= 81)[39] and $6196 (N=18), respectively. This shows that most of the surveyed visitors going to Tuktoyaktuk participated in land tours, and especially cultural community tours. Consequently,

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For the total of 112 visitors to Tuktoyaktuk, 81, 12, and 6 participated in land, air and water tours, respectively. The remaining 13 who had gone to Tuktoyaktuk indicated they went as part of an Inuvik-based land or water tour.

each tour type may constitute different levels of economic leakages and resource consumption. Since most air charter tours are booked in Inuvik from the air charter company itself, or one of the three tour booking agencies, revenue typically stays in Inuvik. Only one tour booking agency, the Arctic Tour Company, is based out of Tuktoyaktuk; to catch visitors, a small satellite office is located in Inuvik. Thus, land tours, more so than other tours, may channel more money directly into Tuktoyaktuk. As tourists are brought to cultural "displays" and "attractions" their hosts, as well as the operator, may receive a stipend directly.

Each of these tours may place varying levels of strain on the availability of community resources. For example, mainstream nature-based tourists, considered to be "high-life and heritage enthusiasts", are most likely to participate in flightseeing and cultural tours that require the consumption of various resources (Unnaq, 1995). Anecdotal evidence for this is found through the amount of country foods that are consumed by surveyed visitors participating in land, water, and air tours. Among all three communities, land tours held the highest overall participation with more than 58% (100 of 171) of visitors being involved in either a cultural tour or wildlife viewing tour. In Tuktoyaktuk, 47% (81 of 171) of visitors participated in a cultural community tour spending a total of $19, 279, with a mean expenditure of $238. In Inuvik, only 11% (18 of 171) were involved in a wildlife viewing tour[40] out on the land, spending a total of $6,196, with a mean expenditure of $344. Only one land tour took place in Aklavik. During these tours, particularly if they are culturally-based, it is common practice for visitors to consume various types of country foods. The vast majority at 70% (119) said they had eaten caribou, while 49% (83) of visitors consumed both Arctic Charr and Muskox. Fourteen percent of visitors (24) had eaten whale, most likely *maktak* and *mipku*, whereas 28% (48) and 8% (13)

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40 Those tourists who had gone to the Richardson Mountains, Herschel and Banks Island for the intent of wildlife viewing.

ate berries and seal, respectively. Although some visitors obtained country foods from the Northern Store, most country foods are only available directly off of the land, eventually to be provided on a tour. To illustrate, 46% (22) of all visitors who consumed berries did so on Tuktoyaktuk land tours, whereas for Inuvik land tours only 7 visitors consumed berries, representing 15% of all visitors who had done so. Furthermore, 63% (15) of all visitors who had eaten whale did so on a Tuktoyaktuk land tour, while only 8% (4) of visitors participating in an Inuvik land tour had consumed whale. Finally, of all those tourists who had consumed caribou and Arctic charr, 46% (55) and 50% (41), respectively, had done so while participating in Tuktoyaktuk land tours. Speculatively, as Inuvialuit hosts share country foods with tourists, a greater harvesting effort may be required to satiate increasing visitor demand. Consequently, the availability of these limited resources may become strained, especially in Tuktoyaktuk.

Expenditure on water tours was highest in Tuktoyaktuk at approximately $8 630, while in Inuvik expenditure for this activity was less at $5, 355. Interestingly, although only 4% (6 of 171) of visitors participated in distinct water tours at Tuktoyaktuk; the mean expenditure was highest at $1, 438. This suggests that these visitors may have gone on longer, more expensive, river cruises based out of Inuvik to Tuktoyaktuk, or vice versa. Purchases may have occurred at sales offices in either Inuvik or Tuktoyaktuk. Water tours around Inuvik account for a 19% (32 of 171) participation rate, with a mean expenditure of $164. Water tours may offer shorter river and/or whale watching activities. Visitor expenditure on water tours out of Aklavik amounted to $800. Thus, 42 out of 171 tourists participated in water tours. This may indicate that surveyed tourists interested in wildlife viewing, as well as other adventure pursuits, spend more time in remoter locations, thereby spending less money directly within communities. In contrast, cultural tourists may spend more time and thus money within Inuvialuit communities, thereby contributing to a greater localized economic impact. These results reveal, however, that in comparison to cultural tourists, wildlife tourists hold a higher per capita expenditure.

Visitor satisfaction for tours was often very low. In many cases, visitors expressed great concern over the lack of tour organization. A Canadian tourist argued:

" The tour operators do not work together—if they were to cooperate for such things as filling planes, persons would be catching a tour to Herschel etc., at the most economical cost— we were faced with rounding up another couple to fill a four seater to Herschel and we went to each tour office and left our names. It seems that the operators ought to talk to one another and "bunch" persons together instead of competing so rigorously."

In 1995, Notzke documented similar visitor comments regarding the disapproval of tour operator advertisement and organization. Mismatches of visitor expectations with the reality of the northern life and industry organization could very well inhibit tourists from returning to the region In fact, almost half agreed they would probably not return for another vacation, whereas only 14% (23) agreed they would most certainly return for another holiday. Of course, other, perhaps more important reasons, such as a "once in a life-time trip", old age, or high costs may also influence a tourist's decision on whether or not to return.

7.4 THE PERSPECTIVES OF THE NATURE-BASED TOURIST ON ENVIRONMENTAL IMPACTS (AND OTHER CONSIDERATIONS)

This section examines the surveyed tourists' perspectives on the biophysical impacts of tourism and their receptiveness regarding various nature-based tourism/conservation related issues.

7.4.1 Tour Operators as an Environmental Manager

Seventy percent (119 of 169) of the respondents agreed it was very important that tour operators promote visitor involvement in conservation practices. This suggests that these visitors see tour operators as a means of facilitating experiences that involve direct action (i.e., picking up litter) towards conserving the environment they are visiting. Kretchman and Eagles (1992) reveal that nature-based tourists do indeed expect there to be some level of personal involvement

during tours for maintaining or enhancing the environment. Tourists surveyed in this study fit this description; nearly all of the respondents at 75.4% (129 of 171) agreed that they would be willing to participate in "on-tour" conservation initiatives.

Table 19: Importance of Tour Operators Promoting Visitor Involvement in Conservation Practices

Q 4) How important do you think it is that your tour operator promotes your involvement in conservation practices? (N=169)	Very Important		Important		Moderate Importance		Little Importance		Very Little Importance	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
	119	70%	23	13.5%	18	11%	2	1.2%	7	4.1%

(n- number of mentions, % -percentage of response).

Table 20: Tourists' Willingness to Participate During On-tour Conservation Initiatives

Q6)If conservation initiatives were part of your tour would you be willing to participate? (N=171)	Yes		No	
	n	%	n	%
	129	75.4%	42	24.6%

(n- number of mentions, % -percentage of response).

However, the extent to which tour operators attempt to enhance or maintain the environment they are travelling in is highly variable. Ziffer (1989, p. 19) breaks tour operators down into four groups that are categorized relative to their degree of environmental advocacy. The categories represent tour operators who 1)"sell-nature"; 2) are "environmentally sensitive groups"(design trips to be low impact); 3) are "donor groups" (those tour companies that make donations to local environmental groups); and 4) "the doers" (those tour companies that take an active role in conserving and improving the area they visit). The fourth tour operator grouping is most likely to help reduce the negative impacts of nature-based tourists; while the first and

second groupings best fit the description of the Beaufort-Delta's tour operators. Hence, based on visitor perspectives, the extent to which the Beaufort-Delta's tour companies make attempts at conservation is an important consideration.

Table 21: The Importance of Tour Operators Providing Educational Material/Discussion on the Local Landscape.

Q5) How important do you think it is that tour operators provide educational material or discussion on the local landscape? (N=168)	Very Important		Important		Moderate Importance		Little Importance		Very Little Importance	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
	118	69%	31	18.1%	11	7%	3	1.8%	5	3%

(n- number of mentions, % -percentage of response).

Sixty-nine percent (118) of respondents said that it was very important that tour operators provide educational material or discussion on the local landscape, and another 18.1% (31) thought it was important. Interestingly, 56% of respondents were certain that their tour operator or guide provided a source of information or discussion on the local landscape. Thirty-three percent of the visitors felt their tour operator had only provided them with small amounts of information. Thus, greater effort is required to compel tour operators to act as agents for ecological, cultural awareness, and conservation during their tours. By designing and issuing brochures, signs, and "green" certification, as well as by stressing the "do's and don'ts" of tourism, it becomes possible to avoid many negative ecological impacts proactively. Advocacy allows nature-based tourists to act as "conservation ambassadors" at home and in the region they visited (Brandon, 1996).

Table 22: Whether Tour Operators Provided Educational Material/Discussion on the Local Landscape

Q5)(a)Did your tour operator provide educational material and discussion on the local landscape? (N=171)	Yes	No	A little
	56.1%	10.5%	33.3%

As discussed in the literature (Lindberg, 1991; Sherman and Dixon, 1992), nature-based tourists are often eager to contribute to conservation projects indirectly by paying user fees and "eco-taxes". Through such a method, nature-based tourism can procure direct finances for conservation initiatives for protected areas. As tourist user fees and eco-taxes bring money into the host region, it serves as economic justification for conservation. Of those visitors surveyed, 68.2% (113) agreed to paying a $1.00-$2.00 tax or user fee for the purposes of establishing a conservation trust fund directed at tourism, whereas 31.8% of visitors said they would not. The majority of tourists who agreed to pay a conservation fee found that a $1.00 -$2.00 cost was very insignificant and that the net long-term impacts would be positive. It is, therefore, feasible for such revenue to be directed toward the management costs of a proposed and/or existing terrestrial and marine protected area in the Beaufort-Delta region. For those tourists who agreed not to pay a conservation tax they felt it was the government's responsibility to take care of financing protected areas and conservation. Various tourists also felt that since the costs of their excursions were already so expensive, that an extra tax was unnecessary.

7.4.2 Guidelines

Next, visitors were asked whether or not their tour operator was actually following and making them aware of local guidelines and codes of conduct. Less than half of all surveyed visitors at 43.6% strongly agreed to agreed that their local tour operator(s) had made them

aware of local guidelines. The majority of visitors at 56.6% (93) did not seem convinced that their tour operator(s) had made them aware of local guidelines. Most visitors at 55.5% agreed to strongly agreed that their tour operator(s) had conducted their tour in an environmentally and culturally responsible manner. Even still, 44.1% (74) of visitors were doubtful whether their tour operator(s) was conducting tours and adhering to guidelines at the same time.

Literature highlights the importance of visitors receiving trip related information before, during and after an excursion. Wight (1995)[41], Norman *et al.*, (1997), Sirakaya and McLellan (1998) all argue that if a tour operator provides relevant information on local culture and ecology that various trip expectations can be dispelled or strengthened. If tour operators demonstrate cultural and ecological sensitivity before and during trips, it is possible to govern the travelling parties' *in situ* behaviour, and thus their beliefs and perspectives.

Table 23: The Degree to Which Tour Operators Acted on and Made Tourists Aware of Local Tourism Guidelines

	Strongly Agree (1)		Agree (2)		Moderately Agree (3)		Somewhat Disagree (4)		Disagree (5)	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
8(a) Have tour operators made you aware of local guidelines? (N=165)	39	23.4%	33	20%	43	26%	27	16.6%	23	14%
(b) Are tour operators acting as though they follow guidelines or ... themselves? (N=168)	46	27.4%	48	28.1%	51	30.3%	11	6.6%	12	7.2%

(n- number of mentions, % -percentage of response).

41 For a more detailed discussion see Wight (1995) Ecotourism:Ethics or Eco-sell? Journal of Travel and Tourism Vol. 31 (3):3-10

The majority of visitors at 64% (110) felt that sensitive historic and ecological sites should not be off limits to tour operators. This suggests that most of the surveyed tourists are eager to fulfill their need to see natural and historical attractions.

7.4.3 The Perspectives of the Nature-based Tourist on the Negative Environmental Impacts from Nature-based Tourism

When visitors were questioned if they perceived there to be any evidence of negative environmental impacts (directly or indirectly) induced by nature-based tourism, most argued that environmental changes were the result of natural ecological processes, rather than from tourism itself. Thirty two percent (55), 36.8% (63), 29% (50), and 52% (89) of surveyed visitors disagreed that there was any evidence of tourism induced soil erosion, dirty water, trampling of plants, and feeding and touching of wildlife, respectively.

This does not imply, however, that nature-based tourism has not induced any negative environmental impacts. In fact, among all variables, most visitors, at 20.4% (35) and 15.2% (26) strongly agreed and agreed there to be evidence of vegetative trampling, respectively. The greatest concentration of vegetative trampling was perceived to be upon and around the larger pingos (e.g., Ilyuk Pingo) in the Pingo Canadian Landmark Site[42] close to Tuktoyaktuk. Once the vegetative covering and soils of a pingo are removed, its core ice may become exposed to the sun to melt and shrink the structure. Local tours stemming out of Tuktoyaktuk and Inuvik, such as the "Boat to the Pingos" tours, and resident use of the pingos are the most likely causes of this. Tour operators do, however, attempt to "break" alternate paths up the pingos so to reduce trail gullying and widening. Visitors also indiscriminately pick wild flowers, artifacts and driftwood as souvenirs at Herschel Island (Koep, *pers. comm.* August 1998).

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The Heritage Site is jointly managed under the IFA (subsection 7(73)), the National Parks Act and the Inuvialuit Land Administration (DIAND, 1984 as cited in Notzke, 1995, p. 12)

Table 24: Tourist Perspectives on Negative Environmental Impacts

8(c) Is there evidence of . . .	Strongly Agree (1)		Agree (2)		Moderately Agree (3)		Somewhat Disagree (4)		Disagree (5)	
(N=171)	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
Soil erosion (N=169)	30	17.5%	34	20%	27	16%	23	13%	55	32.8%
Dirty water (N= 169)	30	17.5%	27	15.8%	19	11.3%	30	18%	63	36.8%
Trampling of plants (N=171)	35	20.4%	26	15.2%	29	17%	31	18.1%	50	29%
Feeding and touching of wildlife (N=171)	22	12.9%	23	13.5%	13	7.6%	24	14%	89	52%

(n- number of mentions, % -percentage of response).

Seventeen percent (30) of the surveyed visitors strongly agreed that there was evidence of soil erosion and dirty water; while another 20% (34) and 16% (27) agreed to this, respectively. Although most felt soil erosion and dirty water was the result of natural processes, other tourists felt that such visible impacts may have been the direct result of nature-based tourism. Visitors perceived the most soil erosion to be in Tuktoyaktuk, particularly at the camping facilities, and at Herschel Island; five percent (8) and 4% (7) of visitors thought so respectively. Visitors at Herschel Island noted that many major boat docking and visiting areas, such as the "Park's Historic Zone," have undergone considerable erosion and soil compaction; potentially due to high visitor numbers and concentration. This is especially the case in the

Pauline Cove Settlement area and upon major routes between buildings. Moreover, three percent (5) of the visitors believed that dirty water (e.g., murky water, algae blooms, floating litter) existed at Inuvik's busy town harbour (which is situated at the banks of the Mackenzie River's East Channel). At Herschel Island, it is believed that greater visitor numbers have increased problems related to sanitary waste disposal, increasing demands on drinking water (mainly by overnight groups) and washing water, all of which are considered to be scarce commodities on Herschel Island (Koep, *pers comm.* August 1998).

Of all nature-based tourism's negative environmental impacts, respondents considered the feeding and touching of wildlife to be the most negligible. Only 12.9% (22) and 13.5% (23) strongly agreed and agreed that there was evidence of feeding and touching of wildlife, respectively. Although, tourists are known to feed animals in order to get better pictures at Herschel Island and the Yukon North Slope.

Visitors and air charter groups who are anxious to see wildlife up close, will also circle grizzly bears and caribou at Herschel Island and the Yukon North Slope. Indeed, flight-seeing and wildlife viewing tours are becoming increasingly popular in the Beaufort-Delta. The researcher has also discovered that on more than one occasion, tourists would charter planes from Inuvik to land near the Porcupine Caribou herd at the Yukon North Slope. On both occasions tourists hired planes for close up wildlife viewing and photo opportunities (*pers. comm.* with tourist, July, 1998).

7.5 Summary

This chapter has shown that of the surveyed tourists, their motives, rather than only their numbers, may directly steer the type and intensity of community-level impacts. Drawn to the region's unique natural and cultural features, the surveyed visitors will view wildlife, potentially participate in cultural activities, and take photographs of Inuvialuit. In turn, their actions generate specific positive and negative cultural, economic and environmental impacts.

To elaborate, as tourists consumed locally produced goods, a select few Inuvialuit benefitted financially from their purchases. Tours rooted in Inuvialuit culture have attracted curio-seeking tourists to Tuktoyaktuk and Inuvik. As cultural tourists increasingly purchase domestic goods from Inuvialuit artisans, they may help to develop a closer link between tourism and the Inuvialuit mixed-economy. Besides nature-based tourism's many economic benefits, it can also create many ecological problems. Since many tourists are unaware of local guidelines for appropriate behaviour, conflict between hunters and tourists will likely remain a problem.

