Edited by
ALAIN A. GRENIER
and **DIETER K. MÜLLER**

Polar Tourism

A Tool for Regional Development

The Tourism Series offers a new way to look at tourism through the lens of the humanities and social sciences. Designed for researchers and students as well as tourism managers and professionals, it features a broad panorama of foundational texts and empirical studies on the development of tourism in Québec and around the world.

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Bruno Sarrasin

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0   500 Miles

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40

150

150

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Circumpolar Antarctic

NORTH PACIFIC OCEAN

ALASKA

Provideniya

Chukotka

Wrangel Island

YUKON

Yakutsk-Sakha Republic

NORTHWEST TERRITORIES

CANADA

ARCTIC OCEAN

Cambridge Bay

NUNAVUT

Gjoa Haven

Resolute

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90 W

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ONTARIO

Hudson Bay

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Rovaniemi

Archangel Oblast

ARCTIC CIRCLE

ICELAND

NORWAY

FINLAND

RUSSIA

Helsinki

Faroe Islands

SWEDEN

NORTH ATLANTIC OCEAN

DENMARK

| 0 | 500 Kilometers |
| 0 | 500 Miles |

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Circumpolar Artic

INTRODUCTION

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From the skies, Nunavik – the northernmost region of Québec – seems like a vast, relatively flat but rocky landmass only coloured by thousands of lakes and rings of lichens (Figure I.1). This remote area of tundra – remote from an outsider point of view – appears endless and uninhabited (Figure I.2). There are no skyscrapers here, no street lights, no highways, and few infrastructures to be seen from the air. This area, as large as Spain, stretches north of the 55th parallel all the way to the Hudson Strait. It includes large rivers, lakes, plateaus, and mountains. Treeless for the most part, the land is exposed to strong winds, with mean temperatures reaching 12°C in summer and minus 25°C in winter. Yet, visitors should not let appearances mislead them. In spite of these conditions, Nunavik is home to 11,300 Inuit spread over 14 villages along the coasts of the Hudson Bay and around the Ungava Bay. Only four of these villages, however, count more than

a thousand inhabitants (Kuujjuaq, Puvirnituq, Inukjuak, and Salluit). The Inuit share this land with and abundant wildlife (Figures I.3 and I.4). Besides polar bears, more than 2,000 musk-ox and two herds of caribou, representing some 703,000 head, roam this vast region (MRNF 2011). Flora, although sparse, is nevertheless relatively rich for such climate (Figure I.5). Any nature enthusiast will see a potential paradise in this land. The hard reality may yet be different.

FIGURE I.1

The vastness of Nunavik
Photo: Alain A. Grenier

FIGURE I.2

A road crossing on the way to Kangiqsujuaq, Nunavik
Photo: Alain A. Grenier

FIGURE I.3

Polar bears are no strangers to Nunavik where they constitute a major attraction for foreign visitors
Photo: Alain A. Grenier

FIGURE I.4

Both small and larger wildlife abounds in Nunavik; Arctic hare and musk-ox roam this vast northern land
Photo: Alain A. Grenier

FIGURE I.5

Arctic flora, such as this Saxifraga *taken in an early fall frost, is abundant in Nunavik*
Photo: Alain A. Grenier

Inhabited by different indigenous groups (initially the Thulean and Dorset) for over 3,800 years, Nunavik has really come into modernity in a relatively short amount of time. Indeed, the Inuit had their first contacts with Europeans in what is now Nunavik during the 18th century, as Europeans developed a fur trade outpost. The fur trade economy reached its peak in the 19th century. Yet, in some areas of Nunavik, first contacts with Eurocanadians took place as recently as the 20th century. In all cases, these contacts with European and, later, Canadian traders and missionaries brought drastic and often irreversible changes to the Inuit way of life.

The conversion to Christianity, urbanization and the following impact of western culture on the Inuit, from dietary habits through recreational activities, in a short amount of time has had many side effects. With low education rates and few jobs available (unemployment can affect up to half of the working-age population), the North faces many problems, including unemployment and welfare, teenage pregnancy, loss of identity, lack of hope for a future, and suicide (AHDR 2004: 144). Nunavik's population has more than tripled since 1951. Nearly 35% of the population is under 15 years of age. With such a population boom, Nunavik faces major short-term challenges in regard with housing, labour, education and training, and employment. Traditionally, the solutions to the Aboriginals' problems came from the South. But colonization was hardly a salvation for these people.

The Province of Québec claimed and got and extension of its border to the North in 1898 and 1912. These extensions North and the presence of Inuit people in Québec would eventually and will continue to have a great influence on the history of the province and its future. First considered for its resource potential (minerals and hydropower), the North plays a much larger role (though still underestimated by the southern population) in this province where nationalism remains a part of the cultural and political identity of the Québec nation. Long time forgotten as a distant frontier, the northernmost part of Québec (referred to as "Nouveau-Québec"/New Quebec in the 1970s) has been going through a period of integration since the signing of the James Bay and Northern Quebec Agreement in 1975 (since then modified nearly 20 times by additional agreements). An intensive period of development aspirations by the Québec government, especially in the hydro-power potential of the province, met with opposition from the Cree and Inuit populations who demanded to have their say in the management of the North. Since the development of the Province of Québec cannot be done without that of the North,

decades of negotiations led to major land claim settlements.[1] These negociations were the result, among other factors, of the emancipation of Aboriginal peoples all over the world but especially in the circumpolar Arctic. This emancipation, in the Canadian Arctic, led to a process of devolution – where administrative powers are increasingly transferred to local and regional jurisdictions and governments (AHDR 2004: 129). Although the Sami people of Scandinavia have achieved a certain level of recognition and protection, through the Sami Parliament, nothing compares to the territorialization and management gains achieved by the Inuit of Canada and Groenland (Canobbio 2009: 320). These settlements included the designation of the ownership of the land and resources, measures on environmental and social protection, education, health and social services, and economic development.

In the Québec context, the devolution process led to the creation of public organizations specific to the region, including the Makivik Corporation and the Kativik Regional Government (KRG), whose responsibilities include the management of the Kativik region (Nunavik since 1986). These authorities should eventually be merged to form one Nunavik Regional Government. Although the project was rejected by the Inuit in May 2011, it is only a matter of time before the Nunavik government becomes a reality, considering the importance of regional management in northern affairs.

The creation of Nunavik is a major step forward, both for the Province of Québec and its Inuit population. It is the result of 30 years of negotiations that benefited from an important period of questioning and change for Québec and the Canadian federation, in the light of the nationalistic (not to be equated with separatist) aspirations of the only French-speaking province of the country. The creation of Nunavut (1999) in Canada and Nunavik in Québec underline not only the recognition of the Inuit identity but also the discussion on some fundamental issues regarding the emancipation of the Aboriginal people, their empowerment, the development and management of the northern resources of both Canada and Québec, and the protection and conservation of their fragile ecosystems (Canobbio 2009: 13).

■ NUNAVIK AND TOURISM

Nunavik includes one-third of the Province of Québec (see Figure I.6). Its underdeveloped economy rests mainly on mining and subsidies from both federal and provincial states. To help develop the regional economy,

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1. For a thorough account of the emancipation of Québec's North and Nunavik, see Canobbio (2009).

Nunavik, Québec
Map: Benjamin Ferlay.

FIGURE I.6

KRG has identified tourism as one of the main and best-suited avenues. In parallel, the creation of three national parks[2] within Nunavik by the Québec Government provided the natural attractions needed to generate media attention and a certain tourism demand. With the establishment of the Kuururjuaq, Tursujuq, and Pingualuit parks, funding has also been injected in the training required to prepare the personnel who will find employment in tourism operations. How exactly will these efforts translate into economic impacts for Nunavik? It is too early to tell. Figures are not yet available because they do not really exist (at the time of this book's publication, the Québec Ministry of Tourism and this author are both conducting separate studies about the state of tourism in Northern Québec). These studies are expected to provide figures and a picture of the reality of tourism development in Northern Québec. The research conducted by this author has already allowed to highlight a shift from hunting to adventure tourism (Figure I.7). Indeed, visitors attracted by the hunting and fishing potential of Nunavik have been abundant in the past. In the last decade, however, they appear to have declined in numbers, being slowly but progressively replaced by photo-hunters and nature-lovers, coming to experience a less consuming yet more demanding experience: nature-based tourism.

Of all the motivation factors which explain tourism, perhaps the number one is distinction (Boyer 1995; based on Bourdieu 1979). People travel to acquire personal and cultural capital. For a destination such as Nunavik, which faces strong competition, the destination's weaknesses can be its prime attraction: an original, distant, and remote location visited by few.

Before Nunavik can truly enjoy the benefits of a well established tourism "industry," many challenges will need to be met. Hunting and fishing tourism required a more rustic and basic approach of the tourisms services. The current age of nature-based tourism, however, requires more services, comfort and even luxury. Hence, the development of proper quality infrastructures are necessary to support a reliable tourism cycle. Yet that development cannot occur without basic guarantees that tourists will indeed follow. It is kind of a chicken-and-egg dilemma. Tourists are in constant demand for novelty destinations, yet at an appropriate price. In spite of its novelty aspects, Nunavik faces here a strong competition and strong obstacles.

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2. In 2001, the Province of Québec changed its own parks law to adopt the classification proposed in the IUCN Protected Areas Management Categories. Since then, the parks under Québec's jurisdiction have become "National Parks."

FIGURE I.7

Traveling North can be an adventure. A Northern Québec pilot instructs his passengers, before departure to Kangiqsujuaq
Photo: Alain A. Grenier

Among the most important, its geographical remoteness leads to enormous transportation costs (for people and goods), a fair price range for the experience with financial benefits for Nunavik and its people, while remaining competitive with cheaper and more developed destinations, including neighbouring Nunavut Territory (which offers similar natural and cultural resources). Needless to say, the development of tourism requires the development of both services and infrastructures. Nunavik is relatively well equipped in airports. Accommodation is more challenging. For instance, the two main hotels in Puvirnituq and Kuujjuaq usually fill up quickly when a festival or public event occur, leaving little or no place to visitors. Building more hotels is unrealistic until tourism (or other economic sectors) can provide enough people to fill them up on a yearly basis.

Hence, the development of tourism in a new destination is not only challenging but requires human efforts as well as political and economic will over a large amount of time without much guarantees as to what will work or not. It is in this context that in August 2008, the newly created International Polar Tourism Research Network came to Kangiqsujuaq, Nunavik, to discuss how tourism can play a role in regional development.

The novelty of the location – new to most national and international participants at the conference – provided the ideal context to study a new aspect of polar tourism. Up to then, most researchers had focused on how tourism should be managed. We had yet to look at how tourism could play its role in the development of a region.

◼ POLAR TOURISM: A TOOL FOR REGIONAL DEVELOPMENT

Polar tourism – tourism in the polar regions – is not a new phenomenon. It is well developed in many sectors of the Arctic and Antarctic regions. In the process, the development of polar tourism has attracted an increasing amount of attention from academics in the last decade. Tourism has the reputation of leading to major impacts – good or bad – wherever it develops. As tourism increases rapidly, both in the Arctic and Antarctic, it is only normal to see more attention being given to this phenomenon.

Modern tourists have been attracted to the Arctic and Antarctica even since ships, planes, or roads have made the voyage possible. The lack of travel infrastructures was often among the strongest motivations for the travelers, looking for a way to break away from the well-traveled paths. The somewhat difficult travel conditions and the poor images people built of these regions prevented fast tourism development in the polar regions. In recent decades, however, the recurrent use of polar images to translate the abstract concept of climate change has not only brought a wide media attention to these forbidden regions but also allowed the drawing of a better understanding of these distant worlds. Today, both the Arctic and Antarctic are the focus of a growing tourism industry – in some areas, mass tourism is a more efficient label, as tourism operates on a regular and constant basis, in a well-choreographed ballet of plane, bus, or train arrivals and departures, serving loads of tourists with scenic tours and cultural events.

The recent boost in polar tourism is not accidental. It is linked to many factors whose interrelations created the ideal circumstances for travel to these regions long ignored by the masses. Namely, these circumstances include:

- the political shifts (especially in the Soviet Union) and the end of the Cold War;
- the emancipation of the Aboriginal peoples around the world, especially in the circumpolar regions;
- the devolution that resulted from this emancipation and the empowerment that Aboriginal peoples fought for;
- the emergence of the polar regions as entities of their own (the Barents Region, Nunavut, Nunavik, and Nunatsiavut in particular);
- developing economies that diversify from resource extraction to service development; the construction of new and modern infrastructures (roads, airports, hotels, etc.);
- the rise of the green movement (and the valuation of "frontier" and "wilderness" destinations);

- changes in the tourists themselves, from more passive travel consumers to more active-oriented tours;
- the saturation of mass tourism destinations and the visitors' need for alternate locations;
- terrorism and violence issues related to specific nationalities that avoid politically sensitive areas; and
- the emergence of polar regions in the media in relation with the focus on climate change and the fear of the "disappearing North."

With air facilities and road access in many communities, and the renewed interest of the public for nature and wilderness, polar regions are increasingly turning to tourism for economic development. Yet, tourists do not necessarily follow. Regions such as the Antarctic Peninsula, Alaska, and Finnish Lapland, for instance, receive great numbers of visitors. Other Arctic regions have a more modest tourism industry while some are still in their infancy. How can we explain the success of some destinations, while the efforts elsewhere seem to take forever to get rewarded? There are no simple answers.

Times and the context of the development are key elements. No tourism destination develops overnight. Today's successful destinations also had a humble and slow start. The context must also be there for tourists to choose a specific region. Tourism is a sensitive and often unpredictable industry. In a global world, distant, seemingly unrelated events can clash. The Arab Spring and the following crash of the tourism industry in Tunisia, in the early months of 2011, impacted as far as Lapland. Following the political changes in Tunisia, that country's tourism industry took extreme measures to regain the tourism markets that had been lost. With a campaign of cheap flights and hotel packages, European (especially French) tourists opted for Tunisia for their vacations, leaving some operators in other destinations such as Lapland incapable to compete.

Host communities also have to want tourism development to occur in their region. They have to be willing to play an active role in this development, not just in the sharing of benefits. Tourists must also feel wanted and welcomed by the host communities, not only for the income they may generate, but for the dynamism they inevitably bring in a destination. Already here lays a major challenge of tourism: bringing satisfaction to both hosts and visitors, respecting one another's culture while maintaining the integrity of the natural environments at the centre of the polar tourism gaze. Understandably, building a tourism industry is no easy task for any want-to-be destination.

Although tourism has been identified by many governments and communities around the world for its potential to help boost the economy, it is, at the same time, a double-sided issue. Tourism is made of both generating and host areas, but it also includes all the services encountered in a transit zone (Leiper 1979: 397). Hence, the benefits of tourism first start in the generating area (at home), not at the destination. If tourism can indeed generate income in a host region, it also leaks an important share, most notably on the transportation of passengers and goods. More sustainable approaches to tourism have been developed in recent years to help bring more revenues to the host communities. These include equity and community-based tourism.

In short, the aim of these new approaches to tourism is to get the local actors to run and take a greater control in the tourism services and activities, rather than having them in the hands of outsiders. This way, a larger share of the income generated by tourism stays in the communities. Local control should also be more favourable for the conservation of the environment (although numerous examples from around the world have contradict this).

The notions of control and management, in tourism development, are fundamental. As mentioned above, tourism is too often perceived at the earlier stages as a "magic tool" for development. Yet, when it fails to deliver the income or jobs expected, or leaves larger-than-expected negative impacts on the culture and natural environment, tourism becomes the object of much criticism. Is it all deserved? No. Tourists are not anthropologists. They are in a dynamics of their own. Jafari (1987) refers to this dynamics as the "tourism culture." He underlines that when individuals engage in tourism, they undergo a transformation. In other words, "the ordinary temporal, spatial, and cultural dimensions [of the tourist] are 'distanced' into a past, and the nonordinary of here and now become the new reality" (Jafari 1987: 153). Hence, being outside one's domestic region allows for a relaxation of the self-discipline and respect of rules, creating a sense of "detachment, disengagement, or disconnectedness" (*ibid.*). For the visitor, the time given to travel is often first and foremost meant to rejuvenate oneself. Only after these needs are met (rejuvenation, relaxation, disengagement) can there be some deeper interest manifested for the host community. The development of any tourism destination hence requires the hosts to fully understand the dynamics of the "tourism culture." Without this understanding, tourism is doomed to create social and cultural clashes. This example aims to underline the importance of tourism training and research. It is especially vital for new destinations such as Nunavik.

Using different case studies, this book seeks to understand how tourism can become a tool for regional development. The collection of articles presented here is the result of the coming together of a group of polar tourism researchers from around the world, who met in Nunavik – the northernmost part of Québec – to discuss polar tourism as a tool for regional development. The idea for that meeting originated in yet another event: the creation of an international network of polar tourism specialists.

THE INTERNATIONAL POLAR TOURISM RESEARCH NETWORK (IPTRN)

In the spring of 2007, the annual conference of the Canadian Association of Geographers held at Lakehead University was the opportunity for a group of researchers with a common interest in tourism in the polar regions to meet. Though many of us knew each other by name, not all had had the opportunity to meet (it is difficult today to remember what the world of communications was like before the Internet). For researchers studying polar regions, the distances between their academic institutions, their fields of research, and fellow researchers could be and still remain enormous. There was no virtual forum to meet or discuss common issues. Though it was not planned, the 2007 CAG annual meeting allowed half a dozen researchers (students and professors alike) to meet outside the context of the official program. The group discussed the need to have their own forum and discussions on polar tourism: a place to share concerns, advice, interests, and research projects. A mandate was given to Alain A. Grenier, who had initiated the idea, to build the network. With funding from the Université du Québec à Montréal, the International Polar Tourism Research Network/*Réseau international de recherche en tourisme polaire* was online, with its first draft for a Montreal conference within the year.

At the same time, the Kativik Regional Government, in Nunavik, had begun to fund and develop infrastructures and services for tourism development in Northern Québec. With a national park to be opened (Parc national des Pingualuit) and one hotel in construction in Kangiqsujuaq, setting the first conference of the International Polar Tourism Research Network in Kangiqsujuaq, Nunavik, felt natural. Networking being on its toes, the Kativik Regional Government was soon inviting the newly created International Polar Tourism Research Network to hold its first conference in Nunavik. The meeting would take place in mid-August 2008, in Kangiqsujuaq (Figures I.8 and I.9). The remoteness of the location, and costs associated with reaching it, unfortunately prevented a larger group of participants to reach the conference's location (a working session was

Maggie Jaaka, Qisiiq Editlouie, and Uttuqie Qisiiq perform a special Inuit tradition for the opening of the First Conference of the International Polar Tourism Research Network
Photo: Alain A. Grenier

held in Montreal on the eve of the departure with more delegates). There was however a point at bringing researchers from around the world to Kangiqsujuaq, Nunavik: researchers and other participants (many of whom were geographers) would learn that in Québec, the Far North extends much further south than in the rest of the Arctic world.

Québec's North had indeed been excluded, for the most part, of the discussions on polar tourism, associated informally with the polar circles. Being located south of the Arctic Circle, Québec's Far North was in many ways "off" the polar tourism radar. In 2008, more than 16 researchers from English Canada, France, Norway, the United Kingdom, Québec, and Sweden met in Northern Québec. They were joined by consultants and delegates from the Government of Québec, who took a week to discus (and experience) some of the most challenging issues facing the communities who choose tourism development in the circumpolar world and Antarctica.

The discussions held in Kangiqsujuaq helped foster a specialized forum where the different actors involved in polar tourism can become acquainted with the research and development made in the industry around the world. Since the initial meeting in Kangiqsujuaq and the founding of the International Polar Tourism Research Network, a second conference was held in 2010 in Abisko, Sweden, at the initiative of professor

FIGURE I.9

The delegates of the first conference of the International Polar Tourism Research Network (IPTRN) in session, at the community centre, in Kangiqsujuaq in 2008

Photo: Alain A. Grenier

Dieter K. Müller, co-editor of this book. More conferences are also being planned (visit our website at <www.polartourismnetwork.uqam.ca for updated information>).

This book is the result of the main presentations and discussions made in Kangiqsujuaq. Such a book does not claim to address all issues facing polar destinations. It is nevertheless a base for reflection. For the 2008 meeting, the theme selected – "A Tool for Regional Development" – coincided with the birth of the network and of a new destination, Kangiqsujuaq, in the Nunavik.

As this book is being published, the Government of Québec has made public its *Plan Nord* – a major plan to develop its northernmost region. It is described by the government as "one of the biggest economic, social and environmental projects in our time," adding that it will lead to over $80 billion in investments over the next 25 years, creating or consolidating an average of 20,000 jobs a year (Gouvernement du Québec, 2011).

Tourism is one of the areas of economic activity the Québec Government wishes to develop. The Province's Premier, Jean Charest, wants to make the North a "world class sustainable destination" (PC, 2011). While "sustainable tourism" remains to be defined in the context of a region like Nunavik located far from the markets, the challenges that lay ahead will no doubt occupy tourism developers and promoters in those communities and outside for years. With its expertise, the International Polar

Tourism Research Network (IPTRN) can bring substantial assistance to such projects. The conferences and publications put together by the IPTRN constitute a unique forum to discuss and share expertise on various initiatives brought forward to help make tourism a tool for regional development.

◼ ORGANIZATION OF THE BOOK

The collection of articles in this book does not claim to provide a magic recipe as to how to build polar tourism from scratch. Using case studies from experts from around the world, the book brings however examples as to how tourism can be developed and how to face the issues that the development of tourism in culturally and environmentally sensitive areas inevitably bring.

In Chapter 1, "Polar Tourism Development: Who Benefits?," Debra J. Enzenbacher answers a very basic but fundamental question that had never really been tackled before. Using a descriptive analysis of the potential benefits of polar tourism development in relation to tourism sectors and stakeholders, Enzenbacher attempts to address a gap in polar tourism research identified by Stewart *et al.* (2005: 389). Her focus is on human and economic benefits of polar tourism development, since they are the core driver of the industry. As she underlines, different stakeholders may have different hopes in developing tourism in the polar regions. The benefits will then raise ethical as well as practical concerns. Enzenbacher stresses that in the case of new destinations, the unknown value of the benefits and their distribution require careful management.

Having established the importance of polar tourism for a destination, I propose in Chapter 2 to focus on the concept of polar tourism itself. Indeed, the discussion surrounding polar tourism has occurred for over two decades without anyone trying to understand what the experience is about.

In parallel, the criticism of tourism raised by visitor impacts feeds another discussion on the proper management of both natural and cultural resources involved in (polar) tourism. Although management tools have been developed and implemented, the same tourism impacts remain. Hence the question: is it possible to manage the resources on which a social phenomenon is based if its fundamental concept is misunderstood? Agreeing on concepts and definitions allows for a better understanding of the phenomenon studied and makes its management more efficient. Agreeing on concepts and definitions will also help to build common models for planning and forecasts. It is the lack of common understanding that often leads to resource mismanagement.

Based on participating observations made both in the Arctic and Antarctic regions during previous studies (Grenier, 1998; 2004), field work (2010), and a review of polar tourism activities, Chapter 2, entitled "Conceptualization of Polar Tourism: Mapping an Experience in the Far Reaches of Imaginary" attempts to comprehend the real essence of polar tourism in order to outline its concept. It starts with the presentation of the geographical framework currently used to analyse polar tourism and understand its physical boundaries. After emphasizing the limits of this type of approach, the chapter demonstrates the necessity to use a complementary sociological analysis to understand the origin and motivations of polar tourism. The conceptual framework being established, it will be possible in subsequent research to define the expressions (activities) of polar tourism in order to better control touristic practices, but also to better protect resources – both natural and cultural.

Bryan S.R. Grimwood and David A. Fennell take over with a first chapter dedicated to polar tourism management. In Chapter 3, "Meditative Thinking for Polar Tourism Research and Codes of Ethics," they introduce theoretical tools for polar tourism researchers, particularly in the context of tourism ethics. In meditatively thinking about Arctic tourism codes of conduct/ethics, the authors draw out some of the deeper meanings of human social behaviour. Grimwood and Fennell link challenges associated with Arctic tourism visitor management with elements of existentialism to point out that self-regulatory strategies may guard against the placelessness of Arctic tourism destinations. Next, they negotiate relativism, a discussion that culminates in the point that higher order moral constructs (*e.g.*, cooperation), irreducible to culture only, are fundamental to functional societies. The sociobiological theory of reciprocal altruism is used to illustrate the human nature of cooperation in tourism contexts. These meditative excavations are deemed crucial to Arctic tourism codes because they demonstrate why and how codes may service opportunities for "Successive RA" (Fennell 2006); that ethics are part of who we are as human species; and that heterogeneous ways of being exist within a shared evolutionary heritage.

Continuing on the theme of heritage, Annie d'Amours, in Chapter 4, brings us back to Nunavik for a case study on tourism and Inuit heritage. "Must We Put Dogsleds on Wheels for Tourist Season? Inuit Heritage, Tourism, and Respecting the Community in Kangiqsujuaq" deals with patrimonialization, sustainable development, and ethical tourism through the study of the context of the Kangiqsujuaq Interpretation Centre.

D'Amours begins by briefly presenting the history of the development of museum-type institutions in Arctic Canada. She is particularly concerned about how, in the face of change, Inuit people demonstrate

resilience in attempting to maintain, if not recover, the various aspects of their culture which are under threat, through adapting ancestral know-how to new institutions, sometimes making use of social and cultural programs – the development of modern Inuit sculpture –, economic and legislative measures put at their disposal by federal and provincial governments. In her chapter, D'Amours stresses that heritage "is indeed affected by the general trend towards cultural assertiveness and renewed recognition of culture, despite the fact that the establishment of museum institutions has been mostly based on conceptions coming from the South." She then studies the common or divergent objectives of the various actors who will have to work together for the protection, management, and promotion of the natural and cultural heritage of the Canadian Arctic (Inuit communities, cultural organizations, regional administrations, governmental departments, etc.). She also puts emphasis on the strategies adopted by institutions to reconcile the needs of local communities (cultural assertiveness, social, economic, and touristic development) and the expectations of outsider visitors (sociocultural experience, recreational and educational activities, etc.).

As mentioned earlier, if Inuit and indigenous cultures make up one major assets of the northern regions attracting visitors, so are the vast open landscapes. Dieter K. Müller, co-editor of this publication, takes us to Swedish Lapland where the locals have also turned to tourism in the hope of stimulating their economy. In chapter 5, "Tourism Development in Europe's 'Last Wilderness': An Assessment of Nature-Based Tourism in Swedish Lapland," Müller looks at tourism development as a solution to economic decline in northern peripheries caused by economic restructuring. His chapter assesses this public vision for development with regards to its viability and applicability in a time of global change. Theoretically, the chapter departs from the concept of the pleasure periphery as a place for recreation and tourism for an inbound demand. However, global change is challenging this position in various ways: (i) the re-restructuring of peripheral economies challenges the emerging pleasure periphery; (ii) climate change implies a threat to destinations at the bottom of the destination hierarchy. Empirically, Müller's chapter presents data on supply and demand for nature-based tourism in the area. The author concludes that demand for nature-based tourism may not always be as promising as initially thought. Hence support for nature-based tourism development should be planned with more caution.

Focusing on Aboriginal tourism, Randy Kapashesit, Harvey Lemelin, Nathan Bennett, and Greg Williams make a similar observation: Aboriginal tourism initiatives in remote regions of Canada and elsewhere remain somewhat of an enigma. In Chapter 6, "The Cree Village Ecolodge: Success through Community Empowerment," the authors examine the

history of the Cree Village Ecolodge, located in the Canadian sub-Arctic, and describe the key factors resulting in the lodge's continuity and success. The Cree Village Ecolodge was designed by the MoCreebec First Nation as a means of seeking local development and interconnecting traditional Cree values and modern technology in a state-of-the-art ecotourism facility. The results were a 1,500-m² facility opened in 2000, made up of 20 guestrooms, a commercial kitchen, and the great hall, providing a dining experience for 66 people. Sustainability, energy-efficiency, durability, and low environmental impacts were guiding elements for the selection of materials chosen for the construction and furnishings of the lodge. Owned by the MoCreebec people, this non-profit tourism enterprise also functions as a local employer, a place of healing, and a meeting place for community members and visitors. Through the application of an expanded version of Scheyven's (1999) ecotourism empowerment framework, this case study provides an illustration of how traditional philosophies and modern technologies can be incorporated into a tourism facility, and how such a facility can support community development and empowerment while providing the impetus for local and regional tourism strategies in Northern Ontario, Canada.

As demonstrated in Chapter 6, tourism can have tremendous impacts for the Aboriginals. Arvid Viken provides another example in Chapter 7, entitled "Reinventing Ethnic Identity: A Local Festival as a National Institution on a Global Scene." In this chapter, Viken focuses on identity changes related to a festival and tourism in Northern Troms, a coastal Sami area. The festival, called "Riddu Riđđu," takes place every year since the early 1990s. In Viken's own words, the festival "has been central to a revitalization process concerning the Sami identity of local people." Starting from the suppression the coastal Sami experience at the hands of Norwegian politics, Viken shows how initiatives such as the Riddu Riđđu festival have played a role in the fast-going revitalization process taking place in Norway.

"However," Viken writes, "such changes do not take place without controversies. Among those who have tried to revitalize the Sami identity, many have tried to avoid antagonisms. However, their efforts have provoked others, and the ethno-political discourse has continually been part of the local public agenda." Based on observations, interviews, and written accounts, Viken illustrates how a group of young people, transformed by politics, led to the creation of an Aboriginal festival and how this festival was sued as a revolt against an existing ethnic order.

Up to this point, our study of polar tourism as a tool for regional development stands most importantly from the social, cultural, and economic viewpoints. We have yet to look at the sustainable dimension,

especially as regards the management of the natural resources that are so important to polar tourism. Machiel Lamers makes this bridge. In Chapter 8, "Sustainable Tourism Development in Antarctica: Conceptualization, Perspectives, and Ways Forward," Machiel Lamers and Bas Amelung discuss the difficulty of applying the concept of sustainable tourism in the Antarctic region, since it has no sovereign state owner nor permanent population. They underline that the characteristics of Antarctica make it a prime candidate for fleshing out a number of latent problems surrounding the concept of sustainable development. The starting point of their reflections is the number of visitors, which has more than twelve-folded in the past 15 years. Lamers and Amelung point out the types of development that would not be proper for Antarctica. Their observations can be put into perspective with Arctic regions as well: is all tourism development good for the environment? Can development be good for the people without being appropriate for the natural environment?

In this chapter, the authors explore a variety of theoretical perspectives on sustainable development and link them with the views of stakeholders. Different insights and governance strategies are presented that may contribute to a better understanding of sustainable tourism in Antarctica and steering the development in this direction.

Having literally taken a tour through case studies from both the North and the Antarctic, Hans Gelter proposes in chapter 9 another look at polar tourist experiences. In "Polar Tourist Experiences: Challenges and Possibilities for Transmodern Tourism," Gelter contributes to the new area of polar tourism research by conceptually discussing different approaches to study tourist experiences. These frameworks are integrated with the emerging concept of transmodern tourism and its implications for the polar travel industry and future empirical research on polar tourism.

Dieter K. Müller returns for the conclusion and some final thoughts.

Such a book cannot find all the answers, neither does it pretend to. The last International Polar Year (IPY) saw many other initiatives set around tourism in both polar regions. What makes this initiative unique is that through the creation of the International Polar Tourism Research Network, a forum is slowly being established for people who share interests in the issues and problems that tourism generates in the remote communities and environments of the poles. Through this forum, all actors involved in polar tourism are invited to share ideas and experiences in order to identify and apply the best solutions to help develop a prosperous yet sustainable industry.

Throughout this book, a common theme transpires: tourism is changing forever the way the polar world is being perceived, understood, and experienced. The Arctic is not longer an empty space at the end of

geography, isolated from the rest of the world. In this global world, where individuals are increasingly interconnected, the emancipation of the people of the North has led to a geographical fragmentation of the North while at the same time creating a circumpolar region. Many of the new emerging regions of the circumpolar world, like the Nunavik, are experimenting with new powers and responsibilities.

In May 2011, 66% of the population of the Nunavik said "no" in a referendum on the formation of a Nunavik government. The strong rejection of the proposal does not mean the end of the autonomy project for Northern Québec. It is rather a cautious decision by the population who has moved so rapidly into the front seat of its management in less than a few decades. It also points out the need for this society to earn more experience and self-confidence before taking full command. For scientists, this is an excellent time to assist with the experiences that have been well documented from other Northern, Arctic, and polar regions. For tourism, this book is meant to offer a range of perspectives on how challenges can be met and solutions stakeholders implemented for the benefit of all local.

Tourism does hold promises for Nunavik. Tourism, however, can be not the only driving force, but rather one of many contributors to, a context of changes and improvement for and by the people of the North (Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal included). Nunavik as we see it today is the result of three decades of negotiations and planning. The development of tourism in Nunavik will also require time. The potential of a worthy future lays ahead.

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POLAR TOURISM DEVELOPMENT: WHO BENEFITS?

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1. INTRODUCTION

Polar regions are undergoing profound changes in many respects. One significant agent of change is polar tourism development, which is increasing. As a major global industry tourism is often viewed as a tool for local and regional development. The rapid growth and diversification of polar tourism warrant careful scrutiny because these unique regions are important to humanity. They offer special environments that do not exist elsewhere on the planet. The Arctic, in particular, is home to a variety of cultures and languages where authenticity is a key consideration.

These regions provide important science laboratories and play a pivotal role in climate change research. Of equal importance is the role they play in the public imagination. This should not be underestimated given that these places,

safe havens, pristine wilderness, and traditional cultures not only need to be increasingly attractive to tourists, but are also vital to many who may never access them.

Traditionally the preserve of indigenous peoples, the Arctic hosts varied populations following European intervention, the influx of scientists and subsequent discoveries, changes in immigration policy (Kelley and Trebilcock 1998), and other developments. Although the Antarctic has no native population and the legal basis for land claims is addressed differently from the Arctic, both regions continue to host explorers, scientists, and tourists along with other categories of visitors.

The polar regions not only offer unique opportunities to conduct science, they are also economically significant. White (1994: 245), an economist, argues this for the Antarctic and highlights tourism's considerable role in the region. He presents an economic history of the continent (*ibid*.: 247), as does Wilder (1992: vii), who concentrates on the historical development of economic interests in Antarctica, notably those of Australia; Basberg (2005) examines quantitative data relating to economic activity in the region. Overall, there is a dearth of research on tourism economics for the Arctic. However, some small-scale studies have been done, *e.g.* Robinson and Ghostkeeper's (1987) work on native economics in Canada, Saarinen's (2003) case study of the regional economics of tourism in Northern Finland, and Snyder's (2007c) overview of the economic role of Arctic tourism, though not all data presented relate to tourism occurring in Arctic territory.