Moreover, although the surveyed visitors perceived there to be few negative environmental impacts, signs of environmental degradation were apparent. Similar to Inuvialuit elder perspectives, the impact of low-flying charter planes on caribou, whales and birds was the most real and immediate threat to be exposed by the visitor sample. Since nature-based tourists are eager to visit areas with a unique culture and ecology, local tourism managers must be especially resourceful and capitalize on nature-based tourism to help conserve those regions that are most visited.

The next chapter therefore examines local tour operator perspectives on visitor management, economic growth, and cultural and ecological conservation through tourism development. The question to ask at this point is to what capacity tour operators are involved in community-based tourism management, and hence long-term sustainable tourism development.

CHAPTER 8: TOUR OPERATOR PERSPECTIVES ON THE SUSTAINABILITY OF NATURE-BASED TOURISM

This chapter describes the perspectives of tour operators regarding the role they play in the management and development of nature-based tourism within the Beaufort-Delta region. It first explores the difficulties, extent and ease of direct Inuvialuit participation in nature-based tourism. Following this, the chapter examines the cost of and availability of local capital and the availability and adequacy of local tourism training. Each of these factors serves as an important indicator for livelihood security and thus cultural continuity. The section then looks at the manner in which tour operators educate themselves and their visitors about a region. This includes their awareness, compliance with and enforcement of guidelines. Finally, the actual tour structure, such as tour length, local resource use, and curriculum are explored to determine the ecological impacts of local tour operators.

Tour operator perspectives on the sustainability of nature-based tourism were elicited through formally structured interviews. Twenty-two tour operators were interviewed intermittently between June 1st and early August 1998. The Department of Economic Development and Tourism (ED &T) provided a list of licenced tour operators operating out of Aklavik, Tuktoyaktuk and Inuvik. From this list, twenty-five tour companies operating in the Beaufort-Delta region were first contacted by phone from Winnipeg to discuss the intentions of the project. Of these, 20 tour company representatives/owners were later interviewed in Aklavik, Tuktoyaktuk and Inuvik; however, most interviews were conducted in Inuvik. Two international tour operators were interviewed over the phone. All local interviews were structured, conducted in English and in a face-to-face setting: homes, cafes, and local businesses were the most common venues. Three of the 20 local tour companies interviewed are tour booking agencies, which also conduct their own tours. The remaining 17 pose both as tour companies and outfitters. Each tour operator was told at the beginning of the interview that

his or her identity would be kept confidential. Open and close-ended questions addressed specific details concerning the local tour operator's yearly operations and resulting impacts on local economy, culture and environment. Questions were ordered to address each of the three categories sequentially. Before interviews began, all interviewees were asked whether they preferred tape-recording or note-taking.

8.1 The Structure of the Beaufort-Delta's Tourism Industry

The structure and function of tour companies play a central role in shaping the cultural, economic and environmental impacts of tourism. Within the Beaufort-Delta there are inbound, local and outbound tour companies. Inbound tour companies are the booking agencies for the clientele of outbound and local tour companies; most are charged with arranging travel schedules, making contracts with airlines, advertising and managing tour groups. Their sales are achieved largely by keeping 12% of the overall outbound and local tour package fee. However, the inbound tour operator also earns profits independently by offering independent tours. Many are subsidiaries to local airline companies, and may thus capitalize on existing services, such as flights and van tours. Between Inuvik, Tuktoyaktuk, and Aklavik over 22 smaller local tour operators cater to the needs of visitors by offering them beluga whale watching, traditional bush camp visits, historic river tours, wildlife photography and interpretative hiking tours throughout the Beaufort-Delta region. Local tour companies are most involved in providing services to tourists (most of whom have been directed to them by inbound operators). Often, however, by acting as independent sales representatives, they need not go through the major booking agencies to capture visitors. Outbound nature-based tour companies are typically located in larger southern cities, and bring in international nature-based tourists (Higgins, 1996). Many stem from major urban centres such as Toronto, Vancouver and Seattle.

8.2 TOUR OPERATOR PERSPECTIVES ON THE ECONOMIC IMPACTS OF NATURE-BASED TOURISM

8.2.1 Tour Operator Perspectives on the Economic Drawbacks of Nature-based Tourism Development

Tour operators still perceive the region's nature-based tourism industry to be very small in scale and with limited economic potential. As one tour operator put it, *"the development of tourism is still only in its infancy"*. Tour operators, particularly those who are non-aboriginal, commented that the very disorganized nature of the industry may also induce negative economic impacts. Most suggested that the aboriginal population has a very poor "sense" of what nature-based tourism is all about, particularly in terms of the market. They perceived that visitors may not have their expectations fulfilled once they arrive and participate in a tour. For example, one non-aboriginal tour operator contended:

"The majority of locals do not understand what tourism is all about. In Paulatuk a tourism brochure for service ideas was set up, but none of the people understood what the idea was about" (Anonymous, *pers. comm.* June 1998).

Thus, the Inuvialuit and non-aboriginal tour operators see their role in the industry in a very different economic light. As is revealed later, the economic means and motives behind owning and operating a tour company are commonly quite different between these two groups.

Largely due to a lack of communication between tourism industry stakeholders, activities are being increasingly managed in an *ad hoc* manner. Nearly all of the tour operators agreed that in order to manage the tourism industry more efficiently, a greater coordination of effort is required, and that all stakeholders needed to attain common objectives. This entails communication: 1) regarding the sharing of tourists when tours are over and under booked; 2) concerning the existence of potential employment opportunities; and 3) about the location and

licence application procedure. This is particularly evident in the lack of coordination between local air charter companies and local tour operators: if visitors fail to show up for a tour, tour vacancies arise, making flying a certain sized plane uneconomical for the charter airline company. If a smaller sized plane is unavailable, visitors must either forfeit the tour or pay more money for the tour to cover lost profit. Through miscommunication, tourism industry quality control suffers and eventually leads to poor visitor experiences, ultimately hurting the region's tourism economy. Despite these concerns, there is a certain level of commitment from tour operators. Even though half of the companies are very young businesses (in operation for no more than 5 years), others have been in operation between 10 and 15 years. Their longevity may increase the economic stability of the nature-based tourism industry on the whole. Nevertheless, one tour operator argued that many fledgling tour companies are fortunate to stay in business for more than three years without going bankrupt.

8.2.2 The Relationship Between Government Support and Tour Operator Success

When asked whether the Territorial government provided sufficient financial support for tourism development, 36% (N=22) of tour operators felt government funding was too low, whereas only 23% of the tour operators agreed that government funding was substantial. The lack of regional and national marketing provided by NWT Arctic Tourism and Economic Development and Tourism was of particular concern. Many tour operators felt cheated by their local government because their neighbour, the Yukon Government, allocated more funds for marketing nature-based tourism. Darielle Talarico, the former manager of Inuvik-based Arctic Nature Tours, exemplifies the feelings of many tour operators in the region. She claimed:

"Inuvik needs more marketing --little exists on the marketing side-- people should be focusing on the evolution of the business side of things to determine what to really expect from tourism. Inuvik is well positioned to really capture the interest of people. However, Whitehorse captures Inuvik's crowd. There is room for improvement locally"(pers. comm. June 1998).

In most cases, however, tour operators felt that often the best form of marketing was through word of mouth. Comments from visitors in the likes of . . . "*This was my first trip north. The Mackenzie River Delta area was the most memorable part of our trip. I found the people very helpful and friendly. Inuvik was a town which made you feel good and worth the effort to get there*" . . . are often communicated to other visitors who frequently heed such advice. Informal marketing commonly occurs as the drivers of recreational vehicles communicate their experiences with other drivers passing by on the Dempster Highway.

Many tour operators also perceived that local tourism agencies are not promoting enough local involvement in tourism. In fact, 46% of tour operators were concerned that local agencies, such as Western Arctic Trade and Tourism (WATT), were not providing sufficient economic incentives for locals to become involved in tourism development. Of course, tour operators based out of Aklavik were particularly concerned that government and local agencies have neglected to support their community. This is illustrated by the small number of tour companies existing in Aklavik. In fact, of all tour companies, only 9% (2) were based out of Aklavik, whereas 18% (4) and 64% (14) were grounded in Tuktoyaktuk and Inuvik, respectively. The remaining two tour companies are from "southern" cities (Whitehorse and Boulder, Colorado). This shows that the (economic) feasibility of developing a tour company is higher in Inuvik than in Aklavik and Tuktoyaktuk, and thus a more attractive staging point for up and coming entrepreneurs. As one tour operator from Aklavik maintained:

"*The government has to get more people to come to Aklavik. The government should also find ways to make it easier for locals to get through the bureaucracy that is necessary to start up a business. Also, the start up fee is high, even though it is thought that there is a low capital investment required to start up an outfitting business*" (Anonymous. pers. comm. July 1998).

Another major stumbling block for tour operators attempting to develop their business in Beaufort-Delta region is the degree of community accessibility. While all tour operators operating out of Inuvik believed that tourists had no problems reaching the Beaufort-Delta, Aklavik and Tuktoyaktuk tour operators felt otherwise. They argued that tourists have a hard time reaching their communities, as they are only accessible by boat or plane. Due to government support, Inuvik is blessed with thousands of tourists coming in via the "all-season" Dempster highway as well as through major air traffic and water routes. Indeed, most NWT tourism strategies, as Anderson (1991, p. 216) states, "ignore the diversity and isolation of communities in the NWT".

Finally, many tour operators felt that the licencing process was a major obstacle for tourism development. For many, the process of writing a lengthy tourism proposal, consulting with the appropriate individuals, and then waiting a long time for the appropriate agency to answer was at best a cumbersome process. A comment from an Inuvialuit elder exemplifies this situation. He noted:

"*Well it took me a year and a half to get my licence. Plus in the Delta I had to get approval from people five miles from me. I had to get five people to sign it for me . . . but some guys just didn't want to sign it for me because they were jealous . . .* " (Anonymous *pers. comm.* July 1998).

8.2.3 Tour Operator Perspectives on the Income and Employment Prospects of Nature-based Tourism

Very few tour operators started their company believing that it would be their sole means of earning an income. Most respondents stated that they had started their tour company to help cover the costs of other businesses and/or pre-existing capital. Indeed, the cost of starting up a small business venture in the north is overwhelmingly high. As Hinch (1995, p.121) argues, it "has been estimated that the cost of doing business in the NWT is 60 percent higher

than in southern Canada". High operating costs are further accentuated by a short tourism season, which limits the amount of revenue that can be generated by smaller tour companies. Consequently, for the many entrepreneurs who have made new investments and have leased new capital, timely back payments become problematic, potentially forcing them out of the tourism industry indefinitely. This is one reason why some tour operators run their businesses on a part-time basis. For half of the respondents, tour operating equipment was not very difficult to acquire, but exceptionally expensive to purchase. Often the only, or the most effective way, for a local to become involved in nature-based tourism was if he or she already owned the equipment that was necessary to conduct tours. As one non-aboriginal tour operator stated:

"*Equipment is very expensive —parts and stuff are really costly. I am lucky because I have the equipment that is already suited for the job of tourism. My construction company helped to augment my tour outfit. It was favourable to do such work originally. People have to diversify if they are going to survive in Inuvik. There just aren't enough tourists to make money around here*" (Anonymous, pers. comm. July 1998).

Furthermore, one Inuvialuit tour operator from Aklavik expressed considerable concern over the potential for economic leakages when purchasing equipment from the south. He contended: "*Equipment is often not purchased locally, and many times the tour operator will fly back down south to purchase equipment there*" (Anonymous. pers. comm. July 1998). In order to cater to tourists' demands, local tour operators will often purchase supplies from the south. The money from these purchases is not retained in the communities to stimulate secondary employment and income benefits locally (Milne, *et al.*, 1994).

Due to the lack of tourists in the winter months, most tour operators find it only economically worthwhile to operate during summer months. In 1998, the 41% of tour operators who ran their tour companies seasonally full-time, did so during June, July and August. Thirty-two percent of the tour operators claimed that their companies offered services all year long,

while 27% did so only casually during winter and summer months. Many respondents felt that branching out into winter months would increase the economic viability of their tour companies. For those tour operators offering winter tours, snowmobiling tours, dog-sledding, skiing or snowshoe naturalist tours were the most popular.

To date, many tour operators are faced with a falling customer base, and a resulting need to raise the price of their tours. This, however, generates a potential problem: as tour prices increase, the likelihood of tourists participating in tours decreases. Indeed, one well-established Tuktoyaktuk tour operator contended that if he were to raise the price of his tours, he would eventually lose prospective clients. The owner claims to have started out with 1500 clients in 1995, but in 1996 and 1997 when his client base dropped to 1400 and 1300, respectively, he was forced to raise the price of his cultural day tours.

Despite these setbacks, over three quarters of tour operators were willing to participate in tourism full-time, while 73% stated they would like to expand their tour company under appropriate conditions. For the remainder, many argued that the administrative work would be too great and that, as a result, it would take time away from their other more profitable businesses. Many pointed out that there were not enough visitors and tours to employ people full-time. These claims are supported as 73% of the tour operators agreed that tourism alone could not bring in enough money to support them. Despite 59% of tour operators preferring tourism to other forms of work, the majority were involved in different types of employment.

Employment prospects are also limited by the fact that there are too many tours of the same kind in a market with not enough tourists. This deficiency was already recognized in 1983 by Economic Development and Tourism, and is also considered to be a major hindrance by tour operators in allowing the industry to expand (GNWT, 1983). A lack of tour diversity in small Arctic communities is said to result in monopolization, which leads to areas becoming

quickly overcrowded. The implications of only a few large tour companies dominating a small market with little tour diversity, as is the case in Tuktoyaktuk, is that there is little incentive to improve the existing tourism infrastructure to meet new market demands (*ibid.*). As Keller (1987, p.29) writes "monopolies prevail in many of the smaller settlements which have destroyed entrepreneurial objectives". Thus, the problem of moderating the "seasonality of tourism" becomes quickly accentuated.

Table 25: The Income and Employment Prospects of Nature-based Tourism

N=22	Yes		No	
	n	%	n	%
Q34 On its own, does your tourism outfit bring in enough money to support you?	6	27%	16	73%
Q20 Are you currently involved in another form of employment (business/occupation) besides that of your tourism operation?	18	82%	4	18%
Q38 Do you prefer tourism over other forms of work?	13	59%	5	23% (18%, 4 unsure)

(n- number of mentions, % -percentage of response)

8.2.4 Inuvialuit Tour operators and the Mixed Economy

The majority of the local tour operators do not, as Notzke (1995) writes, consider themselves as full-time "tourism professionals". This is especially so among Inuvialuit entrepreneurs who split up a work week with numerous jobs in order to support themselves financially; nature-based tourism, despite its many formalities, is one such activity. To illustrate, 5 out of the 7 Inuvialuit tour operators were involved in nature-based tourism on a casual-contract basis, whereas only 2 Inuvialuit tour operators were operating full time. The two Gwich'in tour operators also ran their tours on a casual-contract basis.

Table 26 shows that even though aboriginal people have a relatively strong presence in the tourism industry, they still have considerable room to capitalize on nature-based tourism development.

Table 26: Breakdown of Aboriginal and Non-aboriginal Tour Operators

Inuvialuit Tour Operators		Gwich'in Tour Operators		Non-aboriginal	
n	%	n	%	n	%
7	31%	2	9%	13	60%

(n- number of mentions, % - percentage of response)

The Inuvialuit, as well as all other aboriginal groups in the area, attempt to maintain their livelihood through balancing a wage and subsistence economy. The function of tourism in the Inuvialuit mixed economy is that the industry and Inuvialuit culture are simultaneously strengthened by allowing the Inuvialuit to accommodate the industry's needs in a way they deem appropriate. The significance of letting Inuvialuit tour operators and staff remain as casual tour operators is the degree of flexibility it affords them to return to the land to hunt, trap and fish. As one outbound tour operator observed:

"There is a misconception that dollars will start to flow [from tourism]. The money brought in from tourism is really only there to help to supplement existing income. The income from tourism really helps the local people to continue their subsistence harvests"(Anonymous. *pers. comm.* July 1998).

The strong presence of the Inuvialuit mixed economy is revealed when one compares employment between aboriginal and non-aboriginal tour operators. Among non-aboriginal tour operators, 36% are employed full-time at some type of institutional establishment (e.g., Renewable Resources Boards), while this was the case with only one aboriginal tour operator. Between Inuvialuit and Gwich'in tour operators, 27% and 9% were employed in primary/secondary industries, respectively, *and all but one hunted and trapped.* In contrast,

only 9% of non-aboriginal tour operators were employed in primary/secondary type industries. From this, it is clear that the Inuvialuit, more so than non-aboriginals, attempt to balance wage earnings with subsistence activities. In many respects, as the Inuvialuit hunt, trap and fish concurrent to developing tourism they maintain intergenerational ideals and also strengthen the "authenticity" of the industry.

In spite of this, many industry representatives and tourists fail to understand that the structure and growth of nature-based tourism must accommodate Inuvialuit culture. As suggested, it is apparent that respondents, albeit a minority, (primarily non-aboriginal tour operators) do indeed feel that Inuvialuit "business values" are opposite to the "capitalist-venture oriented" philosophy of tourism. A few respondents commented that they found the Inuvialuit "work ethic" to be lacking because they side-stepped business responsibilities for hunting. For example, one foreign visitor pointed out:

"The people in the towns are nice, but the tour companies' organization is not really good. You cannot see the town the way you want because of the lack of people willing to do that tour at the same time as you like, or because all the guides went out fishing and hunting . . . I really think it is horrible".