Each peripheral tourist destination has spatially specific characteristics and unique social, cultural, economic, political, and environmental contexts into which a comprehensive tourism development strategy must be woven (Anderson 1991: 220). Within each community in those destinations attitudes to tourism development vary considerably (Taylor 1995: 488). Tourism development tends to benefit only a small proportion of local residents (Canan and Hennessy 1989). In particular, economic benefits are often viewed as going to others. Prentice (1993) argues that those who benefit from tourism are more likely to support its development and view its disbenefits as less than do other locals. Yet, a systematic cost-benefit analysis of polar tourism development in the polar regions is lacking. This study answers that call in part by presenting a descriptive analysis of the potential benefits of polar tourism development in relation to tourism sectors and stakeholders. It also attempts to address a gap in polar tourism research identified by Stewart *et al.* (2005: 389) by asking some fundamental questions about polar tourism development in the Antarctic while building on previous Arctic tourism development studies. Research on the full spectrum of costs attached to

polar tourism development, while needed, falls outside the scope of this work. While the focus here is on human benefits of polar tourism development, with an emphasis on economic ones mainly because these are better documented and serve arguably as the core driver of the industry as it is currently conceived, tourism's costs and benefits with respect to the natural world and its living and non-living systems also warrant research. These too fall outside the scope of this work.

Stakeholders differ in terms of how they benefit from polar tourism development. This desktop study explores the nature of these benefits. It asks, "who benefits from polar tourism development?" This question is of ethical as well as practical concern. As their full value may still be unknown, these regions require careful management. It matters who benefits from polar tourism development because industry activity exacts a price on the social, cultural, economic, physical, and other environments of these regions and these are only beginning to be understood. Yet, is it a price worth paying if it is found that few polar tourism stakeholders are benefiting from the development, or if the tourism development benefits are skewed unduly, unfair, or unsustainable? What if a benefit for one stakeholder group harms another? Alternatively, what if greater benefits for multiple stakeholder groups can be derived by making minor alterations in how the tourism is planned, developed, and/or delivered? Establishing whether the toll is worth paying and how to maximize the benefits requires consideration of the nature of benefits to be gained from polar tourism development and who is gaining them. Unchecked polar tourism development merely invites problems. Greater collective awareness of the importance of holding industries to account and increased appreciation of: 1) the vital role these regions play with respect to climate change and its mitigation; 2) how the polar regions captivate the human imagination; and 3) tourism development's dismal track record in many other destinations combine to give greater urgency to the question of who benefits from polar tourism development.

Why is it important to establish who benefits from polar tourism development? The reasons are multiple. First, as a young field of enquiry, polar tourism studies will benefit from having each of the basic interrogatives relating to this development investigated in order to place it on a firmer footing and build on it in the future. Second, knowing who benefits from polar tourism development helps to understand how to manage those benefits directly and indirectly within the tourism development process. Third, if equity in polar tourism development is viewed as desirable and is to be achieved, it will be necessary to establish the range of benefits on offer and who is receiving them in order to examine their distribution and inform future policymaking, planning, management, and industry decision-making and practice. Fourth, it is hoped that this study

will stimulate debate and further research on this topic and related themes. See Table 1.1 for further reasons why it is important to know who benefits from polar tourism development. This study explores potential avenues of polar tourism development benefits, rather than presenting financial estimates relating to polar tourism activities. It also identifies ways to ensure that 1) some of the income generated by the tourism industry in the polar regions remains there; 2) polar tourism development is used to support the host destination; and/or 3) a greater share of polar tourism development benefits goes to the relevant local populations.

Although numerous studies have been conducted on stakeholder attitudes toward and participation in tourism development in many parts of the world (see Harrill 2004), empirical studies are lacking on who benefits from polar tourism development; nor have the many implications of this question been considered in depth within a single study. This foundational work sets out polar tourism development benefit interrogatives concisely (see Table 1.2) and codifies various threads of thought in relation to the first (*i.e.* Who benefits from polar tourism development?) to show how they nest within the spectrum of polar tourism development benefits enquiry. Practical constraints prevent full consideration of all the questions here, though each warrants study.

How content stakeholders are with their share of polar tourism development benefits is not clear. Do they tend to be economic or are there social, cultural, political, and environmental benefits to be derived from polar tourism development? What balance of polar tourism development benefits is acceptable? Smith and Duffy (2003: 9) maintain that the ethical issues surrounding tourism development receive little academic attention. In exploring the ethical dimensions of tourism development they consider the question of fairness in the distribution of tourism

TABLE 1.1 – FURTHER REASONS WHY IT IS IMPORTANT TO KNOW WHO BENEFITS FROM POLAR TOURISM DEVELOPMENT

1. The respective roles of tourists, the tourism industry and destinations (and local residents where relevant) in polar regions, and their interconnections deserve detailed study and may be better understood.
2. More polar tourism development stakeholder groups may accrue advantages in additional, different, and/or unforeseen ways as a result, *e.g.* by using the information to refine tourism policy, planning, management, and practice; polar tourists understand better the effects their visits have on other tourism stakeholders; local communities gain increased knowledge about tourism in their destinations.
3. Regular monitoring of polar tourism development benefits may be conducted.
4. Forms of polar tourism development benefit evaluation may be devised, developed, and implemented.
5. Research curiosity may be satisfied and further studies may be conceived, designed, and conducted to advance the subject.
6. Overall, more sustainable forms of polar tourism development may emerge.

Source: Debra J. Enzenbacher.

TABLE 1.2 – **THE POLAR TOURISM DEVELOPMENT BENEFITS ARENA AND RELATED INTERROGATIVES**

N.B. All tourism sectors and stakeholders for a given polar destination form part of its tourism development benefits arena; within each arena all questions link to each other.

A. The polar tourism development benefits arena – The interrogatives
1. Who benefits from polar tourism development?
2. What benefits are derived from polar tourism development?
3. When are polar tourism development benefits derived?
4. Where are polar tourism development benefits derived?
5. How are polar tourism development benefits derived?
6. Why are polar tourism development benefits derived?

B. The polar tourism development benefits arena – Why does it matter?
1. Why does it matter who benefits from polar tourism development?
2. Why does it matter what benefits are derived from polar tourism development?
3. Why does it matter when polar tourism development benefits are derived?
4. Why does it matter where polar tourism development benefits are derived?
5. Why does it matter how polar tourism development benefits are derived?
6. Why does it matter why polar tourism development benefits are derived?

C. The polar tourism development benefits arena – How does knowledge about ___ inform tourism development, policymaking, planning, management, and practices?
1. How does knowledge about who benefits from polar tourism development inform tourism development, policymaking, planning, management, and practices?
2. How does knowledge about what benefits are derived from polar tourism development inform tourism development, policymaking, planning, management, and practices?
3. How does knowledge about when benefits are derived from polar tourism development inform tourism development, policymaking, planning, management, and practices?
4. How does knowledge about where polar tourism development benefits are derived inform tourism development, policymaking, planning, management, and practice?
5. How does knowledge about how polar tourism development benefits are derived inform tourism development, policymaking, planning, management, and practice?
6. How does knowledge about why benefits from polar tourism development are derived inform tourism development, policymaking, planning, management, and practices?

D. The polar tourism development benefits arena – How might knowledge about ___ be used by polar tourism stakeholders to bring about more equitable distribution of those benefits?
1. How might knowledge about who benefits from polar tourism development be used by stakeholders to bring about more equitable distribution of those benefits?
2. How might knowledge about what benefits are derived from polar tourism development be used by stakeholders to bring about more equitable distribution of those benefits?
3. How might knowledge about when benefits from polar tourism development are derived be used by stakeholders to bring about more equitable distribution of those benefits?
4. How might knowledge about where benefits from polar tourism development are derived be used by stakeholders to bring about more equitable distribution of those benefits?
5. How might knowledge about how benefits from polar tourism development are derived be used by stakeholders to bring about more equitable distribution of those benefits?
6. How might knowledge about why benefits from polar tourism development are derived be used by stakeholders to bring about more equitable distribution of those benefits?

E. The polar tourism development benefits arena – More specifically, working from the premise that more sustainable forms of polar tourism development benefits are desirable and achievable, how might each polar tourism sector deliver more sustainable forms of polar tourism development? [And so on as in A–D: what, when, where, how, why?]

F. The polar tourism development benefits arena – Working from the premise that more sustainable forms of polar tourism development benefits are desirable and achievable, how might each polar tourism stakeholder deliver more sustainable forms of polar tourism development? [And so on as in A–D: what, when, where, how, why?]

Source: Debra J. Enzenbacher.

benefits and revenues and highlight the difficulties inherent in quantify-
ing relevant evaluative terms in the debate since tourism may be valued
in different ways. Such difficulties extend to consideration of the benefits
of polar tourism development, yet these questions still need to be posed.
It is argued that more research is needed on how tourism sectors might
deliver greater benefits to stakeholders if polar tourism development is to
be equitable in the long term.

Some question whether tourism benefits all stakeholders or whether
this can be achieved. Sautter and Leisen (1999: 312) assert that, "[d]espite
its economic significance, debate continues as to whether or not tourism
truly benefits all entities involved in its system." Their conceptualization
of stakeholder theory as a normative tourism planning tool shows how
collaboration among key players can be promoted in the planning process
(*ibid*.: 325). This raises further questions. If collaboration is needed to
deliver tourism development benefits or greater tourism development
benefits to respective polar stakeholders groups, as the case may be, how
might the process be facilitated in practice?

Although tourism offers a means of economic development, polar
regions need to draw on lessons learned from tourism policy, planning,
development, management, and practice elsewhere. For example, residents'
attitudes should be regarded in the tourism development and manage-
ment process alongside site-appropriate tourism planning in order to limit
or avoid negative reactions such as resentment or even envy toward tour-
ists. Harrill (2004: 252) points out that, "[w]ithout proper planning and
management – in this case the equitable distribution of tourism's economic
benefits – this envy can quickly turn to open hostility toward tourists,
eventually contributing to the destination's decline." Previous research
elsewhere also shows that low-to-moderate levels of tourism development
are perceived as beneficial to the community, but residents' perceptions
can turn negative quickly as development increases (Allen *et al*. 1988).

Elsewhere, Harrill's (2004: 262) review of literature on residents'
attitudes towards tourism development reveals that tourism benefits some
residents, but not others in a community. The challenge of distributing
tourism's benefits equitably is made more difficult for planners because
it is an "invisible" industry made up of many economic sectors. This
balancing act requires in-depth understanding of the social, [cultural,
political,] economic, and environmental dynamics within a community.
Yet research reflects a relatively less dynamic understanding of commu-
nity. While many residents are aware of the benefits of tourism develop-
ment and have some understanding of tourism economics in their
respective communities, there is concern that tourism will make them
strangers in their own communities, they will pay disproportionately

for tourism, and they will be left out of tourism's direct economic benefits. They fear that tourism growth will affect environmental quality severely, and many are not satisfied with local planning and environmental management efforts (*ibid.*).

Milne and Ateljevic (2001: 379) identify the need to develop greater understanding of how the tourism industry influences processes of local economic development and the need to gain an understanding of the links between tourism and broader processes of development. They review the major theoretical frameworks that have been applied to aid understanding of these processes and note how they embrace the complexity of the industry. Their work explores how local economies can thrive in a globalized environment (*ibid.*: 370). Various attempts have been made to theorize the issue of how stakeholders interact within and between multiple "nested" scales (*ibid.*: 374). They highlight the increasing significance of networks and new information and communication technologies in economic development from tourism. The extent to which polar destinations employ these technologies may affect their prospects for accruing benefits from tourism development.

This chapter provides a brief summary of polar tourism development along with key definitions, terms of reference, and points of interest before focusing on tourism sectors and stakeholders involved in polar tourism development. It outlines a range of polar tourism economic drivers, considers the roles of infrastructure and superstructure in polar tourism development, sets out some of the benefits of polar tourism development, and examines how these might be enhanced. These elements in combination need to be borne in mind when considering who benefits from polar tourism development. The need to challenge the *status quo* with respect to current distribution of polar tourism development benefits is argued, conclusions are drawn, a call for further research is made, and the future of polar tourism development benefits is pondered.

2. A BRIEF SUMMARY OF POLAR TOURISM DEVELOPMENT

Tourism is now one of the principal human activities in the polar regions. There is a significant commitment to polar tourism development on the part of both public and private entities, especially in the Arctic (Snyder 2007a). Tourism has occurred in the Arctic for two centuries and in the Antarctic for about 50 years. See also Grenier's summary of polar tourism in Chapter 2. One reason that polar tourism is expanding so fast is due to a reduction in so-called barriers to entry. These include difficulty of access, travel costs, environmental conditions (real and perceived), time needed to travel, and jurisdictional restraints (Snyder 2007a.). Greater

access results from natural and human-induced events such as reductions in sea ice; warmer temperatures; better maps; advances in transport and navigational technologies; and improved clothing and outdoors equipment (*ibid.*). Additional factors are likely to be driving the growth of polar tourism development, including media coverage of climate change which plants in the minds of the public the notion that these regions are changing fast, the subtext being that those who wish to see these places need to do so sooner rather than later (Enzenbacher 2008). Market segmentation, advanced marketing techniques, and the social media (characterized by audience fragmentation and user-generated content; Kaplan and Haenlein 2010: 59), *e.g.* blogs, wikis, Facebook, Flickr, Twitter, YouTube, travel review sites, alongside other word-of-mouth tools and the desire to diversify and/or develop new tourism products, services, and destinations in the polar regions, also stimulate polar tourism development.

Tourism development in the Northwest Territories of Canada, to take one example, is driven by anticipation of economic benefits (Hinch 1995: 120). Yet, polar tourism development is not without risks; just how vulnerable it proves to be to rising oil and energy prices, recession, anthropogenic introductions, regulation, and other external factors remains to be seen. As one indication, the World Tourism Organization (WTO 2009: 1) reported that the negative trend for international tourism that emerged in the latter half of 2008 intensified in 2009, with an 8% drop in the first quarter. Climate change and its price tag also raise huge questions in the polar tourism development context. *The Stern Review* (Stern 2006: viii) states that climate change may provide a possible boost to tourism in higher latitude regions such as Canada, Russia, and Scandinavia, but "these regions will also experience the most rapid rates of warming, damaging infrastructure, human health, local livelihoods and biodiversity." Becken and Hay (2007: 301) point out that the transportation industry is likely to experience major benefits from reduced costs of snow and ice management though tourism's overall gains from climate change are likely to be comparatively small. Not only are polar regions changing quickly in terms of their physical environments, but their social and cultural environments are transitioning swiftly as well.

The rapid growth of polar tourism is characterized by greater numbers of tourists, tour operators, forms of tourism, and destinations, as well as extended seasons of operation aided by sophisticated marketing and refinements in customer profiling; and the industry is poised for further growth. It has evolved to become a vital economic activity on which Arctic economies increasingly rely, especially Arctic indigenous communities seeking self-sufficiency and gateway cities in the southern hemisphere keen to realize the economic benefits of Antarctic tourism (Snyder 2007a). Notzke's (1999: 55) empirical research in Canada's western Arctic region reveals that

some Aboriginals are exploring innovative ways to harness tourism in support of traditional elements of their land-based economy, thus benefiting from the industry rather than being consumed by it.

Among the factors that influence polar tourism development are the level and state of infrastructure in the destination, government policies, the media, public tastes and perceptions, demographics, rates of consumption, human capacity to adapt to broad scoping change and demonstrate flexibility in the given surroundings, marketing (including word of mouth and the social media), and economic conditions, *e.g.* the credit crunch, interest rates, recession, employment rates, and rising energy and fuel costs.

While tourism is significant to both Arctic and Antarctic economies, the Arctic has sovereign governments whereas no one owns the Antarctic and the area is administered by the Antarctic Treaty System (ATS). Both regions have competitive tourism markets, and governments benefit from the associated tax revenues. There is some state-sponsored tourism, *e.g.* Argentina and Chile (both Antarctic Treaty Parties [ATPs]), limited infrastructure, especially in Antarctica, and the issue of emergency services is crucial as search and rescue is expensive and may prove difficult to offer to tourists, especially adventurers.

Polar tourism products are diverse. This makes consideration of the benefits of polar tourism challenging. From the ICEHOTEL in Jukkasjärvi, Sweden to South Pole flights with Adventure Network, polar cruises, and polar bear tours, to name but some, the growth of polar tourism continues apace. The destinations in which they are offered are also in varying stages of development. For example, tourism offerings in Nunavik (Northern Québec) range from Kuujjuaq (Great River), its largest community and the region's transport hub, with a number of hotels, restaurants, arts and crafts shops, stores, and a bank, to Kangiqsujuaq (The Large Bay; Figure 1.1 shows the village's layout), rather less developed in terms of tourism, though taking steps to build on its nascent industry by opening a visitors' centre that aims at attracting more tourists to the village (see Figure 1.2) and marketing itself as the gateway to Pingualuit National Park (*Parc national des Pingualuit*), 88 km away, which is home to a 1.4-million-year-old meteorite impact structure (astrobleme). According to Pomerleau (2000: 9), Nunavik's tourism has relied solely on 67 outfitting operations that have brought between 2,500 and 3,000 tourists to the region each year. He argues that it is crucial for tourism development to take the distinctive features at the local level into account; for Kangiqsujuaq these include a harsh climate, remoteness, high transportation costs, and inadequate accommodation and restaurant facilities (*ibid.*). For example, in 2000, the village had one 14-room hotel (*ibid.*: 10); another hotel was built there since. Pomerleau also asserts that activities need to be structured

to ensure visitor expectations are met (*ibid*.: 9), especially as many Nunavik destinations are in an early stage of tourism development. In comparison, Lapland and the Far North of Alaska receive much higher tourist numbers for a variety of reasons, including proximity to other industries and urban populations, human settlement patterns, and perceived scenic values. To illustrate the point, Official Statistics of Finland (2011) report 134,236 hotel nights for non-residents in Lapland during January 2011; this exceeds Helsinki's figure of 131,010 for the same period.

A snapshot of Antarctic tourism reveals that the industry is expanding and diversifying at unprecedented levels. The International Association of Antarctica Tour Operators (IAATO 2009: 3) reports that during the 2008/09 fiscal year, its total membership represented 108 companies and organizations with member offices in 15 ATP countries, namely Argentina, Australia, Belgium, Canada, Chile, France, Germany, Italy, Japan, the Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Sweden, the United Kingdom, and the United States (*ibid*.: 6–7). Cruise tourism still dominates. More and larger ships are being used. For example, during the 2007/08 season, *Star Princess* made two trips with a total of 4,867 passengers; *Artemis* carried 1,054 during her sole cruise. Most holidays require a long-haul flight and there is a limited season. Approximately 50,000 tourists visited Antarctica during the 2007/08 season (IAATO 2008: 15); not all landed in the Treaty Area. Wood (2004: 142) points out that the cruise industry is likely to continue to grow at a faster rate than tourism overall.

Growing environmental awareness and concern have resulted in an International Maritime Organisation (IMO) ban on the use and carriage of heavy fuel oil (HFO) in the Antarctic Treaty Area commencing 1 August 2011. While the decision may well be expected to have financial, logistical, market segmentation, and other implications, its full effects on polar tourism and its stakeholders, especially large vessel operators, remain to be seen. On 20 January 2011 the European Parliament called on the IMO to ban the use of HFO on ships in Arctic waters in order to prevent major environmental damages there (European Parliament 2011). If agreed and implemented, the repercussions of such a measure for Arctic tourism and its stakeholders could prove to be significant.

The growth of Arctic tourism is also extensive, yielding a varied picture. A rapid rise in Arctic tourists was noted by UNEP (2007). In the early 1990s there were approximately one million and by 2007 there were more than 1.5 million. Tourism is often seasonal with a wide range of highly diversified products on offer, *e.g.* community-based, nature, cultural, heritage, adventure, and cruise tourism. It is characterized by limited interaction with locals. As Grenier notes in Chapter 2, Arctic tourism data are fragmentary, making it difficult to gain a comprehensive view of the patterns and shifts occurring in the market. The issues of data accuracy, compatibility, reliability, validity, and comparability also pose challenges to those attempting to compile robust tourism statistics for the region or use them suitably in research.

3. KEY DEFINITIONS, TERMS OF REFERENCE, AND POINTS OF INTEREST

"Polar" is a relative term referring vaguely to northern and southern ends of the world. "Polar tourism" is equally vague, indicating visits to lands and communities in wilderness areas of the far north and south (Snyder and Stonehouse 2007: 6). Grenier (2007: 60) notes that the term "polar tourism" offers the "possibility to experience the unusual through the social and cultural conditions provided by the geographical remoteness of the polar locations" (see also Chapter 2 in this volume).

The Arctic comprises Canada, Denmark/Greenland/Faeroes, Finland, Iceland, Norway, Russia, Sweden, and the United States of America, whereas Antarctic Treaty Parties (ATPs) number 48 at present, including 28 Consultative Parties: Argentina, Australia, Belgium, Brazil, Bulgaria, Chile, China, Ecuador, Finland, France, Germany, India, Italy, Japan, Korea (ROK), the Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Peru, Poland, the Russian Federation, South Africa, Spain, Sweden, Ukraine, the United Kingdom, the United States, and Uruguay. The 20 Non-Consultative Parties are: Austria, Belarus, Canada, Colombia, Cuba, the Czech Republic, Denmark, Estonia, Greece, Guatemala, Hungary, Korea (DPRK), Monaco, Papua New Guinea, Portugal, Romania, the Slovak Republic, Switzerland, Turkey, and Venezuela.

Tourism provides a useful tool for regional development for a variety of reasons. It can serve as a means of redistributing wealth geographically from richer metropolitan areas to poorer, peripheral regions. Moreover, the resources that attract tourists may not lend themselves readily to exploitation for other purposes (Pearce 1989: 202). Yet, "in assessing these various … benefits, it is important throughout to identify just what groups or individuals are being affected" (*ibid*.: 214). This highlights the need to consider aspects of each polar destination carefully since circumstances may vary substantially between them. For example, the range of attributes, tourism assets or resources, and human capital found in a given polar destination influence the extent to which tourism may develop and subsequently benefit relevant tourism sectors and stakeholders. For purposes of this discussion, a polar tourism stakeholder is any person, group, organization, or other entity with a vested interest in polar tourism. Table 1.3 sets out types of polar tourism development benefits. These occur in complex patterns unique to each destination in the polar regions and may attach to more than one polar tourism industry sector or stakeholder group to differing extents at the same time.

TABLE 1.3 – **TYPES OF POLAR TOURISM DEVELOPMENT BENEFITS**

Economic	Technological
Social	Educational
Cultural	Personal, *e.g.* spiritual, emotional, experiential
Political	Other, *e.g.* prestige, marketing advantage
Environmental	

Source: Debra J. Enzenbacher.

Although not the focus of this study, it is also possible to examine polar tourism development or frame a discussion of it in terms of disbenefits which, according to the Merriam-Webster *Dictionary* (2011), are "something disadvantageous or objectionable." Similarly, Oxford Dictionaries Online (2011) defines a disbenefit as "a disadvantage or loss resulting from something."

4. POLAR TOURISM SECTORS

The sectors of the polar tourism industry include accommodation, transport, catering, attractions, retail travel, tour operations, tourism organizations, and financial services. The geographic and size distribution of tourism businesses in the various sectors is highly complex and subject to a number of demographic and economic variables. This means that those who benefit from polar tourism may not necessarily be located in the destination areas themselves, especially in the Antarctic. According to Smith (2005: 173), in the main, tourism tends to be dominated by small and medium-sized enterprises (SMEs). Yet, large tourism businesses operate in the polar regions too.

Some tourism sectors may dominate in a given area. Supply and demand are relevant here. Smith's study of Canadian tourism (*ibid*.: 162) states that Nunavut had 69 tourism businesses representing 0.05% of all tourism establishments in Canada (see Table 1.4). He notes a low proportion of catering versus accommodation establishments in Nunavut (*ibid*.: 173) and a high rate of government and business travel (*ibid*.: 170). He points out that if accommodation establishments provide food, this makes "it more difficult for free-standing restaurants to compete" (*ibid*.). Figure 1.3 shows a hotel in Resolute.

Each polar destination develops uniquely and may cater to different market segments, *e.g.* holiday tourists, business travellers, sports enthusiasts, student groups. While some polar destinations are characterized by even

TABLE 1.4 – **NUNAVUT TOURISM BUSINESSES**

Type of firm	Number of firms
Transport	18
Accommodation	34
Food*	8
Recreation*	4
Trade*	5
Total	69

*Researchers use different terms to describe component sectors of the tourism industry as these are subject to interpretation.
Source: Smith (2005: 165).

FIGURE 1.3

*One of the
two hotels
in Resolute,
Nunavut, Canada*
Photo: Alain A. Grenier

greater numbers of tourism businesses, others have far fewer than Nunavut or have yet to enter the fray, *i.e.* the tourism arena. A great deal of effort is needed to document the development of polar tourism with accuracy. This example illustrates how difficult it is to gain insight into a given polar destination's tourism offering without more detailed information and analysis. Uneven tourism development occurs in the polar regions due to a host of factors, including: historical precedence; competition; local, tourist and industry preferences; availability of expertise, supplies and equipment; state of infrastructure; and media influence. When tourism development can be documented, data may be proprietary.

The specific pattern of tourism development in a given polar destination also affects the extent to which the given sectors operate there. For example, where road access is available, *e.g.* Inuvik, Canada, otherwise known as "the end of the Dempster" Highway, or Dalton Highway in Alaska (informally called the "Haul Road"), which runs from Livengood to Prudhoe Bay in the Far North, private vehicles may journey, though this requires careful planning. Drawing on other transport examples, train access is available regularly to Murmansk (Russian Federation) while elsewhere, *e.g.* Greenland and Svalbard, towns are connected by ship, plane, and/or helicopter.

5. POLAR TOURISM STAKEHOLDERS

Stakeholders in polar tourism are wide-ranging. They include tourists, host communities, tourism businesses, governments, NGOs, scientists and support staff, investors, the general public (since the wider public takes an interest in these regions), and more, *e.g.* tourism consultancies, interest groups, researchers, and gateway cities. Other stakeholder definitions cite shareholders, managers, suppliers, customers, and employees (Witt *et al.* 1995: 179–82). These and other polar tourism stakeholder groups within and outwith destinations appear in Table 1.5. The list is not exhaustive, but illustrates how far-reaching the polar tourism industry has become; some categories may overlap and/or function on a variety of spatial scales, *i.e.* local, regional, national, inter-regional, or international. Note that polar tourism sectors are also stakeholders. Figure 1.4 shows a typical Arctic community shop in Nunavut.

Looking at polar tourism from a life cycle perspective, it is possible to consider stakeholders from the earliest stages of their involvement in tourism that attach in any way to Antarctica and the Arctic (*e.g.* the building of planes or cruise ships which transport people during part of a given tourism season to polar destinations). Depending on how detailed the consideration of polar tourism stakeholders, involvement may be traced from cradle to grave, as it were. All phases of the travel decision-making process need to be considered in addition to related purchases made before, during, and after polar trips. A shift in thinking is needed to view the economic might of polar tourism, its associated industries, and their implications in full light. Once this is done, the view in relation to polar tourism development benefits broadens as well.

Another way to look at this is to consider tourism spend from the moment a person decides to travel to the polar regions to the time the individual returns home from the trip and the post-trip period. Those who benefit from that decision may include specialist clothing and footwear

TABLE 1.5 – **SOME POLAR TOURISM STAKEHOLDER GROUPS**

Tourists, *e.g.* organized tour groups, VFR, independents/backpackers, student groups, work colleagues.

Host communities, *e.g.* local and other residents, households, resident associations.

Gateway cities, *e.g.* Ushuaia (Argentina), Punta Arenas (Chile), Stanley (Falkland Islands), Tromsø (Norway), Oulu and Rovaniemi (Finland), Reykjavik (Iceland), Kangerlussuaq (Greenland), Fairbanks, AK (USA), Iqaluit (Canada – see Figure 1.5), Stockholm (Sweden), St. Petersburg (Russian Federation).

Tourism businesses, *e.g.* owners, employees (managerial/administrative, full-time, part-time, voluntary), customers, suppliers, competitors; sector-specific: transport – cruise lines, private and commercial yachts, airlines, helicopter services, logistics companies; accommodation establishments – hotels, motels, guest houses, B&Bs, home stays; catering facilities – cafes, restaurants, shops; attractions – museums, visitor centres, heritage centres, art galleries, national parks, festivals; retail travel – high street travel agents, online travel companies; tour operations – private and commercial tour operators, guides, outfitters; financial services – banks, ATMs, currency exchanges, travel, transport, and other insurance companies.

Tourism industry organizations, *e.g.* AECO, SATA, IAATO, PATA, AWRTA.

Governments, *e.g.* local (tourism planners, tourism policymakers), regional (tourism planners, tourism policymakers), national (ATPs and national Antarctic programmes).

Governmental organizations, *e.g.* local, regional, national, or international (tourism organizations, Arctic Council, Antarctic Treaty Secretariat, SCAR, COMNAP, UN and its agencies such as IMO, UNWTO).

Non-governmental organizations (NGOs), *e.g.* in the Arctic – Saami Council, Inuit Circumpolar Council, Russian Association of Indigenous Peoples of the North (umbrella Indigenous Peoples' Organizations), WWF Arctic Programme, CAFF, Clean Air Task Force, International Polar Heritage Committee (ICOMOS); in the Antarctic – Greenpeace, Oceanites, ASOC (umbrella organization).

Tourism interest groups, activist groups and charities, *e.g.* local, regional, national, or international (such as the Antarctic Heritage Trust – New Zealand and United Kingdom).

Investors, *e.g.* public and/or private banks, consortia, shareholders, tourism developers, entrepreneurs, craftspeople.

Researchers and research networks, *e.g.* academics, including field and laboratory scientists and support staff, IPTRN.

Tourism and other polar consultancies, *e.g.* for the Arctic – Arctic Group; for Antarctica – ERA.

Manufacturers, *e.g.* polar tourism souvenirs (penguin and polar bear merchandise); maps; travel guides; polar clothing, footwear, gear, and equipment.

Retailers and wholesalers, *e.g.* polar tourism souvenirs (penguin and polar bear merchandise); maps; travel guides; polar books; polar clothing footwear, gear, and equipment.

Publishers, printers, and polar authors, *e.g.* polar/nature books; maps; travel guides; postcards; diaries/journals; calendars; stationery; brochure and leaflet printers.

Energy companies, *e.g.* energy provision for all polar tourism stakeholder groups.

Oil companies, *e.g.* fuel provision for the polar tourism transport sector and other stakeholder groups.

Health providers, *e.g.* pharmacies; doctors and nurses providing medical exams for polar tourists pre- and post-trip; HMOs; dentists; opticians.

IT and telecommunications companies, *e.g.* phone and computer sales; top-up cards; batteries; related supplies and equipment required pre- and post-trip.

The general public.

Other, *e.g.* tourism students; tourism marketers; artists; interpreters; benefactors; shipyards; the media.

Source: Debra J. Enzenbacher.

FIGURE 1.4

*The co-op in
Gjoa Haven,
Nunavut, Canada*
Photo: Alain A. Grenier

manufacturers and retailers, map- and booksellers, pharmacies, airport transfer firms, banks, insurance companies, other retailers and wholesalers, and IT and telecommunications companies including those selling digital phones, cameras, MP3 players, batteries, storage disks, and related supplies and equipment if the trip prompts travellers to obtain new equipment or process images, to name but some. As such, each named party may be viewed as having a stake in polar tourism. The multiplier effect causes tourism spend to ripple through the economy and often stimulates economic activity far from the destination. This makes precise measurement of the economic impact of polar tourism development difficult. The challenges also inherent in collecting reliable tourism data in the polar regions compound the issue (see the discussion in Chapter 2 by Grenier, that relates to the Arctic).

Yet it is easy to see how a wide range of polar tourism stakeholders may benefit in practice. When one considers just how diverse the market-generating regions for polar tourism products are, it becomes readily apparent how economic areas far from the polar regions may be the main beneficiaries of polar tourism development, especially when the full cycle of tourism spend is taken into account, including pre- and post-trip purchases. For example, according to IAATO (2010a, 2010b), 69% of Antarctic tourists from the 2009/10 season originated from five of 99 listed countries, including the USA (32%), Germany (14%), the UK (10%), Australia (7%), and Canada (6%). The purchases made in connection

with their Antarctic tour may have involved local, regional, national, and international businesses and/or organizations. Since cruises remain the dominant form of Antarctic tourism, tourists may directly and/or indirectly support the wages of ship staff even if they repatriate all or part of them to their home countries. There are no port fees in Antarctica and there is no mechanism under ATP auspices as yet to fund Antarctic tourism management efforts.

The Arctic is diverse in human settlements and cultures. It is said that circumpolar populations often share more in common with each other than with those in their home country. The Antarctic is designated for peaceful scientific purposes and, as such, has an atypical population since there are no native inhabitants. Scientists, support staff, tourists, tour operators and their staff, merchant marines, government employees, civilian contractors, fishery workers, and NGO staff are among those who populate the area and its surrounding marine system. The Antarctic is governed by the ATPs so each of these 48 countries has a vested interest in Antarctic tourism development and how it affects the region.

Foremost among the key factors driving polar tourism development and expanding its web of stakeholders is the global economy. Wide-scale global economic development has resulted in a higher standard of living for many in the developed world, increased levels of disposable income,

greater strides being made in the economies of many developing countries, in addition to raised aspirations for others worldwide. As more people improve their standard of living, it follows that more will travel due to the introduction of paid holidays, better working conditions, and increased work pay. Many other factors influence stakeholders in polar tourism development, including power relations and levels of influence wielded by respective parties, along with stakeholder interaction, consultation, and participation, but they will not be explored in depth here.

6. THE ROLE OF INFRASTRUCTURE AND SUPERSTRUCTURE IN POLAR TOURISM DEVELOPMENT

Establishing who benefits from polar tourism development and how also depends on who pays to maintain the infrastructure and superstructure that help deliver it. Water quality, sanitation facilities, waste collection and disposal, energy supplies, and telecommunications systems need to be reliable and incur capital and operating costs; they require spare parts and advanced work force skills, and they may demand specialized parts and other supplies to function. The cost of building, operating, and maintaining tourism infrastructure also proves a substantial economic burden for Arctic communities and governments. Their law enforcement personnel may need to respond to large populations visiting their communities and require sophisticated equipment to patrol backcountry regions. Fire services may face similar challenges. Responding to environmental hazards (*e.g.* oil spill containment and recovery for an imperiled tourism vessel) incurs significant expense. Specialized equipment, trained personnel, and essential supplies are all needed in an emergency response. Tourist-induced inflation, notably in property prices, may also occur in the Arctic, where higher land values result from an increase in interest in an area.

Major technological advances have allowed tourism to develop in ever more remote reaches of the polar regions. Yet, expenditure for facilities maintenance, *e.g.* transport facilities, may be considerable. Health care and medical bills can be exorbitant in these regions. Advanced medical transport, supplies, and equipment are required to evacuate victims and treat their injuries, while security (*e.g.* police and fire) services help safeguard what has been developed in terms of infrastructure and superstructure in polar destination areas. Environmental hazard response systems also prove costly to implement. In short, even though tourism may take place only a few months of the year, infrastructure needs to be maintained year-round, often under adverse conditions (Snyder 2007a: 16).

Overall, infrastructure and superstructure in lower latitudes help support polar tourism development, but it is not clear whether or to what extent polar tourists contribute to their associated running costs through their travel purchases. The role of investment is also important because tourism development requires capital expenditure in the main to introduce and help maintain products and services to a standard that yields competitive advantage. Investors may represent public and/or private interests (see Table 1.5). Private investors include tourism developers for hotels, airlines, attractions, ships, or entrepreneurial activity and, at the local level, craftspeople, tour and other guides, outfitters, suppliers, and interpreters.