One local Community Economic Development Officer argued *"when the ice goes out the people go out, in July and August when people are out on the land it is difficult to find people to do tours in town"* (Anonymous. *pers. comm*, June 1998). This is particularly the case in Aklavik, Tuktoyaktuk and Inuvik when the main beluga whale harvest begins. In Aklavik, for example, during the extent of the whale hunting season very few people are to be found at "home"; most are at Running River and Shingle Point harvesting beluga whales and caribou. For many informants this limited the potential of conducting tours and developing nature-based tourism.

8.2.5 Passing on Employment Benefits to Others.

As the Inuvialuit increasingly participate in nature-based tourism, they also pass on new tourism employment opportunities to other individuals. Based on the precepts of community-based tourism management, one of the more tangible results of sustainable economic development is an increase in direct and indirect employment (Murphy, 1985, p. 95). As the communities of Tuktoyaktuk, Aklavik and Inuvik attempt to broaden their economic base, a sure sign of success is the diversification of local employment opportunities. In fact, half agreed they had hired, or anticipated that they would hire local guides, while fewer stated that they did not seek local guides (4 did not answer). The majority of tour operators and tour booking companies who sought to hire guides were already well established and did, or intended to, hire guides on a seasonal or permanent year round basis. Eighteen percent of respondents intended to employ guides in such a manner.

Table 27: Breakdown of Tour Company Employment

(N=22) Sole Proprietorship-acting guide (q8)		Permanently Hired Full-time Guides (q10)		Seasonally Hired Full-time Guides (q10)		Casually Hired Guides (q10)		Additional Family Help (q22)	
n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
11	50%	2	9%	2	9%	7	32%	4	18%

(n- number of mentions, % -percentage of response- due to multiple responses, percentages do not equal 100).

Tour company owners also served the dual role of administrator and guide. Under such circumstances, the tour company is often only in its early stages of development. Exactly half of the respondents fulfilled such a role. For these tour operators, it was their immediate family and friends that provided them with the necessary help. Mutual support in local tourism businesses saves money that otherwise would have been used to pay and train guides.

Even though 47% (N= 21) of respondents thought that there were enough guides to choose from, 57% of tour operators maintained there was a lack of properly trained guides. Only 29% of tour operators felt that there was no shortage of guides. Indeed, forty-five percent (N= 20) of respondents felt there were no tourism training opportunities open to them; this was especially the case for service/hospitality training for ecotourism and cultural tourism. Tour operators from Tuktoyaktuk and Aklavik expressed particular concern about the lack of tourism training in their communities.

Table 28: The Availability of Local Tourism Training Opportunities

q16) Are local tourism training opportunities available?(N=20)	Yes		No		Do Not Know	
	n	%	n	%	n	%
	11	55%	5	25%	4	20%

(n- number of mentions, % -percentage of response).

Many Inuvialuit tour operators also stated that regional tourism agencies' understanding of what constitutes a "qualified guide"[43] was based on southern qualification standards and perspectives. They contended there was only a shortage of qualified guides with respect to standard government guide certification requirements. They argued that aboriginal people were already sufficiently qualified because they grew up on the land and knew it "as it were their own home". The words of an Inuvialuit tour operator exemplify the concerns of others:

"There is a 1975 economic development model in the midst of developing the tourism industry here. The paternalistic government tourism development initiatives don't work here-- the GNWT must consult with tour operators and outfitters here first" (*pers. comm*. July 1998).

43 According to Economic Development and Tourism's position on guide licencing a guide (an individual who offers a personal service to a hunter, fisher, or tourist) must undergo an extensive certification process, that at a minimum would include: 1)knowledge of licenced area; 2) five year residency minimum; and 3) passing an examination in order to move onto the next level of guide certification (GNWT, 1988).

As Inuvialuit training needs are not met, the potential to encourage further local involvement in tourism is reduced. However, the manner in which local tour operators hire their employees also affects the development of the industry, albeit in a positive way. Sixty-eight percent (N= 22) of all tour operators preferred hiring their employees by word of mouth, whereas only 18% preferred hiring with formal advertisements. In addition to being cost effective, relying on a friend's advice to hire an individual who is reputed to be a good worker is very much valued in northern communities. Aboriginal tour operators stated that hiring by word of mouth contained and maintained the local "labour pool", as it reduced the number of transient employees, most of whom came from the south. A major problem for many remote northern regions is that when a particular skill or commitment is required, the tourism industry will often turn to outside expertise for help (Keller, 1987; Murphy, 1985).

8.3 TOUR OPERATOR PERSPECTIVES OF THE CULTURAL IMPACTS FROM NATURE-BASED TOURISM

8.3.1 Tour Operator Perspectives on the Cultural Benefits of Nature-based Tourism

Overall, when tour operators were asked if they thought nature-based tourism affected Inuvialuit culture, the majority at 67% (N=21) felt there were only positive impacts, while 23% perceived there to be no impact at all. Interesting results arise when one breaks down the types of positive cultural impacts. An overwhelming 70% (N=20) of tour operators felt that nature-based tourism increased opportunities for cultural exchange (or understanding) between visitors and locals. However, only 25% and 5% of tour operators felt that nature-based tourism helped to revive culture and instill a sense of pride in the communities, respectively.

Table 29: Tour Operator Perspectives Regarding the Cultural Impacts of Nature-based Tourism

Q 29) How do you think tourism has affected local culture? (N=21)	Positively		Negatively		No Impact	
	n	%	n	%	n	%
	14	67%	2	10%	5	23%
Type of Positive Impact (N=20)	**Increases Cultural Exchange**		**Revival of Culture**		**Increase in Community Pride**	
	n	%	n	%	n	%
	14	70%	5	25%	1	5%

(n- number of mentions, % -percentage of total response).

However, for many, the negative cultural impacts from nature-based tourism development are minimal in comparison to those of heavy industry. In terms of positive culture impacts, one non-aboriginal tour operator claimed:

"Tourism has really helped out local culture--especially since the oil industries have pulled out of the region. Tourism gives people a chance for more personal initiatives — it gives them a sense of pride — especially in terms of arts and crafts production— this industry allows them to expand their financial base" (Anonymous pers. comm. July 1998).

The fact that their involvement in nature-based tourism contributed to the conservation of local aboriginal culture was highlighted several times. To illustrate, a tour operator from Aklavik suggested:

"I don't think that it [tourism] has affected local culture in a negative way —tourism may have only helped to re-instill some old cultural values amongst our people, especially the younger generation" (Anonymous pers comm. July 1998).

Others commented that nature-based tourism has in fact already reduced visitors' misconceptions about the north and Inuvialuit life. For example, one non-aboriginal tour operator remarked:

"*People come up with a lot of misconceptions about the north and they come away with a more positive attitude. People come away with changed misconceptions. It is not the visitor's fault that they are ignorant -- so long as they come away educated*" (Anonymous, pers comm. July 1998).

Finally, one tour operator contended that many tourists do visit the Beaufort-Delta region with an open mind and that they really learn during the tours. She also felt that open communication with visitors benefitted the local population too, as the tours made locals aware of their "global environment".

The extent to which tour operators thought nature-based tourism could be integrated into Inuvialuit cultural activities varied considerably. Despite the majority, at 68% (N= 22), agreeing that tourism could be integrated with Inuvialuit cultural activities, other respondents felt that the words "integrate" and "traditional" were loaded terms. Since culture usually exists separately from tourism, they felt that what constituted an "authentic" cultural tourism experience should be questioned. For example, although the sale of tea and bannock by Inuvialuit to tourists at a bush camp was thought to be a form of "integrating tourism with a local tradition", others argued that tourists were merely witnessing everyday life in the north. Thus, nature-based tourism is exogenous to Inuvialuit culture: two distinct entities that are not capable of being fully integrated with one another.

Table 30: Tour Operator Perspectives on Integrating Nature-based Tourism with Inuvialuit Culture

Q39) Do you think that tourism is being integrated into Inuvialuit culture? (N=22)	Yes		No		Do Not Know	
	n	%	n	%	n	%
	15	68%	4	18%	3	14%

(n- number of mentions, % -percentage of response).

In contrast, when tour operators were asked how nature-based tourism affected Inuvialuit subsistence activities, the majority believed it could only enhance Inuvialuit traditions. Sixty-percent of respondents (N=20) strongly agreed that various influences from nature-based tourism, such as arts and crafts purchases, could only benefit Inuvialuit traditions (i.e., cash supplements for domestic production). Nature-based tourism was thought to be a strong agent for reviving the younger generation's interest in Inuvialuit culture and heritage. Since much visitor interest is in Inuvialuit customs and tradition, it was thought that staged demonstrations, such as drum dances or throat singing, might revive interests in cultural practices among youngsters once they became employed in tourism. An interview with a tour operator out of Aklavik summarizes the thoughts of many tour operators eloquently:

"I think that tourism has helped to enhance our traditional way of life. I mean I can buy gas for our hunting and the preparation of bannock and dry fish for the tourist really helps to rekindle thoughts through old recipes. Although I think there has to be a balance between tourism and subsistence activities. I don't think that one should override the other. Our life has always been here, but tourism may help people to actually get out onto the land. And as traditional activities are represented through tourism, younger people keen to earn money will learn simultaneously"(Anonymous *pers. comm.* July 1998).

8.3.2 Tour Operator Perspectives on the Cultural Drawbacks of Nature-based Tourism

Despite tour operators perceiving nature-based tourism to be culturally advantageous, other responses suggest that their behaviour and their tours hold the potential to seriously disrupt many facets of Inuvialuit culture. To illustrate, as is typical with northern tourism development, there is competition between tour operators and Inuvialuit hunters over limited resources, such as beluga whale or caribou. Eighty-six percent (N= 21) of the tour operators stated that at one point or another during their tours they had come into contact with a hunter(s). While conducting their tours, 29% had fairly frequent contact with hunters, whereas 57% had infrequent contact. Only 14% of tour operators interviewed said they had never run across the path of, or even seen a hunter, while conducting tours.

Table 31: Frequency of Tour Operator and Hunter Interaction

N=21	Often		Sometimes		Never	
	n	%	n	%	n	%
Q 31) Do your tours ever come into contact with hunters?	6	29%	12	57%	3	14%

(n- number of mentions, % -percentage of response).

Once again, visitor numbers may not be held exclusively responsible for negative cultural impacts occurring during tours, but rather that tour operator/ visitor behaviour and activities play an equally important role. For example, few tourists with opportunistic behaviour can cause similar or even greater amounts of damage than many tourists on a tour. In such cases, a tour operator's actions can quickly dictate on-site visitor management (Norman *et al.*, 1997; Sirakaya, 1997, 1998). Tour operators are often considered to be <u>the</u> tool for proactive visitor management.

A tour that is most likely to require the most cultural and ecological sensitivity from tour operators and visitors is the "participatory cultural tour"; such a tour commonly takes place in bush and whaling camps adjacent to Delta and coastal waters (Butler, 1975). As shown in chapter 2, the interest in visiting an "authentic" native cultural setting is great and may thus impact Inuvialuit culture negatively. Therefore, the numbers of tourists and the amount of time spent by them in these small traditional settings typically remains very limited (*ibid.*). Not only is the actual accommodation small in size (designed only to hold a family of no more than 6), but the level of intimacy between host and guest is also high, thus requiring each party to be very respectful of the other. The potential impact of visitors being disrespectful of personal space, cultural artifacts and personal possessions are considerable as tourists take part in everyday land activities. Here, a tour operator must act as a mediator between visitors and Inuvialuit culture. Suitable interpretation of the social setting, selection of appropriate things to see and the level of direct interaction can be governed by tour operators to enhance visitor appreciation and understanding of (Inuvialuit) culture (Gurung *et al.*, 1995, p. 110). Tour operators illustrate that visitors and tour operators can easily influence each other in such a setting, often leading to inappropriate behaviour from both parties. For example, one tour operator declared:

"I took a Japanese trip out one time- three of them came with me to look around at my camp. I found an old bone hook at my camp and this lady really wanted it. She asked me ten times or more - " . . . " can I have this, can I have this, can I have this, please---so I finally said so long as you come back some day and visit me and bring all of your friends for me"(Anonymous *pers.comm.* June 1998).

Those tour operators attempting to please tourists by allowing them to collect cultural artifacts violate section 12 of the BSBMP Tourism Guidelines. Section 12 states that "Pursuant to the current Heritage Act . . . no one may disturb or remove artifacts of any nature. These items are to be left as found"(BSBMP, 1995. p.5).

As discussed, cultural community tours are largely concentrated in each of the settlements and are only in some instances "participatory". However, although direct involvement in cultural activities is avoided, the degree of interaction with Inuvialuit residents still remains high. Tour groups may be as large as 20 visitors, with most, if not all, surrounding an Inuvialuit hunter wanting to take photos of harvesting and processing activities. As Inuvialuit elders expressed in chapter six, such interference is considered to be rude and unwanted.

As tourists film or take photographs of subsistence activities without the explicit written consent of the camp owner/hunter, they violate section 7 of the BSBMP Tourism Guidelines. Even if a tour operator is nearby, and a visitor asks permission to take photos or watch day-to-day activities, more often than not Inuvialuit may become annoyed. One tour operator clarified:

"Many people don't understand that we are preparing food for survival. We can't police all the visitors, and we can't screen all of the tourists . . . they must understand that they are walking into a situation that isn't always an act — it is real life up here. Some tourists want everything handed to them—they don't seem to understand that this is the north and that they can't have everything they want" (Anonymous *pers comm.* July 1998).

Moreover, as tourists are brought into the homes of Inuvialuit tour operators for lunch or supper, the demands on families to meet the expectations of tourists (not to mention researchers) may lead to unnecessary strains for the family.

The impacts of ecotourism on traditional Inuvialuit cultural activities are currently confined to the indirect result of harassing terrestrial and marine mammals. The habituation and harassment associated with wildlife viewing may impact the behaviour and seasonal migration routes of species. Indeed, several Inuvialuit elders thought that wildlife viewing could interfere with seasonal harvesting patterns. Interaction with Inuvialuit hunters is also likely to be high, since hunters and ecotourists congregate where wildlife does. Since most tour operators are absent during marine-based nature tourism (e.g., marine kayakers and canoers), they are unable to act as a "culture broker" or "nature broker" to ensure an appreciation and understanding of

Inuvialuit culture and nature (Gurung *et al.*, 1995). Consequently, it becomes difficult to manage visitor behaviour *in situ*. For all tours, however, it is necessary that visitors be confined to the tour circuit and/or land owned by the camp owner (Butler, 1975).

The unsuccessful integration of whale watching and whaling camp visits with whale harvesting has also held particular consequences for the nature-based tourism industry. Due to the sensitive nature and politics involved in whale watching, most tour operators mentioned they would not become involved in this activity. Accordingly, this segment of the nature-based tourism market has become increasingly marginalized. This also applies to cultural tours at whaling camps. As one tour operator pointed out:

> *"I would not send people to go whale watching because I would not want to alienate such a large group of people if they did not want such a thing to take place. I know that there are certain restrictions for whale watching and hunting but I don't really know the details . . ."* (Anonymous *pers comm.* July 1998).

Similar to institutional respondents and some Inuvialuit elders, the few tour operators who did take tourists out to whaling camps and on whale watching tours argued that to date its economic potential has not been realized. To illustrate, one tour operator maintained:

> *"Right now I conduct most of my whale watching on the land so that everyone is satisfied, this is the same for bird watchers. I think that whale watching will increase --especially for the community. The situation between hunters and tour boat operators has gotten a lot better but people really want to live their traditional ways. But I think we still have to communicate more. People don't realize that whale watching is more important too. People have to work together to come together to come up with solutions too. That way it would open up more doors"* (Anonymous *pers. comm.* June 1998).

8.3.3 What to Do About Conflict?

Several tour operators contested that it was they who best understood nature-based tourism's impacts and that, as a result, they knew how to best avoid conflict. Tour operators maintained that they were in the best position to manage themselves and visitors. For example, one tour operator contended:

"Socially, I think that all the tour operators will be a lot more aware of their environment than most people will be. But I think that right now it is a learning process that will allow us to understand how the tours will be managed" (Anonymous *pers. comm.* June 1998).

This is particularly the case among aboriginal tour operators. For most, it was clear that appropriate tour operator behaviour was socially and culturally sanctioned. As one aboriginal tour operator declared:

"We police ourselves, we know the land and we know where our people are hunting whales . . . I think there is social enforcement rather than set guidelines. People know each other really well, [and] people generally stay in their own areas. In general, there is too much complaining out on the coast. But people are generally courteous to each other, and everyone really knows to stay outside of certain areas" (Anonymous *pers. comm.* July 1998).

Due to tight kinship units and the small spatial scale of these settlements, families, and indeed the community itself, may ostracize a tour operator "convicted" of breaching a behaviourial norm. If a tour operator does something wrong near or in the smaller settlements, word quickly spreads, and leads to an individual being socially reprimanded. Clearly, communication is the means by which conflict between parties is best avoided. Fifty percent (N= 22) of tour operators agreed that prior communication was the best mechanism to avoid conflict between parties. Eighteen percent of respondents were interested in separating activities, while the same number felt that conflict could not be avoided. Only 14% of respondents stated that conflict between parties was not an issue.

Table 32: Tour Operator Perspectives on how to Avoid Conflict

Q 32) How is conflict best avoided between different parties? N=22	Better Communication		Separating Activities		Cannot Be Avoided		Not of Concern	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
	11	50%	4	18%	4	18%	3	14%

(n- number of mentions, % -percentage of response).

For tour operators who agreed that conflict was best avoided by separating consumptive and non-consumptive resource use, most stressed that current zoning and regulations were adequate. However, most of these tour operators were already aware of the existing Tourism Guidelines. During the 1998 field season, only 4 tour companies offered whale watching excursions as a main product. Of those 4, all were at least to some extent aware of the BSBMP zones and regulations. In most cases, whale watching tours were conducted far away from existing hunting areas. It seems that if tour operators make a concerted effort to avoid whale hunting areas (particularly when this is written in their initial proposals), then the local Hunters' and Trappers' Committee will accept the tours.

To illustrate, one tour company owner clarified that:

"With the last discussion with the Tuktoyaktuk Hunters' and Trappers' Committee, the whale watching issue was cleared. Most of the whale hunting is based out of Hendrickson Island, and the actual whale watching is further away from this, it's closer to Tuk. Even those Inuvialuit tour operators out of Inuvik know where hunting takes place and will try and avoid these areas. It is those tour operators that are in it for the buck that need policing" (Anonymous pers comm. July 1998).

The current "success" of BSBMP zoning which separates whale watching and whale hunting is limited to those tour operators who are directly tuned into the HTC, institutional/co-management information loop.

Tour operators were then asked what they thought was being done to avoid conflict between themselves, visitors and hunters. For most tour operators, the formal outfitter licencing process, co-ordinated by RWED and the renewable resource management committees, was considered to be sufficient in regulating tour operator and visitor impact. Tour operators felt that licencing already entailed several procedures in which agencies could track tour operator and visitor numbers, routes, and infrastructure. For example, if a tour operator causes significant environmental impact, his or her licence may be revoked and be subject to review by the proponent (as stated under section 14 of the BSBMP Tourism Guidelines)(FJMC, 1997, p. 6). Furthermore, three tour operators mentioned that they do random spot checks, or covertly join tours to make sure their guides are actually following the Guidelines. One tour operator discussed this procedure:

"We make sure that we get photocopies of their licences, we also do spot checks on the outfitters -- we will just show up on their tour that they booked, just to make sure that the outfitter is doing what he or she says they are doing" (Anonymous *pers comm.* June 1998).

8.4 TOUR OPERATOR PERSPECTIVES OF THE ENVIRONMENTAL IMPACTS OF NATURE-BASED TOURISM

8.4.1 The Potential of Environmental Conservation from Nature-based Tourism

Literature suggests that the better nature-based tour operators understand their market, and particularly their clients' needs, the better they can manage their ecological impacts (Ziffer, 1989; Wight, 1995). Since nature-based tourists demand expert knowledge on local ecology (and culture) with a desire to participate in its conservation, tour operators may, therefore, feel compelled to meet their demands (Boo, 1990). Cognizant of tourist demands, the tour operator then functions as a "nature broker"; a role in which the tour operator attempts to minimizes human impact on those resources used while touring (Gurung *et al.*, 1995, p.111). The extent

to which visitor demands, and perhaps institutional demands, have forced tour operators to act on and promote ecovalue-driven tours is seen by their comments that describe proactive or active conservation strategies. The most common response from tour operators is that garbage produced during land or water tours is always brought ashore to be disposed of properly. Furthermore, two non-aboriginal tour operators stated that they always gave customers a quick briefing on proper environmental conduct while touring.

Four tour operators operating in the Beaufort-Delta encompassed and practiced nature-based tourism's development ethic. For example, Quark Expeditions, an outbound tour operator from Colorado, currently holds a fascinating itinerary which includes, among other things, professional lectures that are geared towards promoting conservation during their Arctic expedition cruises. Three other tour operators, who have had exposure to an "ecotourism product and philosophy", stated they were also actively promoting on-tour conservation practices.

One respondent contended:

"*The tourists are really good with packing in garbage that they pack out. They don't complain and seem to appreciate the cleanliness of the country. I think that they would like to keep it that way. I stress minimum impact camping too on all my tours, they also appreciate this*" (Anonymous, *pers. comm*. July 1998).

Some tour operators have also capitalized on the opportunity to use their tours as a means of promoting conservation through environmental and cultural teachings. In fact, one quarter (N= 20) of the tour operators stated they advocated low-impact touring, while half stated they facilitated discussion on local culture and ecology with their visitors. This suggests that at least one-third of all the tour operators attempted to mitigate negative cultural and ecological impacts while touring. However, tour operators do not attempt to promote the direct

involvement of their visitors in 'on-tour' conservation practices. In fact, three tour operators mentioned that they saw tour boat captains throw garbage overboard at the Inuvik warf and Beaufort Sea coast. They argued that many of the tourists, since they come to expect certain environmental standards, have better habits during tours than do guides and tour operators afterwards.

8.4.2 The Perception of Tour Operators on Guidelines and Enforcement

Even though some tour operators and visitors may be more ecologically and culturally conscious than others, many may still capitalize on situations for personal gains, thereby neglecting any guidelines and ultimately nature-based tourism's development ethic. It was, therefore, appropriate to ask how aware tour operators were of the existence of the BSBMP Tourism Guidelines, or any other guidelines for that matter. Remarkably, 55% (N= 22) of tour operators stated that they were unaware of any formal guidelines, whereas only 27% stated they had some understanding of them. This result deserves particular attention since guidelines are inexpensive to make and may act as a quick communication tool for mitigating tour operator and visitor impact (Goodall and Cater, 1996). Since tour booking agencies handle the highest volume of customers, they would be the most effective in distributing or communicating the content and/or existence of guidelines.

Table 33: Tour Operator Awareness of Existing Tourism Guidelines

27a) Are you aware of any existing tourism guidelines?(N=22)	Yes		No		Did Not Know	
	n	%	n	%	n	%
	6	27%	12	55%	4	18%

(n- number of mentions, % -percentage of response).

Next, tour operators were asked whether they perceived tourists actually abided by any guidelines. Interestingly, 52% (N= 21) of tour operators felt that their clients (tourists) adhered to some form of guidelines, whereas 24% felt that they did not (with 24% answering "don't know")). However, it seems that the BSBMP Tourism Guidelines, or any other guidelines for that matter, are not formally imposed, indicating that appropriate visitor behaviour is based more on common sense teachings. Tourists are keen on understanding nature-based tourism's informal rules which may be issued to them by their tour operators. Overall, however, it seems that little use is being made of information packages which promote cultural and environmental education.

The desire among tour operators to implement and maintain tourism guidelines was fairly high at 62% (N=21). In fact, most agreed they were essential to the operation of their business. Many felt that the industry's management capabilities were very inadequate, while others were highly skeptical of the Tourism Guidelines' effectiveness. However, for 23% (N= 22) of the tour operators, implementing new guidelines was not that simple. Many felt they would overtly resist new tourism guidelines, simply because too many had been set up already and because resources should be considered as common property. For example, one operator stated *"Anyone has the right to travel 100 feet above the high water mark. I got into contact and conflict once with a hunter and we exchanged a few words. But water is a public resource, so everyone should have the right to use it as they wish"* (Anonymous *pers. comm*. July 1998). A minority also felt that implementing guidelines through a marine protected area would "just add another level of complexity". It was repeatedly stressed that the current legislative and regulatory environment acts a major impediment to nature-based tourism development.

Table 34: Tour Operator Perspectives on Whether Tourism Guidelines Should be Implemented

Q27b)Do you think that tourism guidelines should be set into place?(N=21)	Yes		No		Do Not Know	
	n	%	n	%	n	%
	13	62%	4	19%	4	19%

(n- number of mentions, % -percentage of response).

However, 54% of the tour operators indicated that if guidelines were to be implemented, then they should be stricter than previous ones. Moreover, almost 60% of tour operators stressed there was a particular need for tourism guidelines at the Beaufort-Sea coast. This shows that the current regulatory framework is not addressing the more contentious conflicts at Kugmallit and Mackenzie Bay.

Table 35: Tour Operator Perspectives on a Need for Stricter Tourism Guidelines

Q27d) Do you think that stricter tourism guidelines are necessary?(N=22)	Yes		No		Do Not Know	
	n	%	n	%	n	%
	12	54%	5	23%	5	23%

(n- number of mentions, % -percentage of response).

Table 36: Tour Operator Perspectives on Tourism Guidelines in Coastal Areas

Q28) Do you think that there is a greater need for guidelines in coastal areas?(N=22)	Yes		No		Do Not Know	
	n	%	n	%	n	%
	13	59%	4	18%	5	23%

(n- number of mentions, % -percentage of response).

These results reflect the piecemeal manner in which most guidelines are implemented and evaluated. By considering a comprehensive approach to nature-based tourism management, many of the tactical and strategic gaps contained within the BSBMP Tourism Guidelines might be narrowed (Johnston, 1997, p. 25; Goodall and Cater, 1996, p. 46). Ideally, a comprehensive (and site specific) nature-based tourism strategy would include many factors: 1) implicit regulations, such as informal rules, local social practices, tacit agreements and standards; as well as 2) explicit regulations, such as formal laws, legislation and policy instruments. Interestingly, it is sanctions inflicted by social groups that encourage compliance. Moreover, compliance and non-compliance must play on the morality of a tour operator. An incentive-based compliance system could work well for this. Johnston (1997) notes that while there are several informal tourism regulations in the NWT, there is as of yet no comprehensive and formal tourism management strategy available: in most cases it is only single pieces of legislation that provide an inconsistent regulatory backing for guidelines (*ibid*, p. 17). On a positive note, in 1997 the World Wildlife Fund's Arctic Programme (1997) constructed and implemented a comprehensive set of site-specific Arctic ecotourism guidelines. The guidelines differ from most as they are aimed at both Arctic ecotourists and tour operators. Once again, however, although these guidelines specify codes of conducts, they are only voluntary in nature (WWF, 1997).

8.4.3 Fixed or Adjusted Tours: Is there a Difference in Environmental Impact?

For most local tour operators, tours are adapted to season, weather, and, of course, a tourists demand. To illustrate, if a tour to the Beaufort Sea coast or Herschel Island is fixed and fully booked 2 days in advance, a sudden change in weather may delay the trip indefinitely. Tourists will most likely have their money refunded, thereby forcing the tour operator to incur a financial loss. As a result, although 35 % (N=20) of tour operators have prearranged tours, 65% stated that they adjusted their tours to meet their customers' needs as well as to off-set financial

losses. Many also offered a combination of fixed and adjusted tours. As a tour operator caters to the whims of tourist demand, he or she is immediately securing him or herself a satisfied customer and a potential profit by closing the sale. The downside to modifying a tour to suit a tourist's needs is twofold. First, if a tour operator goes off a fixed route, he or she may risk losing their licence. Second, if a tour operator's motive for changing a tour is strictly economical, the risks for environmental and cultural degradation may increase tremendously.

8.5 Summary

The overall feeling among non-aboriginal tour operators is that the nature-based tourism industry is very disorganized and not focused in its marketing. They stressed that in the long-run, the mismanagement of tourism may create many negative economic impacts. A greater need for communication, cooperation and "professionalism" is called for. Similarly, although many tour operators would like to expand and structure their nature-tourism business, they feel that tourism cannot support them. Currently, most tour operators rely very heavily on a second job for income. Although an impediment to most tour operators, the casual nature of tourism gives the Inuvialuit greater flexibility to pursue land-based activities. Most tour operators also feel that nature-based tourism has only affected Inuvialuit culture in a positive way. Since the foundation of nature-based tourism is northern culture and ecology, many argued it has contributed to cultural exchange, revival of culture, and a slight increase in community pride. Nevertheless, tour operators may still exacerbate tensions between themselves, visitors and hunters out on the land. As awareness of the existing BSBMP Tourism Guidelines is fairly low among tour operators, conflict is likely to continue. Despite this, the majority agreed that guidelines are indeed necessary to help manage tour operators and visitors, and that they are increasingly necessary in coastal areas. Tour operators are cognizant that they are instrumental in managing their own and others' behaviour while touring. However, tour operators must stay on assigned routes, and be aware and sensitive to different tours and visitors placing varying degrees of stress on local resources.

CHAPTER 9: CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

9.1 CONCLUSIONS

In 1959, with little over 600 visitors in the Beaufort-Delta, tourism was based primarily on big game hunting and fishing, with lodges and outfitters progressively catering to the needs of such tourists (Hinch, 1995; Marsh, 1987). In 1998, however, most of the 7,000 tourists coming to the Beaufort-Delta were interested in activities based in Inuvialuit culture and ecology (Economic Development and Tourism, 1998).

Today, new visitor interest in aboriginal culture and Arctic ecology has allowed the Inuvialuit to capitalize on tourism to strengthen their mixed economy, culture, and ecology. By tapping into traditional knowledge and by using local natural resources, the Inuvialuit market themselves and their region with great pride and ingenuity. Notwithstanding the benefits of nature-based tourism, the fact remains, however, that it is an incredibly dynamic and complex industry that is based on southern values and motives, and so its potential for negative impacts in the Beaufort-Delta should not be underestimated. The symbiotic relationship between nature-based tourism supporting economic diversification, cultural, and ecological survival, and vice versa, is not as ideal as regional practioners make it out to be.

Indeed, under the **first objective** of *identifying past visitor motives and use patterns in the Beaufort-Delta,* it was revealed that tourists are not a homogenous group, and that their various interests and attitudinal characteristics may steer the type and level of impact on Inuvialuit community life and ecology. As tourists arrive in Inuvik, they satiate their interests by "participating" in various cultural and ecotours in and around the communities of Aklavik and Tuktoyaktuk. By far the most popular activity was the Tuktoyaktuk Cultural Town Tour. The 1994 GNWT Exit Survey indicated that for the Inuvik region, 14% (771) of tourists

participated in cultural activities, whereas 26% (1, 416) had gone to Tuktoyaktuk for a cultural community tour (GNWT, 1995). This may, however, be an underestimate of nearly 2,000 tourists. Based on one tour operator's statistics, over 1,300 visitors arrived in 1997, while the major tour company in Tuktoyaktuk draws the same amount, if not more; indicating that over 3, 000 tourists can easily visit Tuktoyaktuk in one year. Cultural community tours usually only last for a half day, and involve having lunch with an Inuvialuit family. Moving into more intimate, and thus culturally sensitive settings, a few cultural tourists engage in "participatory" tourism in bush and whaling camps. Adventure tourists are the Beaufort-Delta's hardier visitors. Most adventure tourists travel by independent means, such as with a marine kayak, to the larger rivers, remote national parks, the Beaufort Sea coast, and the many islands. The Firth River and the Richardson Mountains in Ivvavik National Park are visited most frequently, with an average of 162 visitors per year, and Aulavik and Tuktut Nogait National Parks rarely receive more than 20 visitors per year (Wight, 1998). However, Herschel Island, being rich in history and scenic beauty, draws over 700 visitors per year, many of whom are adventure tourists as well as cruise tourists. In most of these areas, tourist visitation is very frequent, highly concentrated, and brief. High volumes of tourists tend to concentrate near Pauline Cove, Herschel Island and in the Firth River Corridor at Ivvavik National Park. The Beaufort-Delta's "ecotourists" are less active than adventure tourists, and tend to use mechanized transport means to reach stops reputed for optimal wildlife viewing. In 1994, for example, 193 (4%) tourists participated in flightseeing tours over the Mackenzie River Delta. Other tourists fly directly into the national parks to view caribou, muskox, and waterfowl more closely. Most importantly, boat cruises up the Mackenzie River will often take ecotourists to view beluga whales specifically or en route to Tuktoyaktuk; in 1994, 644 (12 %) visitors participated in such a tour (GNWT, 1995).

The sheer number of tourists, in combination with their infrastructure requirements and diverse interests, compound the impacts of nature-based tourism in the Beaufort-Delta. In 1996, a total population of 4, 966 individuals in Inuvik, Aklavik and Tuktoyaktuk, had to absorb 7, 687 tourists in the same year. Given this information, it is difficult to characterize the current tourism infrastructure and tourist typology within the Beaufort-Delta as being part of the more benign exploration stage of Butler's (1980) tourist area cycle of evolution (TACE) model (see chapter 2).

The question therefore arises whether tourists just come to "stick their toe in the Arctic Ocean", or whether they express a genuine interest in helping to conserve Inuvialuit culture, economy and environment. For many tourists, as Butler (1993) notes, their visit may just be a single day, "another spot to check off of the list of places visited", rather than a vacation with a purpose of conservation and education (Ceballos-Lascurain, 1996). Consequently, the level of tourism development in the Beaufort-Delta may, in fact, lie somewhere between the involvement and development stages of the TACE model; although perhaps closer to the development stage. Within this range, contact between locals and hosts remains high and "superficial". As more tourists consume Inuvialuit culture and nature, natural amenities become increasingly advertised and developed. Once unique culture and ecological attributes are supplemented with new conveniences for the "modern tourist", transportation routes and visitor facilities increase, eventually forcing locally provided goods and services to vanish (*ibid.*, p. 8). Signs of ecological degradation, cultural stress, and absentee/external ownership then increase, making it difficult for the Inuvialuit to control what is happening around them (Butler, 1993). Negative impacts similar to those described in the TACE stages, have also arisen from tourism development in the Beaufort-Delta.