The development of infrastructure and superstructure in the polar regions facilitates the growth of tourism development. As infrastructure and superstructure improve, so the domestic and international tourism markets for the polar regions become more competitive. Therefore competition is an important concept when considering the economic influences on tourism flows to these regions.

Another aspect to consider is that infrastructure and superstructure enjoy shared use by local residents and visitors. These indicators of economic prosperity rely heavily on the availability of different and affordable energy sources. States realize that it is in their interest to defend and maintain their access to the world's oil reserves. These motivations are closely linked to the 1974 and subsequent oil crises which impacted severely the aviation industry as well as most countries.

An interesting question to ask at this juncture is, who pays for it all, the infrastructure and superstructure that allow polar tourism development to flourish, the local and regional transport networks that allow polar tourists to travel from their point of origin to the destinations? the road systems and car parks used to procure clothing and equipment needed for trips? the airports that have been constructed to support their desire to travel? the water purifying system they draw upon while travelling? the sanitation facilities, *e.g.* waste disposal, the telecommunications systems utilized, *e.g.* phone, fax, computer, and energy supplies, along with the superstructure they draw upon such as hotels, restaurants, retail shops (see Figure 1.6), attractions, and financial services, *e.g.* banks, ATMs, insurance? Do tourists in the Arctic, for example, contribute to the local economies they visit? If so, how and in what ways? If not, why not, and is this acceptable? If the polar tourism industry continues on its current trajectory, will its benefits and their distribution change in any important respects?

FIGURE 1.6

Cambridge Bay shop, Nunavut, Canada
Photo: Alain A. Grenier

7. THE BENEFITS OF POLAR TOURISM DEVELOPMENT OUTLINED

A wide range of benefits attach to polar tourism development. These may be social, cultural, economic, political, environmental, technological, educational, personal, or otherwise in nature (see Table 1.3). Some are multi-dimensional. Yet, who benefits? By how much? In which proportions do the respective stakeholders in a given polar destination benefit from tourist activity? Tourism companies, governments, tourists, local residents, investors, and others, *e.g.* artists, guides, suppliers, publishers all may benefit from polar tourism. Trips provide education, holidays, enjoyment, new experiences, and memories that may long be remembered. These benefits play a role in the overall scheme and therefore warrant attention, but not all will serve as a focus for this study.

Polar tourism development benefits include economic development, higher employment rates, increased wages, enhanced balance of payments, and tax revenue. However, polar tourism development may result in less welcome effects such as a higher cost of living for locals, fluctuating exchange rates which may encourage or deter visitor numbers, and inflation. A downturn in the general health of the economy may result in fewer people being able to afford to travel or the creation of enough uncertainty with respect to mortgage rates, job security, and/or levels of disposable income to keep potential tourists at home. It may also affect

one's ability to participate in or otherwise benefit from polar tourism. Not all polar tourism stakeholders benefit in the same ways or to the same extent within or outwith a given destination.

All of these factors influence a person's ability to travel outside their immediate environment. Many others apply as well, *e.g.* social influences such as prestige, environmental awareness, word-of-mouth holidays, and the state of an individual's health, but this work focuses mainly on economic factors. So the desire to travel is not enough; one needs the ability to travel. It follows that global recession results in sizable losses to the tourism industry, although the impact it has on polar tourism and its stakeholders is less clear and warrants further attention.

Smith (1997: 155) asserts that "not all benefits and costs can be measured in a monetary metric … [B]enefit-cost analysis typically ignores the social distribution of costs and benefits." It indicates whether total benefits outweigh total costs, but does not address who receives the benefits, who pays the costs, or if the allocation of benefits and costs is equitable. Smith (*ibid*.) also notes that "[m]uch more work needs to be done to develop reliable and credible techniques that will help analysts and decision makers to consistently and objectively compare the full range of benefits and costs arising from tourism development."

A closer look at the economic impacts of polar tourism development reveals who benefits financially and how. This work then considers whether the distribution is equitable and what might be done to spread the benefits around. This requires looking at the various stakeholders in turn.

Some Antarctic beneficiaries include: tour operators, land, sea, and air based; tourism employees; suppliers; intermediaries; fuel companies; gateway cities, *e.g.* Ushuaia (Argentina), Stanley (Falkland Islands), and Punta Arenas (Chile); airlines and airports, including the sale of flights, fees, parking, catering services, and duty-free goods; some national programs in Antarctica, *e.g.* Argentina, Chile, Poland, and Russia, to name a few; as well as others such as polar museums, visitor and heritage centres, publishers, zoos, and clothing/gear/outdoor equipment companies, not to mention many that either go unnoticed or are as yet unrealized. As for the latter, White (1994: 252–3) discussed the prospect of towing icebergs for fresh water and noted that an international conference involving 110 scientists was held to discuss this subject in Ames, Iowa in October 1977.

Snyder (2007b: 49) states that "Arctic jobs, household incomes and government revenues rely increasingly on the tourism industry." Steiner and Sollitt (2007: iii) maintain that tourism revenues may provide resources for conservation of the polar environment by providing greater economic opportunities and choices for local people. However, "the

question of who benefits economically from large-scale Arctic tourism is a very sensitive issue. Many of the transport, tour and hotel corporations conducting tourism in the Arctic are headquartered outside the region" (Snyder 2007a: 17), so most of those revenues never enter, and constitute leakages from, the local economy. The same applies to some Arctic souvenir production, distribution, and sales, *e.g.* t-shirts, sweatshirts, fleeces, caps/hats, scarves, postcards, calendars, posters, photos, badges, lapel pins, lighters, key fobs, pens, pencils, glassware and ceramic items such as coffee mugs, coasters, playing cards, bumper stickers, notecards, and novelty food and drink items.

Arctic communities benefit economically from angling, hunting, and some forms of nature tourism (provided a local guide is hired) where most expenditure remains in the community. Tourists staying in hotels owned locally provide another example, whereas others may escape the local economy altogether during shore visits from seaborne vessels, *e.g.* cruise ships using their own guides. Tourists employ locals and use local transport, accommodation, and catering providers (Snyder 2007a). Cultural and heritage tourism create a market for art and other native manufactured goods and services (*ibid.*; see Figure 1.7). De Kadt (1979: 69) found in a study of tourism in developing countries that it may even contribute to the preservation of local arts and crafts or revived interest in indigenous crafts among the local and national population, which may in turn lead to exports. This may well describe what happens in some Arctic destinations.

"In the Antarctic, to the amazement of many and consternation of some, tourism has become the continent's largest human activity, yielding profits to tour operators and service industries in gateway ports, but as yet none to benefit the continent or its governance" (Snyder 2007b: 49). It is noteworthy that Antarctica as a destination derives no economic benefits from tourism and there is no indigenous population to benefit from tourism there either. Yet demands may be placed on scant resources where little or no infrastructure exists. Some national Antarctic programs have had to interrupt their science schedules to conduct search and rescue operations and/or provide medical assistance or evacuation for tourists in difficulties, which may leave station personnel without an established safety net (Enzenbacher 1994: 307). Substantial costs may be incurred as a result, alongside the disruptions to carefully planned research and the associated risks to rescuers during these operations. IAATO members aim at self-sufficiency in the Antarctic Treaty Area and offer each other assistance where possible, but some tour operators and expeditions encounter difficulties that require outside support.

FIGURE 1.7

Hand-made artefacts (inukshuks) from Gjoa Haven, Nunavut, Canada are highly prized by tourists
Photo: Alain A. Grenier

Most Antarctic cruises land passengers at one or more sites in the Treaty Area. Some visit research stations, scenic spots, and/or historic sites of interest. Scheduled tour visits to Antarctic research stations present a range of advantages and disadvantages, some with financial implications including the potential for them to impair work productivity during a limited field season (*ibid*.). As Snyder (2007a: 17) notes, some science stations and heritage sites generate revenue from souvenir sales, "but these are neither dedicated to resource management nor sufficient to support tourism management programmes." Philatelic sales offer a number of stations another revenue stream.

Fees are levied by the Antarctic Historic Places Trust to maintain heroic age huts in the Ross Sea region, but ATPs do not charge tour operators or tourists to visit the Treaty Area; IAATO members pay a set fee for each passenger transported to the region to support the organization's work at Antarctic meetings. The fee has fluctuated in recent years in response to market conditions. For example, during the 2007/08 season the fee for all passengers was US$10. The fee increased to US$15 for all passenger categories the following season, then to US$15 per cruise-only passenger and US$20 per landed passenger in Antarctica during the 2009/10 and 2010/11 seasons. The fees are set to increase to US$19 and US$26 respectively for the 2011/12 season (IAATO 2011). Tour operators also incur costs in preparing EIAs required by the Treaty's Environmental Protocol. Some tourists provide donations in support of environmental

research and heritage preservation projects in Antarctica and the sub-Antarctic (Snyder 2007a: 17), *e.g.* through the Antarctic Heritage Trust (New Zealand and/or the United Kingdom). Small numbers of station personnel are also transported via cruise ship and may provide talks for passengers, so they benefit in that sense (as arguably do the tourists and tour operators concerned).

Polar tourism benefits may be tangible and intangible, real or perceived. Great strides have been made in crunching tourism data, but how is the full range of benefits of polar tourism development to be measured? What role do individual perceptions play in this context? These are big questions that deserve consideration.

Some key benefits of polar tourism development are: job creation, *e.g.* local guides, pilots, charter boat captains and crews, outfitters, suppliers, artists, and translators; tourism revenue, profits, fees, and levies; visitor spend for accommodation, catering (meals, snacks, and drinks) transport, attractions, souvenirs, tours, guides, interpreters, and other services; ship, yacht, and aircraft (*e.g.* plane, helicopter) charter fees; snowmobile and ski equipment rental fees; tourism spend at points of embarkation and disembarkation; airports; ports; on board ship/plane/train; duty-free goods; at the destination; science stations (*e.g.* Poland's Arctowski Station sells stamps and a small range of souvenirs, some heritage sites do as well); post-office stamps, postcards, parcels, and philately; local shops and pharmacies; and other goods and services. The above benefits may help contribute to regional development as well.

Other key economic impacts of polar tourism development, notably in the Arctic, include increased foreign exchange, balance of payments, investments in infrastructure, increased employment, local production of arts and crafts/souvenirs and entrepreneurial activity, economic stimulation through the multiplier effect, increased tax revenues (income, corporate, sales, hotel, property), and improved regional economic balances.

Employment may be one of three types: direct, in which jobs are created as a result of tourist expenditure and directly support tourist activity; indirect, wherein jobs are created within the tourism supply sector but not as a direct result of tourism activity; and induced, whereby jobs are created as a result of tourism expenditure as locals/residents spend money earned from tourism. The amounts of each vary between polar destinations.

Many factors influence the nature, quantity, and distribution of polar tourism development benefits, including: characteristics of the tourists, destination area, host population, and tourism industry sectors; the form(s)

of tourism involved; laws and regulations in effect; local knowledge and experience of tourism; the level and effects of tourism expenditure; and an ability to adjust to supply and demand fluctuations.

Some negative economic impacts from polar tourism development include: leakage of foreign exchange earnings primarily due to imports of construction material and equipment and consumable goods, *e.g.* food and drinks; the repatriation of income and profits earned by foreigners; interest on and prepayment of foreign loans; and overseas promotional expenditures (Wheatcroft 1998: 168). These might also be construed as disbenefits to host destinations, though this concept will not be considered in depth here.

As Pearce (1989: 203) points out, the extent of leakages depends upon the nature of tourism development. The greater the input from within the region, the more tourism benefits will remain there. "Conversely, where tourist development depends primarily on external inputs of capital, labour, know-how and technical resources, then leakages from regional economies can be very high."

There is also a danger of overdependence on tourism and a low rate of return on investments (Wall and Mathieson 2006: 89) for relevant stakeholders. The question then becomes, can greater equity be achieved in polar tourism development? According to Orams (1999: 67), "the economic benefits that arise from tourism development are seldom distributed evenly throughout communities and regions." Notzke's (1999: 67) research on the Inuvialuit highlighted the challenge as twofold: first, to protect the way of life and land-based economy from trespass and interference of the tourism industry, and second, to optimize how industry activity fits into, nurtures, and benefits community mixed economies.

8. ENHANCING THE BENEFITS OF POLAR TOURISM DEVELOPMENT

How might the economic benefits from polar tourism development be enhanced? First, it is vital that local stakeholders have a solid grasp of the tourism occurring in their given polar destination. One possibility is to then place the various elements in an evaluation matrix to establish whether they offer no benefits, minor benefits, moderate benefits, or major benefits. Another approach is to draw on existing frameworks, where applicable, to achieve sustainable polar tourism development. The United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP) and World Tourism Organization (UNWTO) have established 12 aims to this end (Denman 2005: 18–19). These appear below in Table 1.6 with the permission of the publisher; comprehensive discussion may be found in the original guide.

TABLE 1.6 – **TWELVE AIMS FOR ATTAINING
MORE SUSTAINABLE TOURISM**

1. Economic Viability – To ensure the viability and competitiveness of tourism destinations and enterprises, so that they are able to continue to prosper and deliver benefits in the long term.

2. Local Prosperity – To maximize the contribution of tourism to the economic prosperity of the host destination, including the proportion of visitor spending that is retained locally.

3. Employment Quality – To strengthen the number and quality of local jobs created and supported by tourism, including the level of pay, conditions of service, and availability to all without discrimination by gender, race, disability, or in other ways.

4. Social Equity – To seek a widespread and fair distribution of economic and social benefits from tourism throughout the recipient community, including improving opportunities, income, and services available to the poor.

5. Visitor Fulfilment – To provide a safe, satisfying, and fulfilling experience for visitors, available to all without discrimination by gender, race, disability, or in other ways.

6. Local Control – To engage and empower local communities in planning and decision-making about the management and future development of tourism in their area, in consultation with other stakeholders.

7. Community Well-Being – To maintain and strengthen the quality of life in local communities, including social structures and access to resources, amenities, and life support systems, avoiding any form of social degradation or exploitation.

8. Cultural Richness – To respect and enhance the historic heritage, authentic culture, traditions, and distinctiveness of host communities.

9. Physical Integrity – To maintain and enhance the quality of landscapes, both urban and rural, and avoid the physical and visual degradation of the environment.

10. Biological Diversity – To support the conservation of natural areas, habitats, and wildlife, and minimize damage to them.

11. Resource Efficiency – To minimize the use of scarce and non-renewable resources in the development and operation of tourism facilities and services.

12. Environmental Purity – To minimize the pollution of air, water, and land and the generation of waste by tourism enterprises and visitors.

Source: Denman (2005: 18–19).

Note that the order in which the 12 aims are listed does not imply any order of priority; they are of equal importance (*ibid*.: 19). The framework can be used to develop policies in furtherance of more sustainable tourism that minimizes negative impacts of tourism on society and the environment while maximizing tourism's contribution to local economies, conservation of natural and cultural heritage, and the quality of life of hosts and visitors (*ibid*.: 18).

Orams (1999) identified some tourism management techniques that can be applied to achieve desired economic results. These appear in Table 1.7 below. Some of these ideas require adaptation for the polar setting; for example, damage bonds imply an authority exists to oversee the process, which is not the case in Antarctica at present. For the Arctic, where some tourism occurs on sovereign territory, the technique may be more readily adopted and implemented. Also, great care is needed

TABLE 1.7 – **TOURISM MANAGEMENT TECHNIQUES THAT CAN BE APPLIED TO ACHIEVE DESIRED ECONOMIC RESULTS**

Technique	Example
Differential fees	Offer discounts for off-peak or out-of-season visits
Damage bond	Return deposits once checks are made
Fine	Impose fines for littering
Rewards	Reward those who report vandalism

Source: Orams (1999: 75).

when implementing a reward scheme. In the vast polar regions, where enforcement is difficult, it might not be possible to establish whether a given party commits a form of vandalism merely to obtain a reward. In a similar vein, it may prove problematic to impose fines for littering, implement a damage-bond scheme, or offer regular out-of-season visits to many destinations in these regions. Still, the value of considering these techniques rests in their ability to stimulate thought along these lines in order to generate workable ideas that may be developed as techniques to apply to respective destinations within the polar regions; these are offered here merely as a starting point.

Building on these ideas, additional management options include introducing tourist taxes, carbon taxes, entrance fees, service fees, subscription fees, conservation fees, application fees, permit fees, compulsory guide fees, and/or application of the user-pay principle (levies, taxes, fees, charges for government-operated areas and services). See Burns (1997) for a full discussion of user-pay strategies in nature-based tourism settings. Voluntary donation/contribution schemes may also be introduced where deemed feasible, appropriate, viable, and cost-effective.

In the Arctic, if locals are knowledgeable about tourism, they are better equipped to make informed decisions regarding tourism development in their communities. Each given destination needs to be considered in its own right. Jeffries (2001: 17) argues that under the leadership of the WTO, WTTC, and OECD, advances have been made in the development of Tourism Satellite Accounts (TSAs) that help identify how areas benefit economically from tourism. It might prove useful to apply the concept to particular destinations in the Arctic, for example, to see whether improvements may be made in current practice.

Special events can also be used to develop tourism on a community's terms during specific time frames in a range of Arctic destinations. Knowing the market helps too; that way promotional efforts may be targeted more effectively.

Among the tools available to manage tourism growth in Arctic communities are: economic programs such as tax abatement for residents bearing the brunt of tourist activity; concentration or dispersal of tourism facilities, *e.g.* the creation of tourism districts or zones; and design that integrates tourism facilities carefully into the community fabric, creating buffer zones between residents and tourists (adapted from Harrill 2004: 263).