Nonetheless, as Grekin and Milne (1996) stress, "changes in technology, markets and macroeconomic relations mean that the development path of a [tourism] destination is often unpredictable and rarely follows a linear progression", as is suggested by Butler's (1980) TACE model. Keller (1987) argues that local populations do, indeed, have potential to gain and maintain control over decision-making in peripheral tourism developments. Albeit, local control and participation in tourism development must occur early on in the exploration and involvement stages of tourism area development. If training and industry organization occurs early on, Inuvialuit reliance on outside expertise might be reduced.

Conclusions from the first half of the **second objective:** *"to reveal and gauge institutional perspectives on the present and desired conditions related to the sustainability of nature-based tourism",* suggest that economic development institutions plan to cater to the growth and diversity of nature-based tourists' interests. To date, the Inuvialuit Development Corporation (IDC) plans to establish new ecotourism, cultural, and adventure tourism staging points throughout the Beaufort-Delta region. Efforts are already underway to expand and retrofit tourism infrastructures and to develop new types of tourism activities. As part of this development mandate, the IDC eagerly seeks to coordinate management efforts among stakeholders to increase the industry's economic viability. How the IDC tourism development strategy is to affect Inuvialuit culture and ecology remains to be seen, however. What is for certain, is that the lack of information available to the Inuvialuit on tourism development, deficient marketing for peripheral communities, low tour diversity, and a lack of culturally appropriate training, polarizes many economic benefits, especially within Inuvik. Others highlight nature-based tourism's inherent incompatibility with Inuvialuit culture and ecology, and promote consumptive tourism instead. As well, renewable resource management agencies struggle to enforce existing guidelines in a proactive manner; once again, a lack of communication renders their efforts only partially effective. On a positive note, however,

institutional representatives do understand that the maintenance of the Inuvialuit mixed economy is crucial to the sustainability of the industry, as well as to Inuvialuit livelihoods and ecology.

Also as part of the **second objective,** this study attempted *to reveal and gauge Inuvialuit perspectives on the present and desired conditions related to the sustainability of nature-based tourism.* While the Inuvialuit stressed nature-based tourism generates significant economic benefits, they still struggle to contain many of its negative impacts. For example, Aklavik elders indicated that, compared to Inuvik and Tuktoyaktuk, their community received the least economic benefits from nature-based tourism. Moreover, elders stressed that individuals directly involved in tourism (such as carvers, guides, and outfitters) received the most benefits from tourism, while most other residents really saw nothing. Key reasons for this were: 1) too many regulatory impediments, 2) a lack of accessibility to communities, 3) a lack of marketing, and 4) low tour diversity. Each of these factors only perpetuates a frontier development ethic which is based on limited cooperation and excessive competition. It, therefore, becomes difficult for tourism to help underwrite the overall costs of subsistence activities as well as to reduce unemployment by involving the growing younger Inuvialuit population.

Cultural differences between host and guest, ideological differences on resource consumption, and the manifestation of stereotypes, also make it a challenge for the Inuvialuit to retain their culture, while meeting the expectations (e.g., "professionalism") of the tourism industry. If nature-based tourism grows further, and the Inuvialuit do not become more directly involved in its management, the maintenance of cultural, economic, ecological sustainability will become increasingly difficult. This is especially so since the main Inuvialuit harvests (the spring goose hunt and the mid-summer beluga whale hunt) roughly coincide with the peak of tourist visitation, as is shown in Figure 13. This figure was constructed using data from the 1994 Inuvialuit Harvest Study (Fabijan, 1994) juxtaposed against data on tourist

numbers obtained from the GNWT Visitor Exit Survey for the year 1994 (Economic Development and Tourism, 1994). As is clearly shown by Figure 13, peak tourist arrivals and the peak of the whale hunt coincides exactly with one another. As tourists and hunters congregate where beluga whales do, the chance of tourists and tour operators interfering with the hunts and/or harassing the whales is very high, as has been extensively documented within this study. Caribou and geese are also harassed by low-flying "flight-seeing" tours and "fly-in" wildlife viewing tours. As Inuvialuit hunters wait patiently for their prey, they and the animal can be scarred off by the sound of low-flying planes or even tour boats. Not shown in Figure 13, are other species which show a peak summer harvest: Arctic Charr, Lake Whitefish, Broad Whitefish, Cisco, and Inconnu. These species are often caught adjacent to bush or "rat" camps that are tucked away within the Delta and smaller inlets at the Beaufort Sea coast. As only a few tourists visit bush camps on generally well organized tours, conflict between harvesting and tourism seems less here than at whaling camps and out at sea. However, within the enclosed and personal space of bush camps, it is necessary that visitors are briefed on appropriate behaviour (e.g., which questions are polite to ask) and that they follow the camp owner's rules very closely. Tourists are after all visiting an Inuvialuk's second home.

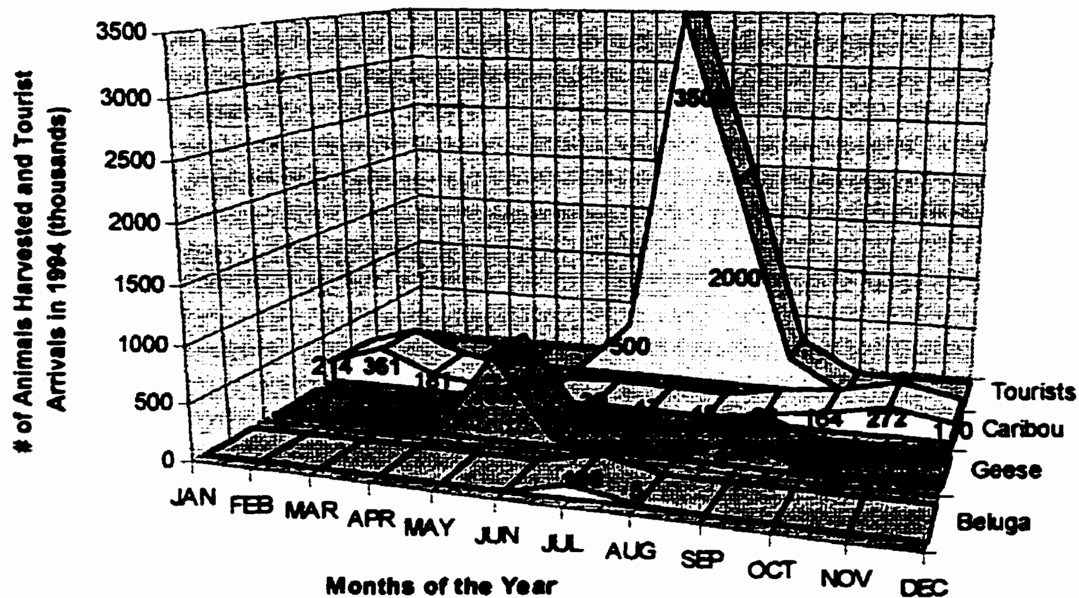

Figure 13: Inuvialuit Species Harvest (for Tuktoyaktuk, Aklavik and Inuvik Hunters) Relative to Tourist Numbers for the Year 1994 (Fabijan, 1994, ED &T, 1995)

The combination of the preservationist tendencies of many tourists, the expansion of tourist facilities, and the incompatibility between harvests and tourist activities, all increase the threat of the Inuvialuit becoming dislocated from their culture, economy, and land (Berkes et al., 1994). History has shown that southern ideological and physical impositions on Arctic lands and culture lead to devastating impacts (Wenzel, 1991). Ris (1993) has shown how foreign ecotourism entrepreneurs and their sponsors attempted to end domestic whaling through

changing tourists and local peoples' values of whales in Norway. The typology of ecotourists and cultural tourists suggests that many assign personal meanings on viewing wildlife in its natural ("undisturbed") state (Jacob and Schreyer, 1980). Anti-harvesting and environmental campaigns, from such groups as the International Fund for Animal Welfare, the Sea Shepards and Greenpeace, have reinforced and helped to condition the perceptions of urbanites, many of whom may be nature-based tourists, on how wildlife is to be used (see also Kalland, 1993 for Scandinavia). Thus, many nature-based tourists carry the same level of life-style intolerance that many environmental groups hold toward indigenous peoples. Due to the rhetoric of environmental campaigns, hard-core, dedicated, and especially, mainstream nature-based tourists will assign high personal values to certain species. Inuvialuit hunting of such species, as beluga, disrupts the tourist's feeling of "species possession and affection" (Jacob and Schreyer, 1980). As a result, conflicting goals arise, eventually leading the urbanite to misrepresent the activity and associate the misrepresented activity with Inuvialuit culture. As Freeman (1997) writes:

> "The public nature of killing and butchering animals can be a shock to some non-northern visitors, or those watching television images... the emotional impact upon non-northerners may be heightened by the ample flow of blood (which remains a defiling and, hence, threatening substance to them)" (p. 10).

Due to the "totemization" of species, particularly of whales, many nature-based tourists only see animals by their photogenic, or aesthetic values. The media, environmentalists, and animal rights groups have rendered large animals with a certain mysticism that endows them with very powerful symbolism (Kalland, 1997). Such desensitization has caused tourists, as well as many southerners, to fail to realize that subsistence is a cultural and economic necessity for

the Inuvialuit, rather than a sport. Kalland (1997) notes that tourists' continued opposition to subsistence hunting has dichotomized the situation into the consumptive ("bad"- animal eating) and non-consumptive use ("good"- animal loving) of animals.

The European Union's ban on wild furs and sealskins from the Canadian Arctic shows how highly effective environmental campaigns can undermine the vitality of an economy and culture. Many nature-based tourists are ignorant of the fact that subsistence is, as Freeman (1997) writes, "a complex of activities associated with procuring, processing, distributing and consuming locally obtained foods, [which] includes the social relations and beliefs required to support the land and these activities" (p. 8). The nutritional, psychological, cultural, economic, and ecological value of the Inuvialuit domestic economy is what separates the reality of Inuvialuit life from the reality of an urban tourist's life.

Indeed, the failures to recognize pre-existing, and traditionally important, land uses has caused Inuvialuit elders to voice very strong concerns over tourists misrepresenting their subsistence activities and social conditions, especially by those tourists with environmentalist ideologies. Interestingly, elders argued that direct exposure to harvesting/processing was the most effective way to reduce tourist misconceptions. Elders went even so far as to say that the best way to dispel misconceptions about Inuvialuit hunting is to actively involve tourists in harvesting activity itself. Similarly, Inuvialuit elders commented that the problem is not so much that tourists take photos of them, but rather that photos of processing or hunting could be used against them by tourists once they go south. Elders argued, however, that they would never change their way of life to accommodate the "fragile" tourist. They are quick to point out that traditional activities are not a tourist attraction, but rather a fact of life and survival. Nevertheless, as the Inuit of Pond Inlet have done (Grekin, 1994), Inuvialuit also feel inclined to conceal hunting activity from tourists.

In contrast, since nature-based tourism focuses on northern culture and ecology, Inuvialuit also use their traditional skills to create harvesting opportunities and much needed employment for themselves through tourism, while concurrently luring and educating tourists. Inuvialuit elders also found that nature-based tourism has the potential to increase cross-cultural understandings, revive the interest among young Inuvialuit in traditional bush skills, and to help finance capital for subsistence activities. Tourists who were appreciated the most were very friendly, polite, and interested in learning about Inuvialuit culture.

Despite this, the opportunistic visitor and tour operator still make unauthorized trips to whaling camps. Independent adventure tourists (i.e., marine kayakers) or tourists tipping a local for a ride will arrive at many of the major whaling camps; for reasons of safety and hospitality, Inuvialuit whalers feel obliged to take them into their camps. The perceived impacts of low-flying planes and tour boats on caribou, geese, and beluga are all still present in the Beaufort-Delta. Inuvialuit elders claimed that the noise of tour boats and airplanes scared the Beaufort beluga whales into deeper water and also made them stop and run. Similarly, not so far away in the Alaskan Chukchi Sea, Huntington (1998) documented Inupiat elders' claims that because beluga whales were sensitive to sound, that any unnecessary noise at whale hunting camps was best avoided. Twenty years later, the number of beluga in the Buckland Area of the Chukchi Sea declined dramatically, possibly due to increases in local boat traffic (Huntington, 1998, p. 67). It is therefore problematic to assume that the "culturally aware" and "ecologically conscious" nature-based tourist, and indeed the entire industry infrastructure, are based on the precepts of ecotourism and sustainable tourism development.

Under the first part of the **third objective:** *"to reveal and gauge visitor perspectives on the present and desired conditions related to the sustainability of nature- based tourism"* it is apparent that the surveyed visitors' motivations may play a key role in contributing to and directing both positive and negative impacts in the Beaufort-Delta region. As tourists demand more "culture" and "nature" tourism products, they are attracted to those features which are locally the most significant and sensitive. For many visitors an opportunity to learn from an Inuvialuit elder was an unparalleled experience; for others, however, their visit was an opportunity to question, ridicule, and bring out the dreaded "tourist weapon": the camera. For most of the surveyed tourists, taking photographs of local residents and harvesting activity was especially desirable, and reaffirms Inuvialuit resentment of certain types of photography. As visitors attempt to "immerse" themselves in Inuvialuit culture, many are not prepared for the reality of northern life. Many tourists expressed that they held reservations about communicating with locals during their tours. It seems that accurate information exchange between tourism managers and tourists is not taking place. The fact that the majority of the surveyed tourists were interested to learn about Inuvialuit culture through the help of their tour operator, reaffirms the need for prompt and accurate dialogue. With more tourists visiting culturally sensitive bush and whaling camps, it becomes important to educate visitors on appropriate behaviour when interacting with Inuvialuit and their surrounding ecology. A lack of tourist awareness on how to behave in these settings, may be due to their short stays in the Beaufort-Delta.

Nevertheless, the interests of the surveyed tourists may have contributed to direct expenditure on locally produced goods: a valuable economic impact, given the high unemployment rates in the Beaufort-Delta. Local carvers and other artisans in Tuktoyaktuk and Inuvik are most likely to benefit from high visitor expenditure on Inuvialuit art work. The same can be said for guides and tour operators in these two communities. Among all types of tours, land tours may be the most closely linked to the domestic economies of Tuktoyaktuk and

Inuvik. Unfortunately, the same cannot be said for the Inuvialuit living in Aklavik, as a minority of surveyed tourists visited and spent money there. As tourists are brought to various art shops and artists' homes to ponder purchases and eat country foods during land tours, they may, however, (depending on demand) place considerable strain on local resources, thus potentially increasing harvesting efforts. As tourists hone in on cultural and natural amenities, they often neglect the fact that pre-existing land uses exist in the same area. Can they be blamed? Not necessarily, since very few tourists felt that their tour operators had made them aware of any guidelines at all — this includes the local BSBMP Tourism Guidelines. Similarly, visitors were doubtful that their tour operator was conducting tours in a sustainable manner.

However, visitors are strong proponents of active environmental stewardship during their tours, with most supporting the idea of paying user fees geared toward management and conservation. Others felt that they should be educated on the local landscape and become more actively involved in ecological conservation during their tours. Room to capitalize on nature-based tourists' concerns to help protect local ecology and culture certainly exists. In contrast, even though visitors saw evidence of vegetative trampling, minor soil erosion, and disturbance of wildlife, the majority felt they should be allowed to visit sensitive ecological and historic sites. To date, besides perceived disturbances of marine and terrestrial wildlife, visitor induced ecological degradation is minimal.

Lastly, as part of the second half of the **third objective**, *"tour operator perspectives on the existing and desired conditions related to the sustainability of nature-based tourism"* were revealed, gauged, and documented. For tour operators, the disorganized nature of tourism was both a blessing and a curse. For Inuvialuit hunters, a casual approach to tourism granted them greater flexibility to pursue traditional activities and also acted as an income supplement for such activities. The extra money secured from nature-based tourism may go to the

maintenance of bush camps, the purchase of ammunition and other expenditures related to subsistence activities. Casual involvement in nature-based tourism also gives aboriginal tour operators the opportunity to harvest and concurrently teach tourists about their way of life. Even though the Inuvialuit are often out on the land, and thus not available to run their tours as scheduled, they help to maintain the "genuine" character of the region.

In Wanda Wuttunee's book *In Business for Ourselves (1992)*, she interviews long-time Inuvik resident and pilot, Freddy Carmichael, who explains how he gives his aboriginal employees extra time off of work in order to get out onto the land. He says:

> "We try whenever possible to give them time off when they want it. It's difficult because we start getting things ready for the summer about May and a lot of them like to be out on the land, hunting and trapping. It's just to be out there in the spring. It's tough when they want to go then. It's busy but we've been allowing it" (p. 162).

For others, however, the lack of co-ordination and partnership between inbound tour operators and themselves, as well as Economic Development and Tourism, makes relying on tourism as a full-time occupation impossible; of course, the seasonality, inconsistent flow of tourists, weather, high capital costs, low tourism activity diversity, and a lack of qualified guides plays an equally important role. Thus, tour companies ranged from a small casual operation to more detailed and professional businesses. Overall, however, institutional representatives and tour operators argued that the economic potential of tourism was not being realized because of HTC restrictions on wildlife viewing. More specifically, they contended that the economic potential of whale watching has not been realized, and that through greater communication, wildlife viewing and hunting could co-exist after all.

Currently, the Inuvialuit retain a fairly stable presence in Beaufort-Delta's nature-based tourism industry; however, there is still considerable room for further aboriginal involvement. Nonetheless, as the Inuvialuit slowly become involved in nature-based tourism, other Inuvialuit gain as well. Inuvialuit tour operators firmly believe that the best way of incorporating local knowledge and labour into tourism is by hiring locally. However, many of the smaller tour companies ask family and friends to help take care of daily tourism-related tasks, such as hosting, guiding, and cooking. As Inuvialuit, and other locals, become increasingly involved in nature-based tourism, they pass on new employment opportunities to other locals. Conversely, although tourism contributes to the Inuvialuit mixed economy, and thus decreases livelihood vulnerability, it may concurrently exacerbate community tensions and strain familial relations, such as cooperation during harvesting. Due to the volatile nature of tourism, especially in the high Arctic, dependency on it as a source of income is not necessarily a secure option — economic and cultural support through a mix of incomes is likely to be the best long-term solution.

Different nature-based tours also hold different impacts on Inuvialuit life. For example, while "participatory" cultural tours usually involve fewer tourists and increase the degree of cultural exchange, they require greater restraint on the tour operators and tourists part. As suggested, the number of "bush tours" has, however, remained fairly limited. This study's survey found that only 7 of 171 visitors had seen or actually gone to a whaling camp, while none mentioned they had visited a bush camp. In contrast, although cultural town tours and wildlife viewing tours are less participatory, they are more frequent and involve a greater number of visitors. Hence, they may have an equally devastating impact on local ecology and culture; inappropriate management on each of these tours has led to negative impacts.

On a larger spatial scale, whale and caribou watchers have interfered with hunting activities for sometime now in the Beaufort-Delta region. Based on tour operator perspectives, there are several reasons for this. First, it is only those tour operators who conduct formally recognized whale watching tours who are aware of the local BSBMP Tourism Guidelines. Second, those tour operators who offer wildlife viewing tours on the side, or covertly (adjusting tours to meet clients' needs), are most likely unaware of the Guidelines. In fact, most were not aware of any tourism guidelines at all. Tour operators argued that 1) they could regulate themselves through prior communication and social sanctions, 2) that more guidelines would just add more "red-tape" and get nothing accomplished, and 3) that areas, such as the open sea, were common-property and therefore available for anyone to use. In contrast, most agreed that out of all areas, guidelines were especially necessary at the coast.

In summary, the complexities inherent in tourism growth in the Beaufort-Delta make the objective of sustainable tourism development contentious at best. While tourists maintain they would respect Inuvialuit culture, having travelled far they want their expectations fulfilled upon arrival. However, if the Inuvialuit are left to control the amount of tourism and the type of tourist, then many of nature-based tourism's development potentials may be met. Information must, however, flow within coordinated management efforts. If information is shared and a proactive, or anticipatory, approach to tourism management is developed, then nature-based tourism could remain an aspect of the Inuvialuit mixed economy, rather than a central ingredient to northern life, and thus fulfill its development potential.

9.2 RECOMMENDATIONS

The following recommendations are derived from the results and conclusions of this study, and represent an attempt to address the inadequacies of the BSBMP Tourism Guidelines. Recommended actions are meant to be cost effective and easy to implement.

***Socioeconomic Considerations*: BSBMP Guideline #2:** Guiding and Outfitting Priority IFA Section 14(42): "The Inuvialuit shall have first priority in the Western Arctic for guiding and outfitting, or other commercial activities relating to wildlife as authorized by governments from time to time".

Perceived Issues:
BSBMP Guideline #2: The opportunity for the Inuvialuit to participate in nature-based tourism has not necessarily been ensured by IFA Sec 14(42). The Inuvialuit feel that:

- they have not been able to express their views regarding the impacts of nature-based tourism development (before it begins) (e.g., they cannot control the number of tourists coming into their communities);
- there is a lack of community involvement, particularly in decision-making for tourism development/ management **Issues include:**
- they have not received enough information about how to become involved in tourism, (i.e., how to obtain licencing and funding information);
- training and qualifications are suited to southern needs;
- greater emphasis must be placed on involving younger Inuvialuit in tourism;
- polarized economic benefits exist within and between communities and at whaling camps;
- a lack of financial support (e.g.. subsidies) from the GNWT and local agencies is apparent;
- a lack of effective marketing (i.e., for Aklavik residents) also exists;
- the tourism industry has a very poor communication and organizational structure. Because of this there is a monopolization on tours; a decreasing client base; high economic leakages; no "sharing" of tourists among tour operators; low financial return; and a great deal of equipment which is too expensive;
- there are too many transient southern employees; local "brain-drain" and a lack of overall commitment from locals is too high.

Discussion:
Resident needs and concerns regarding nature-based tourism must be identified before any (new) development begins. This way potential problems and benefits will be highlighted and avoided (Liu and Var, 1986; Pizam, 1978; Cooke, 1982). These concerns must be

communicated to all stakeholders annually. It is recommended to facilitate a long-term participatory tourism planning process (Brandon, 1996; Guevara, 1996).

Action:

Data Collection:

✓ *Collect base-line data on the perspectives of pertinent stakeholders. Distribute this information to territorial, Inuvialuit, co-management, and federal departments, and local residents (including tour operators);*

Data Distribution:

✓ *Institute seasonal education and communication instruments to ensure that all community objectives are met.* **Ideas may include:**

✓ *Bi-annually circulated newspapers and multi-stakeholder tourism workshops;*

Implementing Participatory Tourism Development:

✓ *Establish a Tourism Steering Committee: being comprised of at least 50% aboriginal representation, the Committee would be responsible for: (1) informing aboriginal people on the where, when and how of developing a tourism outfit, (2) developing a micro-crediting system for budding Inuvialuit entrepreneurs, (3) providing subsidies for capital purchases and operating costs, (4) providing cash incentives (e.g., tax rebates) for those tour operators who purchase local materials, (5) facilitating tri-monthly tourism planning workshops to encourage communication and planning,(6) introducing a certified tour operator apprentice training programmes for those Inuvialuit completing grade 12;*

✓ *To distribute economic benefits more evenly in communities and at whaling camps, tourism funds should be pooled and then re-distributed within the community and to camp owners/participants (i.e., to hunters and low income Inuvialuit families);*

✓ *To increase tour diversity, new marketing efforts should be encouraged which identify new tourist types and activities;*

✓ *To promote co-operative economic development, joint-ventures and cost sharing initiatives should be encouraged by Economic Development and Tourism;*

✓ *To encourage participation in tourism, increase linkages between tourist interest (i.e., expenditure) and domestically produced goods (i.e., arts and crafts)* ***that are not scarce in supply;***

✓ *To facilitate co-operation between tour operators, a single tour broker should be used to find tourists and distribute them equally among tour operators.*

Environmental Considerations: **BSBMP Guideline #9**: Whale and marine mammal harassment. Pursuant to the Federal Fisheries Act, tour operators must ensure that their clients do not harass whale or other marine mammals". **BSBMP Guideline #10**: All aircraft must maintain a minimum altitude of 2500 ft. (757 metres) over zone 1A and 1B and 2000 ft (606 metres) over Zone 2"

Perceived Issues: The harassment of marine mammals by low-flying (charter and scheduled) planes, kayakers and tour boats has not been completely addressed by **BSBMP Guideline #9**. **BSBMP Guideline #10** does not ensure that planes adhere to the specified minimum flying altitudes. The Inuvialuit feel that:

- low-flying planes and kayakers "scare" beluga whales from shallower waters into deeper waters; the beluga will stop and "run" with the approach of smaller tour boats.
- low flying planes and helicopters force caribou into a "running panic"; geese are scared off and this annoys hunters.

Tourists perceive that:

- grizzly bears are harassed by low-flying planes (at Herschel Island);
- there is feeding of wildlife for better pictures (at Herschel Island);
- there are informal "fly-ins" to visit caribou herds (at Ivvavik NP).

Discussion: BSBMP Guideline #9: In Canadian regions where ecotourism-whale watching has grown exponentially (i.e., Saguenay/St. Lawrence Estuary and South Moresby Island), thorough site and species specific guidelines have been established. For example, the World Wildlife Fund and the International Association of Antarctic Tour Operators (IAATO) have constructed guidelines *and* codes of conduct geared specifically for tour operators *and* visitors within polar regions. To date, however, no comprehensive tourism management strategy exists for the Canadian Arctic (Johnston, 1997).

Action:
Management Areas:

✓ *By establishing a Marine Protected Area (under s35(3) of the Oceans Act (1996)), manage and enforce tourism activity according to the BSBMP, 1997. Within the MPA, develop organized and concentrated land and water-based whale watching activities;*

✓ *If necessary, exclude beluga as a species needed for whale watching;*

✓ *For water-based whale watching recommend that boat captains be given a copy of DFO's 1989 Cetacean Watching Guidelines. These guidelines should be distributed, understood, and enforced as a condition of their operating licence. They recommend various "on-water"*

tactics that would help tour operators avoid harassing beluga whales.

- ✓ *Encourage in situ communication between tour operators to deter inappropriate behaviour (communicate intentions and misdeeds).*

Discussion: BSBMP Guideline #10: Hine and Wiebe (1998), Carriere (1998) and Fishman (1994) conclude that low flying planes place considerable stress on caribou, musk-oxen (min. alt. of 300 metres) and geese (min alt. of 1110 for MBS and 650 metres for any area containing birds).

Action:

- ✓ *Use an independent third party to evaluate tour operator (and visitor) compliance to existing guidelines. By reinstating shore watchers (a.k.a. Wildlife Guardians), he or she would report infractions back to the DFO or RWED Office in Inuvik. These infractions would then be registered in a central database. This process would monitor the effectiveness of Tourism Guideline #10 and keep communication networks open. Under section 39 (1) of the Oceans Act (1996), shore watchers could be designated as an "enforcement officer", enabling him or her to enforce MPA regulations. However, the mere presence of a shore watcher is considered to deter low-level flying.*
- ✓ *Do undercover spot-checks on tour operators by wildlife officers;*
- ✓ *Develop an educational campaign on appropriate flying behaviour. Guidelines outlining minimum flying altitudes in relation to species and whaling camps should be given to younger pilots as they are hired. Tour booking agencies and tour operators should be compelled to inform tourists not to influence pilots (i.e., give a pre-trip briefing) to fly lower than usual in order to see animals. This study suggests that since tour booking agencies handle so many outfitters and tourists, that they would be the most effective at distributing such information (and the BSBMP Guidelines).*

Perceived Issues: Although **BSBMP Guideline #1** has had some success in keeping tour boats out of BSBMP Zone 1A, Inuvialuit and visitors still stress:

- there is a greater need for "stricter" tourism guidelines in coastal areas;
- people should be prohibited from going to certain areas where whaling is taking place.
- "illegal" tour operators accept "under-the-table" payments from visitors to visit "hot-spots" within the zoned areas;
- that site-specific (i.e., whale camps) and flexible guidelines should be established. Guidelines should be developed through a comprehensive consultation process;
- that open water is a common-property resource, and that they should conduct tours in any area they want to;
- guidelines are essential to their tour operations; however, many feel they are inadequate;

Discussion: Numerous cases illustrating tourist, tour operator, and Inuit hunter land use conflicts have been documented across the Canadian Arctic (Grekin, 1994; Hinch, 1995; Butler, 1975; Nickels, Milne, and Wenzel, 1991) and internationally (Ris, 1993; Fiallo and Jacobson, 1995). For reasons pertaining to ideological differences on the use of resources (e.g., fears of cultural misrepresentation and disrespect), scaring of animals, wasted hunting efforts and safety, certain areas are designated as exclusive tourism or hunting zones. However, certain types of tourists (i.e., adventure tourists) can be curious and may travel independently or illegally into unauthorized areas, thereby limiting the effectiveness of zoning.

Actions:

✓ *Laminate and distribute a smaller point form version of the BSBMP Tourism Guidelines yearly to inform tour operators and visitors of the BSBMP Zoning. The Guidelines should be distributed to registered and unregistered tour operators, major airlines, cruise lines and at the visitor information centres in Dawson City and Arctic Red River.*

✓ *Offer economic and moral incentives (i.e., a certification process or a "green stamp of approval") for those tour operators that stay out of Zone 1A (this should provide a competitive advantage) (Sirakaya, 1997);*

✓ *Issue a limited number of permits that allow tour operators running whale watching/camp tours, to enter into Zone 1A. Issuing of permits could be based on a yearly quota and lottery system that could be administered by the relevant HTCs. Again, set up a monitoring programme that would record the number of permits and infractions per year. Permit quotas could then be adjusted relative to the number of infractions recorded.*

✓ *Establish a buffer zone around Zone 1A within which water-based whale watching could occur. This would inhibit land use conflicts and also allow whale watching tours to go where most beluga congregate.*

Perceived Issues: BSBMP Guideline #4 has designated areas away from hunting, where tourism can take place. While the HTC's allow certain activities at designated areas, this does not imply that activities and visitors are properly managed there. **BSBMP Guidelines #12** does not encourage on-site monitoring/ management mechanism to hinder tour operators and tourists from taking artifacts. **BSBMP Guideline #11:** while most tour operators stress they participate in garbage removal, some do not.

Visitors feel that:

- there is vegetative trampling induced by visitors at the Pingo Canadian Landmark Site, as well as trail erosion at Herschel Island;

Inuvialuit feel:

- there have been strains on the availability of fresh water at Herschel Island;
- visitors stress shore breeding bird species at Herschel Island;
- tourists take driftwood and the odd cultural artifact with them as souvenirs,

and that: some tour operators allow this to occur;

- some tour operators throw garbage overboard into the MacKenzie River.

Discussion for BSBMP Guidelines #4, #11, #12: Since the very existence of the Beaufort-Delta's nature-based tourism industry depends on cultural and ecological integrity, it is important that it be development within the limits of the region's cultural, economic and environmental carrying-capacity (Ceballos-Lascurain, 1996; Ziffer, 1989, Scace, 1992). Currently, nature-based tourism development in the Beaufort-Delta partially fails to capitalize on the principles of "true" ecotourism. To ensure nature-based tourism is sustainable it must: directly promote and enhance cultural and ecological conservation; operate on a small scale and limit the number of tourists participating; provide infrastructure that is ecologically and culturally benign (i.e., follow a small is beautiful concept where accommodations are culturally and ecologically sensitive); integrate local concerns into the planning and management process. In short, planners must distinguish ecotourism from adventure and cultural tourism.

Action:

✓ *Implement an Inuvialuit tourism host/hostess programme, whereby tourist numbers and behaviour, whether at whaling camps, archaeological sites or communities, can be managed at the Inuvialuit host's discretion. To illustrate, the number of tourists visiting ecologically sensitive regions could be limited. If there are too many tourists, a host could form smaller groups out of larger ones. The host could also help to monitor negative environmental impacts and avoid areas that are under managed and over visited (TES, 1993);*

✓ *To capitalize on the concept of ecotourism, tour operators should be compelled to hand out educational material, give briefings and promote on-tour conservation efforts (i.e., picking up litter). As certain tour operators become better known for their environmental stewardship, tourists may be drawn to them expecting/demanding a tour which respects archaeological sites and habitat;*

✓ *Since marine and land protection costs money, user-fees should be collected from tourists and be utilized for habitat conservation and protected areas management. Since almost three-quarters of the surveyed tourists in this study agreed to pay, under various conditions a $1-2.00 ecotax, this management option is not inconceivable.*

✓ *Provide a set of cultural guidelines specific to historical sites being visited; they should be written by Inuvialuit and be for both tour operators and tourists.*

Perceived Issues: BSBMP Guideline #5 acts as an instrument to screen out undesirable tourists and tour operators in culturally and ecologically sensitive regions. It requests that a written agreement is obtained from the relevant HTC prior to going to any area for tourism purposes (especially whaling camps). However, the Inuvialuit argue and findings reveal:

- independent marine kayakers and cultural tourists arrive unannounced at bush and whaling camps; independent tourists do not communicate with the HTCs prior to

their arrival; Inuvialuit feel inclined to bring them under due to inclement weather and other safety concerns;

- cultural tourists surround Inuvialuit while they work on caribou, fish, etc., in town.

- there is dispute between community residents regarding camp entrance permission and distribution of cash "entrance and service" payments;

- more than half of the tour operators were not aware of any formal guidelines existing.

Discussion: Jacob and Schreyer (1980) and Butler (1993) suggest little weight is given to the complexity of avoiding conflict in tourism development. Rarely is a proactive approach followed to make visitors aware in advance of potential disturbances they and their tour operators may pose for Inuit (Hall and Johnston, 1995; Milne, *et al.*, 1995).