Orams' (1999: 71) study of marine tourism (see Figure 1.8) notes that "judging the relative costs and benefits of tourism is extremely difficult, if not impossible." Orams suggests that rather than attempting to quantify costs and benefits precisely, it is better to concentrate on developing management regimes for tourism that maximize benefits and minimize the drawbacks. Again, these ideas drawn from the literature are offered to stimulate thought and discussion with respect to the subject under consideration.

Further key points drawn from polar tourism research include the views of Hinch (1995: 128), who states that tourism should not be treated as the sole strategy for economic development in any given community. Rather, it should be viewed as one component of a diversified strategy, and tourism development should be kept to a scale that allows for effective local control. Lessons learned from research on the benefits of tourism development elsewhere may also be used to enhance the benefits of polar tourism development. Integrating knowledge on polar tourism stakeholders, sectors, destinations, planning, policy, management, and

FIGURE 1.8

Ship-based tourism and inflatable cruising in the Northwest Passage
Photo: Alain A. Grenier

practice yields a more inclusive perspective of the state of polar tourism development. This is needed to best steer it forward and inform dialogue and debate in pursuance of sustainable tourism for the polar regions, including greater equity in the distribution of tourism development benefits.

9. CHALLENGING THE STATUS QUO

What then can be done to challenge the status quo with respect to the balance of benefits available from polar tourism development? First and foremost, there is an urgent need to identify and quantify with greater accuracy the benefits associated with polar tourism development in destinations, especially since these may vary considerably. This is needed to facilitate equitable distribution of tourism development benefits in polar destinations. Two ideas to influence their distribution include conducting a polar tourism stakeholder audit to establish the range of parties concerned (Table 1.5 provides a start) and the extent to which their polar tourism development wants and expectations are being met (especially if marginalized), and considering local characteristics and conditions that affect the nature of tourism development benefits derived in order to direct efforts to bring about desired shifts in outcomes, *e.g.* adapting tourism offerings to maximize benefits to local stakeholders as needed. Such efforts may also aid to understand the processes underpinning how polar tourism stakeholder benefits are allocated and/or distributed.

There is also a need to manage expectations on behalf of tourists planning trips to polar regions so they are encouraged to think more carefully about who benefits from their trips and how. Tourists could also be invited to consider whether, in their view, any tourism stakeholders are short-changed in the short, medium, and long term and how their consumer choices link to those outcomes. This need not be an idealistic thought. Social change often begins with minor shifts in education and public awareness, as evidenced by advances made in environmental practices on the part of consumers, industries, and governments.

The view of polar regions as places where economic considerations of supply, demand, and profit margins are the criteria that determine the pace and extent of their development and incorporation into the global industrial and economic structure (Sollie 1974: 75) is outmoded and replaced by one that demands greater accountability to local people, the environment, and posterity. A more equitable distribution of polar tourism development benefits is advocated and may result as new thinking and methodologies adapt to reflect growing environmental awareness. The

value humans attach to the polar regions can be harnessed to help preserve them. If not, it appears likely that the polar regions will go the way of other favoured non-renewable economic resources.

In considering the spectrum of polar tourism stakeholders, the further one follows the proverbial trail the more connections become apparent and the interconnectedness of the global economy is revealed. Might polar tourism be heading toward homogenization and/or a monocultural experience? Will greater convergence of stakeholder attributes and desires to benefit from polar tourism continue to serve the interests of those benefiting most now and/or entrench existing inequities in polar tourism development? What other social shifts are needed to bring about greater equity in the distribution of polar tourism development benefits? How might these be realized?

10. CONCLUSIONS

The issue of who benefits from polar tourism development is complex. Polar tourism development needs careful analysis to establish who is benefiting and how. Greater local control of tourism development is vital to maximizing benefits and limiting unwanted effects. Sustainable polar tourism policies and products are required if benefits are to be derived in the medium-to-long term. There is a need to share best practices in tourism development as befits the polar regions. Efforts expended in this direction may assist stakeholders in attaining greater and/or more equitable benefits from polar tourism development, especially communities in the Arctic where economic development options may be constrained.

Pilot projects may be launched, aimed at delivering benefits to specific stakeholder groups. By monitoring their effectiveness, it may be possible to generate greater tourism development benefits for selected stakeholder groups and/or consider in greater depth how best to influence their nature, quantity, and distribution. Furthermore, tourism revenue, profits, fees, and levies may be used to help preserve the polar regions, to sustain the very resource on which tourism depends.

Just how far polar tourism will continue to develop is unclear. There is the ever-present dilemma of how to stop tourists affecting adversely the features that attract them to polar destinations in the first place. This is coupled with uncertainty in global markets and rising energy costs. Page (2007: 393) points out that external factors will continue to influence demand for tourism, and these factors are beyond the control of

polar destinations. Still, polar tourism may offer a more consistently lucrative, stable, and beneficial use of natural resources as compared to extractive industries (Snyder 2007b: 49), and if climate change hastens the loss of sea ice in polar regions, improved access may serve to lengthen the tourism season and provide further tourism development opportunities. However, its full effects are, as yet, unknown. The pace of polar tourism development has been rapid of late and there is little reason to expect it to slow in the medium-to-long term.

10.1. A Call for Further Research

Many facets of polar tourism development require further study; this phenomenon is dynamic and fast-changing. Research priorities for polar tourism studies need to be identified and the issues of who and what should shape the research agenda need to be considered. Stewart *et al.* (2005) point to the need to avoid duplication of effort in polar tourism research and make the case for a new research cluster that focuses on large-scale influences on polar tourism and global changes, including "the costs and benefits to polar travel associated with changing global climate patterns, as well as the resulting adaptations required" (*ibid.*: 391) by the industry. They note that while the cruise industry might benefit from climate change, shorter winters and reduced ice coverage may result in a loss of the fauna and flora that attract tourists to the Arctic (*ibid.*).

Tourism is a noteworthy component of Arctic and Antarctic economies. Why have so few studies examined in depth the economics of polar tourism development? This is surprising given its importance, even if the field of polar tourism studies is young. Such research could be used to inform key polar tourism development decisions, policies, and planning processes as well as tourism management and practices.

Among the under-researched facets of polar tourism and its development are its effects on and relationships to non-human systems. Too little is known about what may prove to be most important to human understanding of the value of the polar regions and how best to preserve them for current and future generations.

Still better use can be made of tourism research conducted in other parts of the world in learning the lessons of tourism development, *e.g.* in order to avoid specific problems and repeating mistakes made elsewhere, overcome hurdles, and explore the interplay between complex factors. Here researchers can be more imaginative in how their ideas benefit from previous research since a considerable amount of tourism research is under-utilized, poorly grasped, misconstrued, or ignored for a variety of reasons,

including the ways in which universities manage research output from academic staff. An emerging field such as polar studies is vulnerable to this charge, since many are busy carving out a niche for themselves within the field when more attention needs to be paid to the dialogues required within the research community to establish firmer foundations for the field, conduct baseline studies, harmonize efforts, communicate results more effectively, streamline access to findings, devise innovative interdisciplinary methodologies, refine and adapt research approaches used by leading peers, and build on existing theory and conceptual models devised for the subject.

The benefits of polar tourism development, their nature, quantity, and mode of distribution, including those of a non-economic nature, require future investigation. Research aimed at answering the interrogatives presented in Table 1.2 will inform polar tourism policy, planning, development, management, and practices in furtherance of achieving more equitable and sustainable forms of tourism in these regions. Polar tourism research is interdisciplinary and benefits from collaboration between fields of interest in order to cover new ground and drive understanding of polar tourism development and the benefits to be derived from it. Study is needed on how tourism sectors might deliver greater benefits to stakeholders in order for polar tourism development to be more equitable in the medium-to-long term. For this, more case study work will be needed. Case studies yield insight, but the broader view is also needed to consider trends and make comparisons. Work on the costs of polar tourism development is also needed.

Linked topics merit investigation as well. How do the social media and travel writing influence who benefits from polar tourism development? Does the relentless pursuit of profit dictate who benefits from polar tourism development? How long will visits to the polar regions remain fashionable, desirable, and acceptable, and how do these themes link to the benefits to be derived from polar tourism development more generally? Will polar tourism eventually emerge as a form of mass consumption that supplies benefits to decreasing numbers of stakeholders? What major technological shifts in the pipeline will have the greatest effect on who benefits from polar tourism development? How long will polar tourism rely on small and medium-sized enterprises and how does scale of operation affect who benefits from tourism? Are too many stakeholders becoming dependent upon the benefits derived from polar tourism development or the notion that many benefits may be derived from it? What effects, if any, result from polar tourism benefit dependency in the short, medium and long term?

Smith's (2005) study of Nunavut tourism provides valuable insights into how tourism development benefits might be re-directed between the catering and accommodation sectors in that destination. Studies are needed to further reveal the nature of polar tourism development benefits, particularly sector- and stakeholder-specific work. Findings can inform strategies aimed at re-directing tourism benefits as necessary. A wide range of future studies could be designed to this end. Research on the effects recession has on different forms of polar tourism development and their corresponding stakeholder groups would also be welcome. There are many forms of polar tourism and agents of change influencing its development; the subject is complex and challenging, which bodes well for its prospects in attracting researchers to investigate it.

10.2. Benefits of Polar Tourism Development and the Future

This chapter has considered the role of tourism development benefits in polar economies. Examination of the benefits of polar tourism development in specific destinations may enhance understanding of why some stakeholders benefit more than others and may help secure ultimately a more equitable share of benefits for marginalized stakeholders in the medium-to-long term.

There will be no silver bullet to solve the vexing question of how to achieve greater equity in the distribution of benefits of polar tourism development. The destinations in these regions are too diverse to apply an identikit approach to the development of tourism. Identification of problems worth solving represents an important first step in tackling them. What is then needed is a better means to draw upon human intelligence to address the many challenges outlined here and adapt to inevitable changes in the pipeline.

The issue of who benefits from polar tourism development warrants further attention, as does the need to deliver more equitable forms of polar tourism as the industry develops. These unique regions are important to humanity and require more effective approaches to be taken with respect to polar tourism development so that a broader range of stakeholders may benefit in perpetuity, greater equity may be achieved, and techniques may be developed to influence and re-direct benefits where needed across all respective sectors.

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CONCEPTUALIZATION OF POLAR TOURISM
Mapping an Experience in the Far Reaches of the Imaginary

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1. INTRODUCTION

Tourism in polar regions takes several forms: observation of wildlife and exceptional sceneries, participation in cultural and sports demonstrations, etc. Most of the Nordic and polar regions are now the object of increasingly popular and numerous touristic quests. Each year, several hundred thousand visitors arrive in one of the many popular polar regions (for statistics, see Grenier 2007: 55). For many of these travellers, polar regions – and especially the Antarctic – represent not only the end of the geographical world, but also the end of the imaginary.

Even though tour operators and promoters of polar tourism are pleased with their industry's economic spin-offs, the pressures of the phenomenon on the visited regions' cultural and (often fragile) natural resources are increasingly getting

bad press. In spite of years of management through codes of conducts and education programs (and the use of so-called "ecotourism"), the stories of wildlife harassment, disregard for the locals, and degradation of the environment remain among the problems left behind by visitors. Enzenbacher (1992), Hall and Johnston (1995), as well as Vuilleumier (1996), Grenier (1998, 2007), and Frenot (2008), question the limits of the actual management models and the lack of knowledge about the motivations and needs of visitors to the polar regions. Is it possible to manage the resources on which a social phenomenon is based if its fundamental concept is misunderstood?

Based on participating observations conducted both in the Arctic and Antarctic regions during previous studies (Grenier 1998, 2004) and a review of polar tourism activities, this chapter attempts to comprehend the real essence of polar tourism in order to outline its concept. It starts with a presentation of the geographical framework currently used to analyse polar tourism and understand its physical boundaries. After emphasizing the limits of this type of approach, this chapter demonstrates the necessity to use a complementary sociological analysis to understand the origin and motivations of polar tourism. Once the conceptual framework is established, it will be possible in subsequent research to define the expressions (activities) of polar tourism in order to better control touristic practices, but also to better protect both natural and cultural resources.

2. THE SUDDEN GROWTH OF POLAR TOURISM

When Captain Cook completed the first (documented) circumnavigation of the Antarctic region, on January 17, 1773, where he never even caught sight of the ice continent, he wrote: "[S]hould anyone possess the resolution and fortitude to [push] yet further south than I have done, I shall not envy him the fame of his discovery, but I make bold to declare that the world will derive no benefit from it" (Riffenburgh 2007: 702).

Some 230 years later, tourism peaked with over 46,000 tourists visiting Antarctica, either by ship of plane, during the short 2007–08 austral summer (IAATO 2008). Although the world recession and the availability of vessels somewhat reduced those numbers in the following years, Antarctic tourism remains extremely popular. Following modest beginnings in 1958, the number of Antarctic cruise passengers has increased by 344% in the last 14 years, while the number of land visitors increased by 917% in nine years (UNEP 2007: 2). Visitors have paid from US$4,000 to US$10,000 for that journey in the polar world in which Cook saw no economic advantage whatsoever. Only the limits of the present infrastructures (the number of ships available) seem to curb the touristic growth in the South Pole.

At the other end of the world the number of tours offered and hotel room nights suggests a steady increase in the number of visitors. Unlike the Antarctic, where data related to tourists are compiled very precisely, little is known on the number of Arctic visitors, as each political territory compiles data using different methods and indicators. It is therefore impossible to compile detailed statistics related to circumpolar visitors and to make comparisons between territories. Nevertheless, some authors have tried to assess visitor numbers, with doubtful results. The United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP 2007), for one, estimates (without specifying the data collection method used, however) that the number of tourists in the Arctic has risen from about one million in the early 1990s to over a million and a half in 2007. In their compilation from different sources, Lück *et al.* (2010: 5–6) estimate the number of Arctic tourists well over 3 million. The various methods used within each different Arctic jurisdiction explain those variations. If numbers remain vague, the fact is that polar regions are becoming increasingly attractive to a growing number of visitors.

Several reasons can explain why these regions which were rather unattractive to visitors only two decades ago are now subject to a high tourist demand. Major changes in the polar imaginary construction have contributed to the development of tourism. The imaginary can be defined as the representation of what escapes physical experience. It is made up of a system of real and unreal representations of a world. For example "Paris" is a concept that does not belong to culture, but to the imaginary. It evokes notions such as the "City of Lights," the Renaissance, culture, etc. Just as words are organized in sentences and paragraphs to carry concepts and images, and then form a system of representations (Hall 1997: 4), the imaginary also results from intangible constituents as it is linked with what has not yet been experienced. It is through the imaginary that one deals with and organizes the perception of unfamiliar spaces and realities. In tourism, the imaginary is the fiction of those who have not visited the site and, for those who have, what can be remembered of their experience of the site – often a somewhat distorted memory.

The northern imaginary is the first appeal of Nordic regions and, more generally, of polar regions. The construction of that imaginary goes back to Ancient Greek mathematicians who gave the Arctic its name (*árktos*, meaning "bear"). Much later, images from the polar exploration era, marked with success but also with tragedies, have long hindered the aspirations of those who were curious of these frozen lands. In fact, the explorers' stories, larded with deceptions, sufferings, and defeats, have largely contributed to depicting polar environments as blood-curdling sites. And so it was until the end of the 19th century. Then the colonial era marked the native and Inuit populations, in Canada but also in

Fennoscandia, Alaska, and Russia. The second half of the 20th century was characterized by the Cold War and the economic emancipation of countries surrounding the Arctic. The large territory was at the same time militarized and exploited for the extraction of its mineral and oil resources, while its rivers were harnessed for the production of hydroelectricity. These changes, even though they sometimes brought financial compensations to native and Inuit peoples, often have been detrimental to these populations who do not easily adapt to the Western lifestyle generated by the new operators from the South.

Tourism developed in parallel with these changes. It was first Nordic, as tourism in the Antarctic was unthinkable. Despite an unfavourable image of Nordic and Arctic regions, the first tourists went up north of Fennoscandia as of the 19th century (Hamelin 1999: 4; Snyder and Stonehouse 2007: ix; UNEP 2007: 12). They were hunters, highlanders, and adventurers stimulated by hunting and wildlife (*ibid.*). Spring skiing and observation of the midnight sun in the summer also brought their share of visitors up to North Cape in Norway.

Mass tourism started in the same period with steamships and railways that slowly penetrated Nordic European latitudes (UNEP, 2007: 12). Building on the *Titanic* tragedy in 1912, the 1930s produced low flights over icebergs for recreational purposes (Hamelin 1999: 4). Simultaneously, the Norwegian Archipelago of Svalbard welcomed its first cruise passengers. During that same period, Finnish Lapland developed a route crossing the polar circle, promoting winter tourism around the myths of Christmas and northern lights. Summer Nordic tourism for its part developed around white nights (midnight sun).

In the Antarctic, the first documented touristic demonstration goes back to the 1957–58 austral summer. In 1966, on Lars-Eric Lindblad's initiative, tourism took its present form (*i.e.* excursions in inflatable crafts). Polar tourism events, however, remained sporadic.

The environmental awareness raised by the oil crisis in the 1970s was especially important for nature tourism (and, eventually, polar tourism). The environmental movement also thrived on the remnants of Romanticism that survived in post-industrial societies. The encounter of outdoor recreational activities and tourism, initiated after the postwar, made it possible for the industry to reinvent itself in a period when mass tourism was despised. Immersion in natural environments then offered a therapeutic alternative to alienation generated by industrialization and urban lifestyle. Numerous touristic products were developed under the "alternative" label. Ecotourism and indigenous tourism, each in its own manner, embodied the nostalgia felt by a part of the public who wanted to return to less industrial and more traditional values. Concerns about

the ozone layer and the recent attention given to climate change will in turn focus public attention on natural environments, offering a favourable context for tourists' discovery of polar "eco"-systems.