Action:

✓ *Upon issuing a licence, a tour operator should be required to sign an independent contract of "good faith" stating the area to be visited as well as the manner of conduct in the area. Upon return, visitors would sign the contract to verify they had seen that particular site and that their tour operator had acted appropriately. Upon successful completion of the contract, tour operators (and tourist) would receive certification indicating a sustainable tourism operation.*

✓ *Continue to co-ordinate efforts ahead of time with those Inuvialuit hosts who are interested in "demonstrating" game processing to tourists;*

✓ *Again, collect, pool and redistribute whaling camp entrance payments for those Inuvialuit involved in entertaining the tourists;*

✓ *Communicate to international, national, regional, and local tour companies the fact that consultation is needed prior to visiting coastal communities, national parks, historic sites and whaling camps. Notification should be given in hard-copy and be well in advance of the next tourism season.*

Perceived Issues: BSBMP Guideline #6: Enforcing the length and location of tours within the Beaufort-Delta region is considerably difficult. Currently:

- 65% of tour operators agreed that they adjusted their tours to meet visitors' demands (and to offset financial losses);
- adjusting tours at the whims of tourists' demand can lead to new ecological, cultural and archaeological impacts.

Cultural Considerations:

BSBMP Guideline #3: Tourism and Harvesting Activities: Pursuant to the terms and conditions of these guidelines, subsistence hunting will take priority over any tourism activity.

BSBMP Guideline #7: Tourism Filming and Photographs: No one is to take any photographs or films of whale harvesting and/or related activities without the explicit written consent of the relevant HTC(s), Inuvialuit Game Council, camp owners and hunter(s) involved. The permission form must be signed by all those above named. It must be carried at all time during the tour, and must be produced for inspection by the aforementioned representatives.

Discussion: Johnston (1997, 1998) and Butler (1993) note that increases in independent adventure travellers, and inadequate regulations to deal with them, has lead to serious environmental impacts, theft of artefacts, altercations with bears and high search and rescue costs. Moreover, adventure travellers can be unaware of local rules and regulations and the roles of various government agencies in managing Arctic travel (Johnston, 1997).

Action:

✓ *Institute an educational campaign through DFO and the Canadian Coast Guard educating boaters, tour operators, and adventure tourists on the hazards of Arctic weather, negative ecological and cultural impacts. For example, a leaflet could communicate new guidelines specifically geared to independent adventure travellers.*

✓ *New tourism guidelines and codes of conduct must, however, also be relevant and be made available to tour operators, the Inuvialuit (e.g., hunters and trappers), and visitors. They should also be used in conjunction with existing protected areas legislation and draw on tourist motivations to comply (e.g., economic or moral-based incentives).*

Perceived Issue: BSBMP Guideline #3 is mandated to ensure that harvesting take precedence over any tourism activity. However, Inuvialuit perceive:

- there is still interference of hunting activity through low-level flying (i.e., scheduled routes and chartered flightseeing tours) and unauthorized boat tours (e.g., whale watching);
- consumption of land resources (e.g., country foods) by cultural tourists during land tours may eventually strain harvesting activity.

Discussion: The motivations of tourists concentrate expenditure and consumption habits, which in turn affects local economies (Grekin, 1994). In the Beaufort-Delta, cultural tourists consume country foods and purchase arts and crafts. With increases in tourism/demand, the Inuvialuit may have to cater to these needs, thereby potentially jeopardizing their resource base. Moreover, gas, oil, electricity and water supplies are increasingly exploited as they are used to transport and house tourists (Cater, 1993).

Action:

- ✓ *Encourage the development of locally abundant goods which interest tourists, (E.g., handicrafts) while promoting the rationing of that resource supply. For example, when tour operators distribute country foods to tourists, many heavily partition the amount given to tourists.*

Perceived Issue: BSBMP Guideline #7: Tourism filming and photography of whale harvesting and/or related activities is to only occur with the explicit written consent of relevant authorities. Tourists and Inuvialuit reveal that this is not occurring:

Inuvialuit feel:

- photos are still being taken of nearly all harvesting activities;

- that tourists tipping children in order to take their photos has led them to ask for money.

At least:

- 71% (120) of visitors said they had taken photos of locals;
- another 35% (59) stated that they had taken photos of harvesting activity.

Discussion: Tourism studies show that in most instances aboriginal people take great offence at being photographed by tourists (Sofield, 1993; Mathieson and Wall, 1982; van den Berghe and Keyes, 1984; Evans-Pritchard, 1989; Nason, 1984). Commoditization, objectification and the demonstration effect are all results of this; all of these are feared to negatively impact Inuvialuit culture.

Action:

- ✓ *Enhance visitor understanding of local culture through pre-trip briefings;*
- ✓ *Give tourists a briefing on the impacts of taking photographs as well as on appropriate behaviour when taking photos. This should occur before tourists get out of vans or planes. Emphasize that a conversation with a local, rather than taking his or her picture is often more appropriate; stress that it is a requirement to ask a local's permission to take his or her photo.*

BSBMP Guideline #13: is a monitoring process that is designed to adjust the guidelines for the purposes of increasing compliance. However, it seems not to be addressing the abovementioned issues. To date, only one tour operator has been reprimanded under BSBMP Guideline #14 (Licence Suspension and Revocation). In most cases the tour operator is only issued an informal "warning" by RWED. Given the fact that only 43% (72 out of 165) of tourists felt there tour operators had made them aware of local guidelines, and that 55% (12 out of 22) of tour operators stated they were not aware of existing guidelines, **BSBMP Guideline #15's** implied communication network seems not to be working as effectively as it could be.

Action:

- ✓ *Open communication networks must be maintained between all stakeholders to increase awareness of the BSBMP Guidelines — an annual guideline review with stakeholders might increase awareness and the efficacy of guidelines.*

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APPENDIX I

1.1 BEAUFORT SEA BELUGA MANAGEMENT PLAN TOURISM GUIDELINES

#1) Beluga Management Plan Zones 1(A):

In recognition of the priority of the subsistence beluga harvest, no water-based tourism or related activities are permitted in Zone 1(a) While Hendrickson Island is off limits to any tourism activities.

#2) Guiding and Outfitting Priority:

IFA subsection 14(42) states: "The Inuvialuit shall have first priority in the Western Arctic Region for guiding, outfitting, or other commercial activity relating to wildlife as authorized by governments from time to time".
#3) Tourism and Harvest Activity: subsistence hunting takes priority over tourism activities

#4) Designated Areas

The HTCs are to designate areas that may be used for the purpose of whale watching/tourism within the ISR. The HTCs retain the right to limit such areas, the numbers of operators and/or the number of tourists brought into such areas by tour operators. In event of a dispute over the use of any designated area, preference is given to tour operators with beneficiary status.

#5) HTC and Camp Permission

Each tour operator must have a written agreement with the appropriate HTC prior to using any area for tourism purposes. An Agreement must be established between the camp owner and tour operator stating length of stay, timing, and compensation for tour group visits, prior to entering any camp area.

#6) Tour Length

Duration of tour groups and ancillary activities in the camps are at the discretion of the camp owners.

#7) Tourism Filming and Photographs

No photography or filming of whale harvesting and/or related activities without the explicit written consent if the relevant HTC, the Camp Owner and Hunter involved in the hunt, or the Inuvialuit Game Council. Written permission must be carried with the person at all times.

#8) Media Involvement

Media involvement is subject to HTC/ IGC approval. Explicit written consent must also be given.
#9) Whale and Marine Mammal Harassment: Pursuant to the *Federal Fisheries Act*, tour operators must ensure that their clients do not harass whale or marine mammals.

#10) Aircraft Restrictions

All aircraft advised to maintain a minimum altitude of:
a) 2500 feet over any area designated as Zone 1(a) and 1(b) in the BSBMP
b) 2000 feet over any area designated area as Zone 2 in the BSBMP

#11) Garbage Removal

All tour operators must remove any garbage generated by tourism operation, and dispose of it in a proper manner in their base community.

#12)Artefact Removal

Pursuant to the current *Heritage Act, DIAND Land Use* and the *NWT Archaeological Site Regulations*, no one may disturb or remove artefacts of any nature.

#13)Monitoring Process; #14) Licence Suspension/ Revocation; #15) Communication Network

#13) All guidelines will be monitored by the HTCs through camp and hunters reports, #14)
The HTC retains the right to recommend to GNWT ED&T that an Operator Licence be suspended or revoked if any of the terms and conditions of these guidelines are not met. #15) Guidelines will be communicated to the appropriate stakeholders.

1.2 INUVIALUIT HUNTER AND ELDER INTERVIEW QUESTIONS- SUMMER 1998

Hi my name is Wolfram Dressler - I am a researcher with the Natural Resources Institute, University of Manitoba, and I will be working for the Fisheries Joint Management Committee and the Department of Fisheries and Oceans. I am researching the impact of tourism in the Mackenzie Delta. What I would really like to talk about is how the Inuvialuit whale hunters interact with tourists at the coast. But I would also like to talk about the other positive and negative things tourism has brought to your communities. I was wondering if you could help me with this report by answering a couple of questions? The interview should only take about 30 minutes of your time. What would you like better, tape recording or note taking?

The information that you provide is strictly confidential and if you wish your name will not be mentioned in the report. You can check the draft report to see if the information you have provided me accurately reflects your views.

1) What can you tell me about the "earlier days" before (any) industrial development took place?
2) How do you feel about tourists visiting your community?
3) Do you think that tourism should be developed (grow) more in your community?
4)If you were to manage tourism what would you recommend? How would you change things for your visitors?
5) Who do you think is most likely to be helped by tourism? Who else might benefit?
6)What would you like the government to do with tourism in your community?
7) Do you think that it is important that your community becomes involved in tourism? If so, how?
8) Do you feel that tourism can help your community? Why or why not?
9) Can you list some of the good and bad things about tourism in your community?
10) Would you like it if tourists visited your hunting camps?
11) Have you met any tourists on your hunting trips? Should there be rules for the tourists that visit your camps?
12) Should tourists be educated about Inuvialuit culture before they come to your community?
13) What kind of tourists do you like? What are some of the good and bad things about them?
14) Has tourism increased at the coast?
15) Do you think that tourism has harmed marine mammals?
16) Has tourism affected the land and its animals?
17) Do you think that tourism can help you out with traditional activities?
18) In the future, how do you think that tourism will affect your hunting?
19) Would you be interested in developing tourism ?
20) What can be done about tourism creating conflict on your land? Do you have any ideas about this?

1.3 INUVIALUIT ELDER PERSONAL COMMUNICATIONS

Contact Name	Date	Location	Position
Hugh Rogers	June 22nd, 1998	Inuvik	Inuvik Elder-Hunter
Ivy Ekaksak	June 22nd, 1998	Inuvik	Inuvik Elder
Buck Semmler	June 22nd, 1998	Inuvik	Inuvik Elder-Hunter
Victor Allen	June 22nd, 1998	Inuvik	Inuvik Elder-Hunter
Edward Elanik	June 23rd, 1998	Inuvik	Inuvik Elder-Hunter
Colin Amos	June 23rd, 1998	Inuvik	Inuvik Elder-Hunter
Jimmy Gordon	June 23rd, 1998	Inuvik	Inuvik Elder
Winnie Cockney	June 23rd, 1998	Inuvik	Inuvik Elder
Rita Allen	June 24th, 1998	Inuvik	Inuvik Elder
Collin Allen	June 24th, 1998	Inuvik	Inuvik Elder-Hunter
Elizabeth Aviugana	June 26th, 1998	Aklavik	Aklavik Elder
Elizabeth Archie	June 27th, 1998	Aklavik	Aklavik Elder
Ella Gordon	June 27th, 1998	Aklavik	Aklavik Elder
Barbara Allen	June 27th, 1998	Aklavik	Aklavik Elder
Moses Kayotuk	June 27th, 1998	Aklavik	Aklavik Elder-Hunter
Winnie Elanik	June 28th, 1998	Aklavik	Aklavik Elder
Donald Aviugana	June 28th, 1998	Aklavik (& Bird Camp)	Aklavik Elder-Hunter
Peter Kiktorak	June 28th, 1998	Aklavik	Aklavik Elder-Hunter
Hilda Irish	June 29th, 1998	Aklavik	Aklavik Elder
Peter Arey	June 29th, 1998	Aklavik	Aklavik Elder-Hunter
Renie Arey	June 29th, 1998	Aklavik	Aklavik Elder
Sarah Mangelana	July 5th, 1998	Tuktoyaktuk	Tuktoyaktuk Elder
Joe Panaktalok	July 5th, 1998	Tuktoyaktuk	Tuktoyaktuk Elder-Hunter
Bobby Gruben	July 5th, 1998	Tuktoyaktuk	Tuktoyaktuk Elder-Hunter
Jean Gruben	July 5th, 1998	Tuktoyaktuk	Tuktoyaktuk Elder
Fred Wolkie	July 5th, 1998	Tuktoyaktuk	Tuktoyaktuk
Norman Felix	July 9th, 1998	Tuktoyaktuk	Tuktoyaktuk Elder-Hunter

Adam Emaghok	July 9th, 1998	Tuktoyaktuk	Tuktoyaktuk Elder-Hunter
Angus Cockney	July 9th, 1998	Tuktoyaktuk	Tuktoyaktuk Elder-Hunter
Noah Felix	July 9th, 1998	Tuktoyaktuk	Tuktoyaktuk Elder-Hunter
Agnus Felix	July 9th, 1998	Tuktoyaktuk	Tuktoyaktuk Elder
Abe Klengenberg	July 10th, 1998	Tuktoyaktuk	Tuktoyaktuk Elder-Hunter
Margaret Klengenberg	July 10th, 1998	Tuktoyaktuk	Tuktoyaktuk Elder

1.4 WHALE CAMP PERSONAL COMMUNICATIONS

Contact Name	Date	Location	Position
Olga Roland	July 5th, 1998	East Whitefish Stn	Inuvik Elder
David Roland	July 5th, 1998	East Whitefish Stn	Inuvik Elder
Agnus Kayotuk	July 6th, 1998	East Whitefish Stn	Inuvik Elder
Ned Kayotuk	July 6th, 1998	East Whitefish Stn	Inuvik Elder-Hunter
Richard Binder	July 6th, 1998	Binder Camp	IGC Resource Person
Carol Arey	July 11th, 1998	Shingle Point	AHTC Chair
Dennis Arey	July 12th, 1998	Running River	Family
Billy Archie	July 12th, 1998	Shingle Point	Member WMAC/NS
William Malegana	June 30th, 1998	Birds Camp	Hunter and Trapper
Donald Aviugana	June 30th, 1998	Bird Camp	Aklavik Elder--Hunter

1.5 TOUR OPERATOR INTERVIEW QUESTIONS- SUMMER 1998

1) If you don't mind me asking, what is your name and where do you originally come from?
2) For how many years have you been operating within the Mackenzie Delta (long has your company been in operation)?
3) How would you classify your company and its products? What kind of packages do you offer?
4) Do you feel that the government is providing enough (economic incentives) support for the development of tourism?
5) Do you think that local tourism agencies are promoting tourism enough?
6)Do you seek local guides for your tourism operation?
7)Do you think there are enough guides available for your tourism operation?
8) How many people are involved in the operation, do you yourself act as a guide?
9) Is there a shortage of properly trained guides?
10) How are young people involved in the tourism industry? Are guides hired on a casual or permanent basis?
11) What is your hiring preference? How do you hire your associates?
12) What is the average wage of your guides?
13) Are your tours fixed or can they be adjusted?
14) Do you think that tourists have difficulty getting to the Beaufort-Delta region? If so, how could this be improved?
15) How available is equipment for your tours?
16) Are local tourism training opportunities available and are they needed? Is there a tourism school ? If not, is this a major problem?
17) Do you feel that the existing infrastructure can meet the demand of an increase in nature-based tourism development?
18) Based on your own perceptions, are there more domestic than foreign tourists?
19) How many offices do you have? If more there is more than one office, where is it?
20) Do you have any other types of employment besides your tourism operation?
21) How far in advance to you start to plan for the upcoming tourism season?
22) Throughout the year how is the work for your tour company broken down ?
23) Where do your tours most often go?
24) Has there been a shift in your client-base throughout the years? If so, how?
25) Can you provide a breakdown of local, regional, and extended tours?
26) In what manner do you provide resources for your longer trips? Do they vary between tour length?
27) What are some of the positive and negative things about existing tourism guidelines?
   a) are you aware of any existing guidelines?
   b) do you think that tourism guidelines should be set into place?
   c) would tourists abide by existing guidelines?
   d) do you think that stricter tourism guidelines are necessary?

28) Do you think that more guidelines are necessary in coastal areas?
29) Do you think that tourism has affected local culture?
30) How would you characterize the ideal tourist?
31) Do your tours ever come into contact with hunters ? If so, why and how?
32) How is conflict best avoided between different parties?
33) What is being done to avoid conflict?
34) Is being a tour operator the only part of your livelihood ? Is it bringing in enough money ?

35) What is your full-time occupation?
36) Has tourism affected Inuvialuit culture? a) including economy b)self reliance c) shared benefits.
37) Are you committed to working full-time with your tourism company?
38) What activities do you think are more important?
39) How well do you think that traditional activities are being integrated into tourism activities?
40) How did you get involved in nature-based tourism in the first place?
41) Would you like to expand your tourism company?
42) In what way can you expand your operation's sales without affecting the local resource base so much?
43) How would you define the present context of the nature-based tourism industry in the Beaufort-Delta?
44) Can you provide any final recommendations for the development of the tourism industry here ?