Strangely enough, the fall of the Soviet regime and mostly of its economy in 1991 accelerated the democratization of the Antarctic. Russia, seeing its ice-rated fleet – the largest of its kind in the world – rusting in European harbours, accepted to have innovative Occidental tour operators charter its ships and crews, with tourists replacing the scientists. The road was thus traced for the growth of the polar cruise industry. With their sensational facets – the technology of polar vessels, the exoticism of Russians in the political after-cold-war context, and the originality of reaching a place hitherto out of reach and even unknown in the collective imaginary –, polar cruises will contribute to popularize the extremes of both hemispheres. Discovering the poles in luxurious conditions, promoting their sceneries, and popularizing these ecosystems for mass tourism helped alter perceptions. In the collective imaginary, polar regions, formerly considered as frozen hells, are now perceived as gardens of Eden.

3. A VARIETY OF PRODUCTS

Like other expressions of tourism, polar tourism also is related to the need for new ideas, new experiences, and the search for distinction (see Boyer 1995), that is, the acquisition of the cultural capital necessary for individual assertiveness and social recognition. Far from being the privilege of extreme adventurers, polar tourism puts together a gamut of activities and products for all age ranges. In addition to its maritime sector, polar tourism also integrates air and land chapters (Figure 2.1). Nature activities, potentially ecological or un-ecological, intersect, the major part of the tourism industry being of the latter kind. In the Arctic maritime tourism comes down to the cruises offered in Hudson Bay, around Baffin Island, partial or complete crossings of the Northwest (Canada) and Northeast (Russia) passages, around Greenland, Iceland, and the Norwegian Svalbard Archipelago. Air sightseeing tourism is not really an option (except in Yukon and Alaska), the plane being mostly used for transportation purposes between points. Land tourism for its part comprises all outdoor and cultural activities feasible in regions connected by road infrastructures. That segment, particularly developed in Alaska, the Yukon, and Fennoscandia, is entirely integrated to traditional organized, semi-autonomous, or mass tourism.

At the other end of the world, in the Antarctic, the polar cruise industry represents the main form of touristic activity. Cruises centre on subantarctic islands and the peninsula due to their concentration of attractions (see Table 2.1). Air tourism, much less developed, includes

POLAR TOURISM		
Maritime tourism • Cruises • Water sports	**Land tourism** • Activities/sites linked to road networks • Cultural and indigenous tourism • Hunting and fishing	**Air tourism** • Sightseeing flights

• Ecotourism (ecological tourism)

• Adventure tourism
• Nature tourism
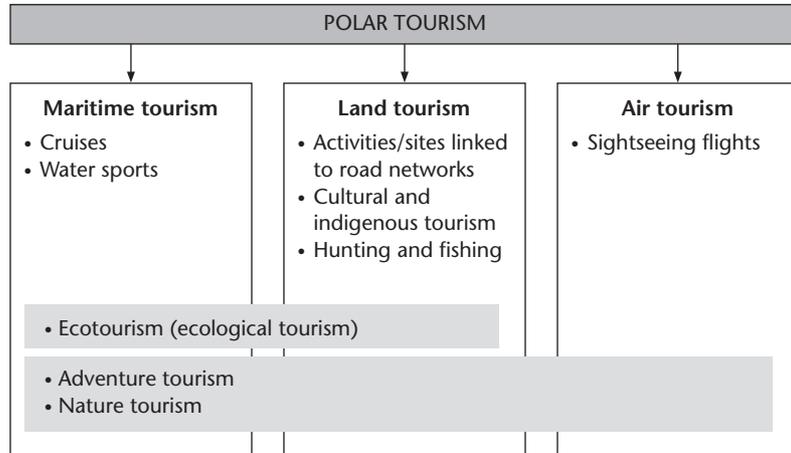
TABLE 2.1 – **TYPES OF TOURISTIC ATTRACTIONS IN ANTARCTICA**

	Climate during touristic season	Maritime access	Wildlife	Geographical characteristics	Historic sites	Research stations
Antarctic Peninsula and subantarctic islands	Mild	Open	Great variety of penguins, seals, sea lions on certain islands, occasional whales, marine birds	Mountains, glaciers, icebergs	Charcot, Nordenskjöld, Shackleton, Rymill, Falkland Islands Dependencies Survey (FIDS), whaler stations (remnants)	Several
Ross Sea (New Zealand sector)	Very cold	Ice field	Certain varieties of penguins and seals on the islands	Mount Erebus (volcano)	Borchgrevink, Scott, Shackleton, Byrd	Few
Great Antarctic (Australian sector)	Very cold and windy	Ice field off the coast	Several species of whales, marine birds	Very flat (Antarctic polar cap)	Mawson	Few

Sources: For Ross Sea and the Great Antarctic: Wace 1990, cited in Hansom and Gordon (1998: 254); for the Antarctic Peninsula: Grenier 2004: 255.

sightseeing flights in wide-bodied aircrafts around the Australian area (Mount Erebus) and logistic support for adventure and sports tourism within the continent. This sector is bound to develop shortly (personal communications with polar tour operators).

Polar tourism draws part of its fame from its variety of touristic profiles. Apart from the budgetary factor, polar tourism does not discriminate based on participants' age or degree of physical fitness. Formerly limited

to the most adventurous due to the physical challenges represented by access to these regions, distances, and conditions of the stay, polar tourism today offers the whole gamut of diversified products that meet the needs of both active and soft tourists (see Plug's model of allocentricity and psychocentricity, 1974). The organization of polar tourism around established tours and services in urban environments allows welcoming a greater number of visitors and a more diversified clientele (whether in terms of favourite experiences, age groups, or type of accompaniment required).

Despite its growth all around the poles, polar tourism is not evenly represented. Table 2.2 emphasizes the main polar tourism tendencies by region. In addition to the types of dominant activities by season, it identifies the nature of the trip organization for each of the regions (organized mass, small-group, or autonomous tourism). As can be seen from that table, while polar tourism is kind of new in certain regions such as Russia, it can already be considered as mass (or near-mass) tourism in other areas (such as Southeast Alaska, the Yukon, Lapland, and Antarctica). It is particularly interesting to note that even though winter proposes a greater variety of activities (Table 2.3), summer tourism is much more popular as it constitutes the peak season for that type of tourism in all regions (except for Finnish Lapland). In addition, nature holds an important place among its attractions. But tourism in northern and polar regions tends to favour group travel and the circuit formula. Thus organized, polar tourism takes part in the massification process of tourism. In return, it stimulates diversification of touristic products near lodging centres, just as it does in sun destinations.

Table 2.3 shows a compilation of the touristic activities practised in the polar regions. These activities can be divided into five categories:

- culture (activities related to local, native, and non-native cultures);
- historic heritage (activities motivated by exploration and colonial periods);
- sports and outdoors activities (including hunting and fishing);
- contemplation activities (flora and fauna observation); and
- scientific-oriented attractions (visit of research centres and special scientific-oriented sites).

Just like in traditional tourism, the reader will notice that the expressions (activities) of polar tourism are organized according to their orientation: nature (natural attractions) or culture (human-origin attractions); passive (and contemplative) or active (sports). They can also be grouped depending on whether they are practised individually or in group (even at the "mass" level). Most activities require no previous knowledge or

TABLE 2.2 – **DOMINANT TENDENCIES OF POLAR TOURISM BY REGION**

Region		Type of activity	Touristic deployment	Seasonality (H = high season)
Antarctic	**Coastal regions**	Polar cruises	Organized (mass)	Summer (H)
	Domestic	Extreme sports tourism	Autonomous	Summer (H)
Arctic and Nordic regions	**Alaska** Southeast Alaska (Panhandle)	Classical cruises, nature sports, urban exploration	Organized (mostly mass), autonomous (backpack type)	Spring, summer (H), fall
	Domestic	Road camping, hiking, climbing	Road tourism (mass and autonomous)	Summer (H)
	Maritime regions (Arctic and Bering Sea)	Polar cruises	Sporadic/irregular	Summer
	Yukon	Nature, cultural, historic tourism	Organized (mass and small-group), autonomous	Summer (H)
	Northwest Territories	Cultural (urban) and nature tourism (sports, expeditions)	Organized (mass and small-group), autonomous	Summer
	Nunavut	Native and nature tourism	Organized (small-group) and autonomous	August–September
	Nunavik (Québec)	Native and nature tourism	Sporadic (organized, small-group)	August
	Greenland	Native and nature tourism, polar cruises	Sporadic, organized (mass and small-group)	Summer
	Iceland	Cruises, cultural and nature tourism	Mass (organized and small-group)	Summer (H)
	Fennoscandia Lapland	Cultural and sports tourism, safaris, urban exploration	Organized (mostly mass, also small-group), autonomous	Summer, winter (H)
	Centre and south of countries	Cultural tourism, urban exploration, cruises (ferryboats)	Organized (mostly mass, also small-group), autonomous	Summer (H)
	Russia Kola Peninsula	Hunting and fishing, downhill skiing	Luxury tourism (small-group); ski: domestic market	Fall, winter
	Northeast Passage	Polar cruises	Organized (group) and sporadic	Summer (August)
	Russian Far East	Polar cruises, hunting and fishing	Organized (group) and sporadic	Summer (August)

TABLE 2.3 – **VARIOUS EXPRESSIONS (ACTIVITIES)**
OF POLAR TOURISM BY SEASON

Activity	Type of activity	Prerequisite (clientele)	Main resource on which activity is based	Required infrastructures (tour operator)	Main destinations*	Season
Ice driving	Adventure	Driver's licence	Nature, snow, ice	Vehicle, circuit	F, N, S	Winter
Polar cruise	Adventure	None	Sea, ice	Icebreaker	F, J	
Snow golf	Sport	None	Nature, snow	Golf course	F, N, S	
Heli-skiing	Extreme sport	Skill	Nature	Helicopter, mountain	BC, N, S	
Ice hotel and bar	General/recreational	None	Ice, snow	Close to services	F, Qc, S	
Ice castle	General/recreational	Driver's licence	Ice, snow	Close to services	F, Qc	
Snowmobile	Sport	None	Nature, snow	Paths, services	Everywhere	
Christmas tourism	Recreational	Darkness	Culture	Miscellaneous	F	
Northern lights observation	General/recreational	None	Atmosphere (clear sky, sun activity)	Close to services	F, NWT	
Speed riding	Sport/adventure	None	Snow, mountain	Accompaniment, equipment	Fr, It, Sw	
Snowboard	Sport	None	Nature	Mountain	Everywhere	
Diving under ice pack	Sport/adventure	Skill, certification	Nature	Support equipment	Fr, N, Qc, R	
Snowshoeing	Sport/adventure	None	Nature, snow	None	Everywhere	
Snowmobile safari	Sport/adventure	Driver's licence	Snow, nature	Vehicles, paths, support equipment	Everywhere	
Sauna (Finnish)	Culture/recreational	None	Woods, water, culture	Sauna	F, N, S	
Downhill skiing	Sport	Skill	Nature, snow	Support equipment, circuit	Everywhere	
Skijeering	Sport	Skill	Snow, animals, nature	Support equipment, path	Fr, Qc	
Ski skating	Sport	Skill	Snow, nature	Support equipment, circuit	Everywhere	
Cross-country skiing	Sport/recreational	Skill	Snow, nature	Support equipment, path	Everywhere	
Snowscoot	Sport	Skill	Snow, nature	Support equipment, circuit	Everywhere	
Outdoor survival	Adventure	None	Nature, snow, mountain	Support equipment, guide	Everywhere	
Dogsled	Adventure	None	Snow, animals	Support equipment, path	Everywhere	
Reindeer sled ride	Adventure	None	Snow, animals	Support equipment, path	F	
Kicksled	Urban transport/sport	None	Snow	Support equipment, path	F, N, S	
Ice climbing	Recreational	Experience	Nature, cliff, ice	Support equipment, cascade	Everywhere	Spring
Ice fishing	Sport	None	Nature, ice, fish	Support equipment, lake	F, Qc, S	
Downhill skiing	Sport	Skill	Nature, snow	Support equipment, circuit	Everywhere	
Skijoring	Sport	Skill	Nature, snow, animals	Support equipment, path	Fr, Qc	
Cross-country skiing	Sport/adventure	Skill	Nature, snow	Support equipment, circuit	Everywhere	
Bush skiing	Sport/adventure	Skill	Nature, snow	Support services	Everywhere	
Snowmobile	Sport	Skill	Snow, nature	Support equipment, circuit	Everywhere	

TABLE 2.3 – **VARIOUS EXPRESSIONS (ACTIVITIES)**
OF POLAR TOURISM BY SEASON (*cont'd*)

Activity	Type of activity	Prerequisite (clientele)	Main resource on which activity is based	Required infrastructures (tour operator)	Main destinations*	Season
Camping	Recreational	None	Nature	Support equipment	Everywhere	Summer
Sea cruise	Recreational	None	Nature, urban environment	Ship, port services	A, Ant, G, I, N, Nk, Nu	
Hiking	Recreational, sport	None	Nature	None	Everywhere	
River and lake boating	Recreational	None	Nature, water	Ship, crafts, support services	Everywhere	
Water sports	Sport	Skill	Water	Equipment and support services	Ant, N, Nu	
Sightseeing flight	Recreational	None	Nature	Aircraft and services	Ant, Y	
Sea cruise	Recreational	None	Nature, urban environment	Ship, port services	A, Ant, G, I, N, Nk, Nu	Fall
Hiking	Recreational	None	Nature	None	Everywhere	
Relaxation journey in cottage (health tourism)	Recreational	None	Nature	Lodging, services	F	
Nordic hiking	Sport	None	Nature, urban environment	None	F, N, S	Year-round
Native tourism	Cultural, recreational	None	Nature, urban environment	Museums, lodging, boutiques	CS, F, N, Nk, Nu, S, Qc	
Museum tourism	Educational, recreational	None	Culture	Building	Everywhere	

* Destinations: A (Alaska), Ant (Antarctic), BC (British Columbia), CS (Canada, Southern regions), F (Finland), Fr (France), G (Greenland), I (Iceland), It (Italy), J (Japan), N (Norway), Nk (Nunavik), Nu (Nunavut), NWT (Northwest Territories), Qc (Québec), R (Russia), S (Sweden), Sw (Switzerland), Y (Yukon).

particular skill. The effort required from participants is often at the psychological level – acceptance of climate conditions or geographical distance (implying isolation and distance from one's own culture).

After banking on the observation of sceneries, including wildlife, and on cultural tourism, polar tourism increasingly tends to develop physical activities and skill games (learning to walk on snowshoes, winter automobile driving, diving under the ice pack, etc.). New activities are thus organized around northern cities and villages, close to reception infrastructures. By concentrating around the urban space and by reducing the number of activities that require travelling to great distances (safaris for example), tourism tends to participate further to the respect of wide open nature spaces. Tourism massification around spaces adequately developed for that purpose may be beneficial to the environment as it will keep groups of tourists close to urban sites, away from fragile ecosystems.

It must be emphasized that the nature resource – landscape, fauna, flora – cannot be dissociated from any of the activity categories, even in cultural or indigenous tourism. Polar tourism is very highly dominated by the nature component, revealing the current Western tendency to search for values closer to the natural environment. Polar tourism originates first and foremost from Western tourists' romantic and nostalgic need to experience the Earth's last great spaces (Grenier 2008).

As regards deeply rooted and relatively ubiquitous activities in most geographical areas (cultural activities, hiking, dogsled, snowmobiling, various forms of skiing), it must also be noted that several new products that have recently appeared in northern areas are not exclusive to these regions (snowmobiling and dogsled activities, for instance, are also sold to tourists outside the polar regions, as far south as the New England states). As well, certain traditional activities, such as kayaking, originated in the Arctic. They have been modernized outside that region but are reintegrated there for recreational and sports purposes.

Diversification of products and their distribution over several seasons also constitute a new development strategy for that industry forced to deal with: (a) the difficulties associated with distances that separate them from their clientele; (b) other competitive Nordic tour operators; and (c) cheaper sun destinations. To these can now be added climate change, the effects of which are particularly felt in the Arctic (for example, shortening of the cold period and decrease of the quantity and quality of the ice cover).

Polar destinations are generally promoted for one touristic season only, that is, winter or summer, but seldom both. Finnish Lapland expends a lot of effort to thwart that effect. Since 2007, the industry has implemented an original promotion campaign. On a summer day, it brings back winter in the heart of the city. During a few hours, near the hotel sectors, tourists and potential new operators from abroad have the opportunity of experimenting winter activities (snowshoeing, cross-country skiing, snowmobiling, etc.; see Figure 2.2), away from the negative stereotypes associated with winter (cold and darkness). Among the activities is *yukigassen* (Figure 2.3), a fighting game imported from Japan whose name is derived from the Japanese *yuki*/"snow" and *kassen*/"fight."

4. ONE CONCEPT, TWO APPROACHES

Surprisingly, the more the industry diversifies, the less we can name it. Indeed naming that phenomenon would be constructing it. The term "polar tourism" has been used at least since 1995 (this is how Hall and Johnston have entitled the first scientific work dedicated to the subject). It first and foremost serves to characterize tourism through the spaces

FIGURE 2.2

The Mad about Santa Claus operation held every year in July in Rovaniemi, on the polar circle, where foreign visitors and tour operators get acquainted with winter recreational activities such as snowmobiling, while enjoying summer weather

Photo: Alain A. Grenier

where it is staged, that is, the High Arctic and the Antarctic. In English, the term is mainly used in association with polar cruise tourism (ship-based/ shipborne polar tourism). The growth of the touristic phenomenon these last years is also reflected by the number of publications on the subject. Simultaneously, we witness a proliferation of terms used to name that phenomenon. To *polar tourism* (used by Hall and Johnston 1995; Grenier 1998; Levinson and Ger 1998), other terms are added: *Nordic tourism* (DEIE 2005; Hall *et al.* 2009), *northern tourism* (MNDM 2005), *winter tourism* (Grenier 2004: 81), and *Antarctic* and *Arctic tourism* (Enzenbacher 1992; Mason *et al.* 2000; Bauer 2001). As the famous Finnish adage goes, "*rak-kaalla lapsella on monta nimeä*" [the beloved child bears several names]. Other than Grenier (2007), no author has attempted to offer a definition of the expressions recorded here.