1.6 TOUR OPERATOR PERSONAL COMMUNICATIONS

Contact Name	Date	Location	Tour Company
Alan Fehr	June 4th, 1998	Inuvik	MacKenzie Delta Dog Sledding
Vince Brown	June 5th, 1998	Inuvik	Delta Experience Tours
Richard Dick	June 6th, 1998	Inuvik	Qukiqtaq Nature Tours
Anonymous	June 6th, 1998	Inuvik	Anonymous
Patricia Campbell	June 6th, 1998	Inuvik	Eagle Tours
Shane Pizani	June 8th, 1998	Inuvik	Arctic nature Tours
Moria Grant	June 8th, 1998	Inuvik	Midnight Express Tours
Brian Turner	June 8th, 1998	Inuvik	Inuvik Marine Outfitters
Lucy Adams	June 8th, 1998	Inuvik	Lucy's Bush Camp
James and Maureen Pokiak	June 9th, 1998	Tuktoyaktuk	Ookpik Tour Company and Adventures
Mona Felix	June 9th, 1998	Tuktoyaktuk	Mona's Fur Shop
Elijiah Allan	June 12th, 1998	Inuvik	Kendall Island Whale Watching Tours
Darielle Talarico	June 12th, 1998	Whitehorse (phone interview)	Arctic Vision Tours
Kenny Sittichinli	June 14th, 1998	Inuvik	Sloan's Boat Tours
Julian Tomlinson	June 16th, 1998	Inuvik	Canadian Arctic Adventure Tours
Peter Clarkson	June 20th, 1998	Inuvik	Western Arctic Adventures and Equipment
Martin Goodcliffe	June 20th, 1998	Inuvik	Carver's Corner
Billy Jacobson	June 21st, 1998	Tuktoyaktuk	Rendezvous Lake Outpost Lodge

William Gruben	June 23rd, 1998	Inuvik Satellite Office (Based out of Tuktoyaktuk)	Arctic Tour Company
Eddie Greenland	June 29th, 1998	Aklavik	Red Mountain Adventures
Doug Irish	August 2nd, 1998	Aklavik	Floyd Holdings Tour Company
Denis Landau	July 23rd, 1998	Boulder, Colorado (phone interview)	Quark Expeditions

1.7 INSTITUTIONAL PERSONAL COMMUNICATIONS:

Contact name	Date	Location	Position-Institution
Judith Venass	June 2nd, 1998	Inuvik	Regional Tourism Manager (RWED) (ED &T)
John Cournoyea	June 2nd, 1998	Inuvik	Parks and Visitor Services Officer (RWED) (ED &T)
Dennis Zimmerman	June 2nd, 1998	Inuvik	Economic Development Officer (WARBS)
David Bethune	June 2rd, 1998	Inuvik	Vice President and Chief Financial Officer (IDC)
Richard Binder	June 3rd, 1998	Inuvik	Resource Person (IGC)
William Day	June 3rd, 1998	Inuvik	IHTC Chair
Don Craik	June 4th, 1998	Inuvik	Economic Development Officer (CEDO)
Norman Snow	June 4th, 1998	Inuvik	Executive Director (Joint Secretariat)

Lois Harwood	June 4th, 1998	Inuvik	Fisheries Biologist (DFO)
Freddy Carmichael	June 11th, 1998	Inuvik	Former Owner of Arctic Nature Tours (Arctic Wings and Rotors)
Brian Johnston	June 12th, 1998	Inuvik	Resource Person (WMAC)
Roger Israel	June 15th, 1998	Inuvik	Manager, Trade and Investment (RWED) ED &T
Linda Graf	June 15th, 1998	Inuvik	EISC Executive Secretary (Joint Secretariat)
Harvey Arens	June 15th, 1998	Tuktoyaktuk (Phone interview)	Chief Land Administrator (ILA)
Jerry Kisoun	June 16th, 1998	Inuvik	Client and Heritage Services Manager (CPH)
John Naggy	June 19th, 1998	Inuvik	Regional Biologist (RWED)
Duane Smith	June 19th, 1998	Inuvik	IGC Chair (Joint Secretariat)
Tyson Pertschy	June 22nd, 1998	Inuvik	Fisheries Officer (DFO)
Nellie Cournoyea	July 24th, 1998	Inuvik	Chairperson IRC
Conrad Baetz	July 29th, 1998	Inuvik	Renewable Resources Officer III (RWED)
Sandy Koep	August 3rd, 1998	Inuvik	Herschel Island Territorial Park Officer

1.8 TOURIST QUESTIONNAIRE SUMMARY AND COVER LETTER

Summer 1998

Dear Visitor:

I am a researcher from the University of Manitoba who is working for the Fisheries Joint Management Committee and the Department of Fisheries and Oceans. I am conducting a study on the present and future impacts of nature-based tourism in the MacKenzie Delta region. Depending on how nature-based tourism is managed, it can help to conserve or harm the natural environment and local culture. Because of the rate at which nature-based tourism is developing in the Mackenzie Delta, it is necessary to find out the role visitor's play in its management. As a visitor you can provide valuable insights on the positive and negative effects of nature-based tourism.

The best way to achieve this is for me to collect your perceptions on your tourism experience. For this I very much need your help. Would it be possible for you to answer a couple of questions for me? The input of many other visitors will determine the quality of this project, and ultimately future tourism experiences.

This questionnaire has been designed so that it should take no longer than 15 minutes to complete. Please be assured that the information you provide is strictly confidential. You DO NOT have to provide your name, and have the right to withdraw at any time without penalties.

If you are interested, by giving me your address you can obtain a copy of this report's discussion section. *If you have any questions concerning the survey or the ethics review process please contact:*

Wolfram Dressler
Natural Resources Institute
70 Dysart Rd.
Winnipeg, MB
1-204-474-8373

Dr. John Sinclair
Ethics Review Committee
Natural Resources Institute
Winnipeg, MB
1-204-474-8374

Sincerely,
Wolfram Dressler, B.A.

Graduate Student
U. of Manitoba.

Tourist Survey Results Summary

YOUR TRIP

1) In which months of the year would you most prefer to travel on this trip?

_1__ January	_21_ May	_28 September
_1_ February	_105 June	_3 October
_4_ March	_113 July	_1 November
_7_ April	_71_ August	_3_ December

Due to multiple answers, responses do not add up to 100%.

2) What is your preference for the total length of this excursion ?

_57_ 1 to 3 days
_25__ 4 to 7 days
_85_ 8 to 14 days
_ 4__ in excess of 14 days

3) What is the actual amount of time you intend on spending here ?

31 visitors for 2 days, 29 for 3 days, 14 for four days, 17 for 5 days, 14 for 7 days, 17 for 14 days. The remaining 49 visitors stayed between 17 to a maximum of 60 days in the Beaufort-Delta region.

Please rate how you feel toward the following questions

KEY: 1 equals very important; 2 equals important; 3 equals of moderate importance; 4 equals of little importance; 5 equals of very little importance

4) How important do you think it is that tour operator promote your involvement in conservation practices (e.g., picking up litter etc.,) ?

1	2	3	4	5	
(119)	(23)	(18)	(2)	(7)	(n=169)

5) How important do you think it is that tour operators provide educational material or discussion on the local landscape ?

1	2	3	4	5	
(118)	(31)	(11)	(3)	(5)	(n=168)

a) Did they provide this ? Yes_96_____ No __18_____ A little __57_____ (n=171)

6) If conservation initiatives (e.g., picking up litter, planting trees etc.,) were part of your tour would you be willing to participate ?

Yes _129__ No_42___ (n=171)

Why or why not ?

___

7) Would you be willing to pay a $1.00-2.00 tax or user fee to help establish a conservation fund for tourism activities?

Yes _113____ No_ 51_(n=164)

Why or why not?

___

Please rate how you feel toward the following questions

Column 1 equals strongly agree
Column 2 equals agree
Column 3 equals moderately agree
Column 4 equals somewhat disagree
Column 5 equals disagree

For example, if you check off row 4, you somewhat disagree to the comment.

8)

	1	2	3	4	5
a) Have tour operators made you aware of local guidelines? (n=165)	[39]	[33]	[43]	[27]	[23]
b) Do the tour operators act as though they follow guidelines or codes of conduct themselves?(N=168)	[46]	[48]	[51]	[11]	[12]
c) Should sensitive historic and ecological sites be off limits to tour operators ? (n=171)	[24]	[37]	[27]	[43]	[40]
d) Is there evidence of soil erosion (n=169)	[30]	[34]	[27]	[23]	[55]
dirty water (n=169)	[30]	[27]	[19]	[30]	[63]
trampling of plants (n=171)	[35]	[26]	[29]	[31]	[50]
feeding and touching of wildlife (n=171)	[22]	[23]	[13]	[24]	[89]

If so, where ?___

SOCIO-CULTURAL FACTORS

9) What is the relative importance of the following services and activities for your trip?
Again select from a scale from (1) being very important to (5) of very little importance.

KEY: 1 equals very important — 3 equals of moderate importance
2 equals important — 4 equals of little importance
5 equals of very little importance

	1	2	3	4	5
Inuit People/Culture(n=169)	(103)	(50)	(16)	( )	( )
Learning traditional knowledge (n=168)	(82)	(52)	(31)	(3)	( )
Arts and Handicrafts(n=167)	(57)	(60)	(38)	(8)	(4)
Country Foods (n=171)	(53)	(64)	(34)	(16)	(4)
Historic aspects (n=171)	(87)	(57)	(18)	(7)	(2)
Wildlife and Scenery (n=169)	(107)	(51)	(10)	(1)	( )
Special events and festivals (n=171)	(63)	(48)	(31)	(16)	(13)

10) What local foods did you eat on your trip ?

Whale	[24]	Caribou	[119]
Berries	[48]	Seal	[13]
Muskox	[83]	Bannock	[na]
Arctic Char	[83]	Other ? Please Specify ________________.	

11) Similarly, please rate how you feel toward the following questions.

KEY: 1 equals very important — 3 equals of moderate importance
2 equals important — 4 equals of little importance
5 equals of very little importance

How important is the following to you ?

	1	2	3	4	5
a) Seeing different cultures?(n=171)	[120]	[42]	[7]	[1]	[1]
b) Tourism encourages a variety of cultural activities? (n=160)	[61]	[65]	[28]	[3]	[3]
c) Your visit facilitated cultural exchange? (n=171)	[54]	[56]	[46]	[12]	[3]
d) You felt that locals were friendly and hospitable to you? (n=171)	[118]	[39]	[6]	[5]	[3]

*Where they?*___160 Yes/ 7 No

e) do you feel your tour operator assisted or encouraged you
to respect and appreciate Inuvialuit heritage and culture ?
[102] [41] [25] [0] [3]
(n=171)
*Did they?*_142 Yes/ 29 No
f) that literature on Inuvialuit culture be given to you ?
[78] [57] [20] [10] [6]
(n=171)
*Was it?*___115 Yes/ 56 No
g) did you take any photographs of local residents ? (n=169) Yes__120__ No 49 _
Where __?
h) did you photograph any hunting activity? (n=165) Yes 59___ No 106 __
Where _?
i) did you (will you) visit any whaling camps? (n=171) Yes__13__ No 158 __
Where_?

12) Please rate if your expectations match your trip experiences[1] ?

	Not at all as Anticipated	As anticipated	More modern than anticipated	More traditional than anticipated
a) how the town looked (n=169)	[15]	[77]	[65]	[12]
b) how people looked (n=168)	[8]	[113]	[32]	[15]
c) hunting methods/ (n=165) technology	[20]	[89]	[27]	[29]
d) life on the land (n=170)	[10]	[89]	[36]	[35]
e) possession of western goods (n=168)	[3]	[88]	[57]	[20]
f) authenticity of arts and crafts (n=170)	[2]	[112]	[27]	[29]

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[1]Questions #12-17 adapted from Grekin (1994).

13) On your trip did you have any encounter with Inuit hunting ?

Yes_19____ No__152__ (n=171)

If yes, please explain.

ECONOMIC FACTORS

14) Please indicate how much you spent on the following items during your trip. Provide monetary value in Canadian dollars please.

a) Roughly how much did your trip cost in total ?__$406, 798________

b) How much money did you spend directly in the Mackenzie Delta region ?_$105 793_

c) How much money did you spend in Aklavik_$1 2 10_
Tuktoyaktuk $35, 068_
Inuvik _$60 308

15) Could you please break down your expenditure in any of these areas within the following categories ? Can you give as accurate a (Canadian) dollar value as possible ? If not, then just estimate- thanks.

	Aklavik	Tuktoyaktuk	Inuvik	What other Town?
Arts and Crafts				
-soap stone carvings	______	$1,000	$4,869	________
-Inuit prints and paintings	______	$30.00	$3,898	________
-handicrafts	______	$1, 387	$4,933	________
-clothing	______	$33.00	$3,764	________
-jewelry	______	_______	$1,308	________
Accommodation				
-bed and breakfast	______	$360.00	$2,510	________
-motel	______	$400.00	$3,358	________
-hotel	______	_______	______	________
-campground	$160.00	$50.00	$4,902	________
-friend or family	______	_______	______	________
Tours and Outfitting				
-land tours	$100.00	$19, 279	$6, 196	________
-water tours	$800.00	$8, 630	$5,355	________
-air charter tours	______	$3,655	$9,024	________
-sport fishing	______	_______	______	________
Travel				
-international travel	______	_______	______	________
-local transport	______	_______	$1,149	________
Foods				
-groceries	$150.00	$237.00	$7,719	________
-restaurants	______	$7.50	$1,323	________

TRIP SATISFACTION

How satisfied were you with this trip ?

(1) extremely satisfied (2) very satisfied (3) satisfied (4) unsatisfied (5) very unsatisfied
(6) extremely unsatisfied
(16)

	1	2	3	4	5	6	
taxicab service	[17]	[6]	[12]	[1]	[--]	[--]	(n=36)
shuttle service	[30]	[15]	[19]	[1]	[--]	[--]	(n=65)
local airflight service	[45]	[37]	[16]	[2]	[--]	[--]	(n=100)
cost of lodging	[51]	[38]	[41]	[2]	[2]	[1]	(n=135)
cost of food	[34]	[53]	[38]	[6]	[--]	[--]	(n=131)
quality of food	[35]	[53]	[35]	[5]	[--]	[--]	(n=128)
lodging service	[24]	[29]	[62]	[17]	[9]	[7]	(n=148)
lodging quality	[29]	[47]	[58]	[8]	[2]	[2]	(n=146)
tour company organization	[39]	[41]	[31]	[6]	[6]	[5]	(n=128)
guiding/ outfitting services	[29]	[25]	[18]	[9]	[1]	[2]	(n=84)
accessibility of information	[54]	[60]	[25]	[6]	[1]	[3]	(n=149)

(17) Will you return to the Mackenzie Delta Region for another trip ?

Most certainly __23____
Probably __56____
Probably not __79____
Not a chance __8____ (n=166)

(18) Do you have anything else to say about your trip ? This may concern anything at all !!!

____
____
____

THANK YOU FOR YOUR ASSISTANCE !!!!

SCIENTIFIC RESEARCH LICENCE

Licence # 12974N

File # 12 410 545

ISSUED BY: **Aurora Research Institute - Aurora College**
Inuvik, Northwest Territories

ISSUED TO: Mr. Wolfram Dressler
University of Manitoba
Natural Resources Institute
70 Dysart Road
Winnipeg, MB R3T 2N2
204-474-8373

ON: 24-Jun-98

TEAM MEMBERS: Darrell Joe

AFFILIATION: University of Manitoba

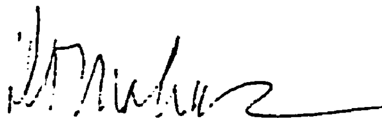
FUNDING: Fisheries Joint Management Committee, Dept. of Fisheries & Oceans

TITLE: Nature-based Tourism in the Mackenzie Delta Region: Potential and Pitfall. An Analysis of Stakeholder Perceptions

OBJECTIVES OF RESEARCH:
The objective of the study is to identify both the current and future positive and negative impacts of nature-based tourism within the Delta. The research seeks to determine the effects of beluga whale watching and observation of the beluga whale harvests. This project hopes to uncover tour operator, tourist and the Inuvialuit whale hunters' perspectives on nature tourism, particularly involving the beluga whale. The intent is provide baseline sociological data that reflects the needs of the Inuvialuit and the nature tourism industry. The study will examine the concerns of the stakeholders and apply them to existing guidelines and create new recommendations. Will also try to determine if present tourism guidelines work. The research will reveal the socio-cultural, economic and environmental impacts of nature-based tourism. Demographic data collected will provide a general profile of the type of tourist participating in nature-based tourism.

DATA COLLECTION IN THE WESTERN NWT:
DATE(S): June 22 - August 15, 1998
LOCATION: Inuvik, Aklavik, Tuktoyaktuk

Licence# 12974 expires on December 31, 1998.
Issued at the Town of Inuvik on Wednesday, June 24, 1998



David G. Malcolm, Ph.D.
Science Advisor