That lack of a clear definition of the concept results in some difficul-ties, including the impossibility to quantitatively record the actors involved in the phenomenon (those who contribute to it, those who benefit from the financial spin-offs, etc.). On the occasion of the first polar tourism conference of the International Polar Tourism Research Network (IPTRN), held in Montreal and Kangiqsujuaq, Nunavik in August 2009, the delegates acknowledged the need to establish a quantitative picture of the polar tourism industry (number of visitors and tour operators, spin-off assess-ment, etc.). That approach requires the development of a definition and indicators that will allow administrators and tour operators to better

Yukigassen *(snowball-fighting competition) demonstration in the heart*
of the city, in July, to promote winter tourism for the benefit of summer tourists
and visiting operators
Photos: Alain A. Grenier

FIGURE 2.3

identify the industry's needs in terms of infrastructures (help for transport, safety, development of lodging, workforce training, etc.), and the development of more adequate management tools.

Understanding polar tourism requires the adoption of common indicators by researchers, notably as regards what defines polar regions tourism. Differences among specialists have emphasized two perspectives:

(a)   polar tourism defined in terms of a specifically limited territory; and

(b)   polar tourism defined in terms of a specific type of experiences.

5. THE GEOGRAPHICAL APPROACH

Under the "polar" denomination the phenomenon is usually approached from a geographical perspective. The touristic phenomenon is then associated with the spaces contained within the polar circles, that is, the territories extending beyond 66°33′39″ N or S towards the poles. That approach presents several disadvantages, however. In a geographical perspective, a dogsled ride does not qualify as polar tourism unless it is offered at certain latitudes. This results in conquest tourism (practised by conquerors) where the visitor's first objective is the collection of extreme or outlying geographical sites (Grenier 1998: 68), which does not apply to all polar travellers.

For statistical purposes, the geographical approach also fails to provide a tool for accurate measurement of the tourism phenomenon. On the one hand, the regions contained within the Arctic polar circle belong to various national jurisdictions whose entrance doors (frontiers) are oftentimes located in the South. It is then impossible to distinguish tourists staying in the North from those whose stay is limited to the south of the country. Certain regions get around that setback by counting instead the number of nightly stays. Yet, due to the absence of a common statistical method to count visitors in circumpolar regions, comparing the available data proves impossible.

Another disadvantage of the geographical approach is that it makes no distinction between the different types of tourism proposed to visitors. For example, should the shopping tourism of Russians in Lapland be considered as polar tourism just like the activities related to the polar world (such as dogsled rides)?

In confining the study of the phenomenon to the activities offered within the polar circles the picture of that touristic phenomenon remains incomplete. Indeed, a good number of these activities (for example dogsled rides or snowmobile safaris) are also offered in more southerly regions presenting similar "winterness" conditions (*hivernité* – the experience of cold days over a certain length of time; see Hamelin 1999: 4). Grading the Nordic and polar regions in middle, great, and extreme North, according to various geographical, economic, and social factors, brought Hamelin (1974: 4) to propose a "nordicity" scale according to the stage, degree, conscience, and representation of a cold territoriality within the boreal hemisphere. That author's contribution is essential as, without denying the importance of latitude in the notion of polarity, it takes into account the second notion of "winterness" that characterizes large adjacent regions and makes it possible to integrate them or at least to associate them with other regions already contained in the circles.

That approach is promoted by the Arctic Council, an intergovernmental forum who, in the Arctic Human Development Report (AHDR 2004: 17), proposes to define the Arctic territory (Figure 2.4) as comprising all of Alaska and the Canadian North (behond the 60th parallel), including the North of Québec (Nunavik) and Labrador, as well as Greenland, the Faroes, Iceland, and the northern counties of Norway (Nordland, Troms, and Finnmark), Sweden (Norrbotten), and Finland (Lapland). The ADHR (2004: 18) limits the Arctic Russian territory as comprising the Murmansk Oblast (administrative unit), the Nenets Autonomous Okrug, the Yamalo-Nenets Autonomous Okrug, Taymyria, the Chukotka Autonomous Okrug, the city of Vorkuta in the Komi Republic, the cities of Norilsk and Igarka in the Krasnoyarsk Krai, as well as the zones of the Sakha Republic adjacent to the Arctic Circle. Excluded from that territory are the Canadian regions of Hamelin's middle North (Northern Ontario and Northern British Columbia).

FIGURE 2.4

The circumpolar Arctic
Source : AHDR (2004: 18).

Arctic circle
Arctic boundary: AMAP
Arctic boundary: AHDR

*Compiled by W.K. Dallmann,
Norwegian Polar Institute*
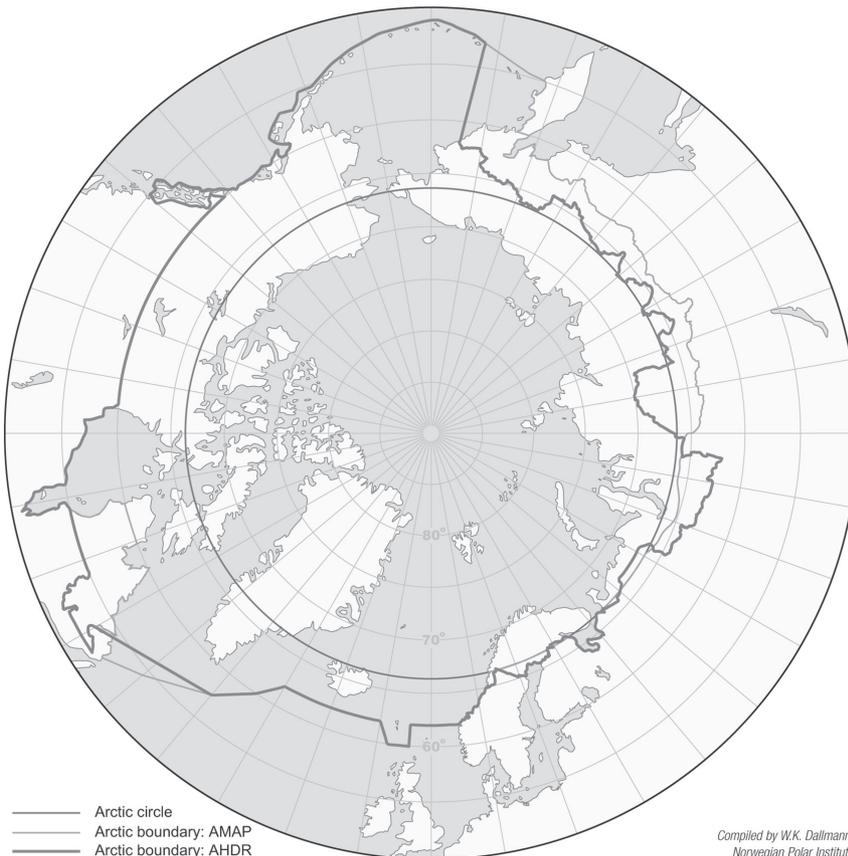
The circumpolar world thus defined covers 40 million square kilometres (8% of the planet's surface) shared by scarcely 4 million persons, of which almost half live in the Russian sector (ADHR 2004: 17–19). The defined territory does not always allow compiling the number of visitors (due to the lack of control methods), but it provides a more realistic view of the extent of the polar tourism phenomenon. Besides similar climate conditions (long frost period, presence of the tree line, low population density, same type of fauna and flora), these regions share other common characteristics, including distance and geographical isolation from their national administrative centres, and the resulting barriers (limited and often precarious infrastructures, limited and costly transport, etc.). That distance from great urban centres often causes visitors to northern regions to feel some sort of emptiness. "One must be psychologically prepared to look winter straight in the eye," said a tourist interviewed in the temperate latitudes of Finnish Lapland. Another tourist, also questioned aboard the icebreaker *Sampo*, admitted that even though she was used to the sea, she had never seen it frozen that much. The icy scenery displayed leaves visitors with deep impressions. Another such tourist added that she was impressed by "the extent of the icescape" before saying that she was happy her whole family was there with her, otherwise, she stressed, "I would have been afraid."

Feelings and emotions aroused by polar tourism are not simply of a geographical order – the pleasure of reaching such extreme latitudes. They also have a social and cultural aspect. The comments obtained from those visitors suggest a more sociological perspective to the polar tourism phenomenon through the study of people's perceptions when visiting these regions. It is a matter of how the sites are being "constructed" in the collective imaginary.

6. THE SOCIOLOGICAL APPROACH

Polar regions have not always generated the positive images that sustain tourism activities nowadays. Before becoming a geopolitical concept as it is today, the Arctic was associated with the collective imaginary, that is, a fictive representation of a faraway world. As Chartier (2008: 6) emphasizes, from the Arctic arise images that painters and photographers relay towards the South while posing aesthetic correlations which finally separate the North from reality to deliver it to the world of abstraction. That abstraction, the fruit of pasting and superposing images (hues of white, blue, and grey, engravings of explorers and their ships, of sled dogs, igloos, auroras) and sensations (the cold, the omnipresent fear of death), produce

the polar imaginary, a site or a world we only know through the experience of others. By way of construction, the imaginary is a production to which one binds, in whole or in part, and that transcends cultures.

In two previous studies, Grenier (1998, 2004) questioned 215 polar cruise tourists regarding their conception of the visited environments. For most of the travellers met, polar regions constituted the last great "wild" frontier. At least 40% of the respondents qualified these regions as being pure and spared by human disruptions, including touristic (specified by 20% of the participants; Grenier 2004: 125). Almost half the participants to the studies asserted that, to be wild, nature must contain little or no inhabitants. The human void so described corresponds to the wild nature or wilderness concept developed in the United States during the 18th and 19th centuries and embodied in the United States 1964 *Wilderness Act* (Public Law 88-577), that emphasizes: "A wilderness, in contrast with those areas where man and his own works dominate the landscape, is hereby recognized as an area where the earth and its community of life are untrammelled by man, where man himself is a visitor who does not remain." That law states that this environment must be protected and administered in a way to "preserve its natural conditions … and which … generally appears to have been affected primarily by the forces of nature, with the imprint of man's work substantially unnoticeable."

The dichotomy between human and natural environments, perpetuated by nature tourism, promotes the great polar spaces, but tourists often are oblivious of the history and lifestyle of native populations who have lived there for millennia. The inability of these visitors to read the frequently still active traces left by local and native populations often is sufficient to create the impression of novelty – that of being among the first humans to walk upon the frozen soil – that several tourists are looking for.

Tourists' observations and testimonies illustrate how their travel experience lies on the construction of images associated with "Nordic/polar" images built in opposition with the more temperate climate and industrialized urban and semi-urban environments they come from. In that sense, the mythology of the polar collective imaginary is an integral part of the visited sites.

That imaginary is the result of collective objective and subjective information received and chosen by the individual during his or her existence – a continuous process. A certain discourse ensues, sustained by the stories and narrative or visual transpositions of non-Native men (historically) and women (more recently), who have captured the polar space

and who strive to transmit some of their interpretations. By being repeated, they become part of the dominant culture. Hence the polar imaginary is composed of several layers:

- the mythological poles of Greek philosophers and their concept of faraway lands;
- the poles of conquest, based on explorers' stories (including defeats);
- the colonial North, marked by the settlement of Europeans and their political, economic, social, cultural, and spiritual management system;
- the postcolonial North (in devolution); and
- the actual polar regions, large playgrounds dedicated to visitors' pleasure and overachievement.

These ideas that serve in building and representing polar regions play an important role for the tourism industry as they provide basic structures these regions' governance, partnership, promotion, and identity (Hall *et al.* 2009: 248). A great part of the tourism experience indeed consists in recognizing the pieces of information that form the mythology of a site through a privileged contact with the objects that symbolize it – MacCannell's (1999: 41) "markers." Any tourist attraction requires sacralization by at least one element that indicates to the visitor what to see: the "sight" (*ibid.*). The identification and collection of these markers is at the centre of the touristic experience.

Polar regions have numerous markers. These are associated with various steps in the transformation and evolution of polar regions (the Age of the Conquest, the Colonial Age, etc.). Polar tourism relies on two types of markers: the physical elements located in clearly defined and identified sites, including panels identifying the frontiers between Arctic countries or those announcing the polar circle (Figure 2.5) or the South Pole (the Amundsen-Scott Base). Another type of marker, more mobile, refers not to a specific site but to elements associated with former or actual events or lifestyles, that symbolize one or several aspects of the polar world. For example, dogsleds, snowshoes, or tepees do not evoke specific places, but rather a lifestyle that belongs to another era. Cuddly toys sacralizing the fauna (Figure 2.6) also play the role of markers. The tourist's relationship with these objects is similar to the theatre actor who endorses a fictional character by wearing a costume and make-up. Through that dimension, polar tourism is no longer a question of geography, but more of a state of mind. As underlined by Jafari (1988: 60–4), tourism is a time of pause and suspension, to enter into a ludic space.
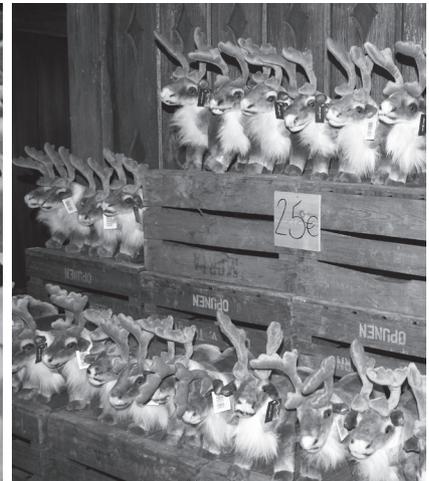
Iconized fauna of polar regions (here, the husky and reindeer) become objects of both appropriation (souvenirs) and marketing
Photos: Alain A. Grenier

FIGURE 2.6

The distinction and complementarity between the social and geographical approaches are essential to the development of management models of that tourism. Indeed, whether polar tourism is an experience of geographical or sociocultural nature, it generates different pressures on natural and human resources. The former produces a tourist who wishes to conquer the geographical space, while the latter looks for contact with the polar imaginary or mythology. The movements of conqueror tourists are more difficult to control on the site as they are more demanding in terms of spaces to cover. For them, physical obstacles and slopes are challenges to take up, and they exercise direct pressure on the natural environment. As opposed to the "conqueror tourist" (Grenier 1998: 68; Viken 1995: 79), the tourist in search of a contact with the polar imaginary finds satisfaction in a harmonious contact experience with the environment rather than its conquest.

The polar tourism experience can also be motivated by identity needs. One cruise passenger questioned in the Canadian Arctic admitted that he realized he was able to do exciting things, to live adventurously. The twenty-something office employee had precisely chosen that type of travel to "work" on his identity and to project, once back in his environment, the image of a not-so-urban man. The sociocultural tools required to build the polar tourist identity come from representations of polar regions described as aesthetically beautiful, marked by isolation, extreme temperatures, and the implied threat of death (Antomarchi 2005: 46), the representation that marked so many stories of explorers and conquerors. Polar tourism borrows from adventure tourism as it proposes its fans activities that combine a certain degree of fear and risk (although calculated) in an environment (the poles) where defeat may rhyme with death. Emphasizing these notions of risk and death that tend to be forgotten in today's society (Le Scanff 2000: 137), polar tourism offers the travellers the opportunity to test their limits and to grow, through "rites of passage" (as coined by Van Gennep 2000) that have a great significance in the construction of identity.

The rite of passage, which is present in all societies and cultures, aims to sanction the passage of various steps (levels) in the construction of identity. It gives the candidate some sort of green light authorizing the pursuit of development. Succeeding in a rite of passage is the occasion to recognize and accept fellow creatures. In tourism, rites of passage take the form of activities that present some degree of challenge. When successful (the work of tour operators and guides consists in ensuring the success of these experiences), these rites of passage give tourists a sense of accomplishment (Grenier 2004: 178) that will add a new layer to their identity project.

The sociological approach thus makes it possible to understand the importance of the "distinction" (as defined by Bourdieu 1979) for tourists and their need to acquire new social capital, which stimulates their desire to engage in tourism (Boyer 1995). Polar tourism finds its distinction in the uncommon, for example the means of transport used (dogsled or reindeer sled, icebreaker), the type of lodging preferred (ice hotel, tepee, log cabin), or the type of "touristic site" (as per Urry 1995) visited: the boreal forest, the tundra, and the polar deserts as opposed to the setting of sun destinations.

That difference is expressed by the research of exoticism, that is, an element the experience of which is realized in opposition to normality. Giddens (2001: 80) interprets exoticism as an experience that "violate[s] our everyday expectations about how social interaction and interaction with the physical environment are supposed to proceed." Consequently, an important component of the touristic experience is the transgression (*ibid.*) of value and judgment systems. To appreciate the midnight sun (a natural phenomenon in polar regions), for example, it must be opposed to the normality of the moonlight in the South. Then it can be implied that the summer moonlight, characteristic of less extreme latitudes, can be just as exotic for the inhabitant of polar regions. Exoticism, in its essence, is thus the result of a value judgment that denounces "normality."

In the present global village (McLuhan 1994) where daily experiences seem increasingly more homogeneous, the tourism industry is becoming a true supplier of alternative experiences. In return, these experiences become sources of distinction through the possibility of acquiring a new cultural and social capital. They allow participants to establish or improve part of their identity (Urbain 2000: 32). In polar tourism, the capital targeted by the phenomenon essentially concerns four aspects:

1. the research of authenticity (symbolized by enhancing the appeal of great natural spaces, as was the case of the Grand Canyon in the 19th century, and the traditional aspects of native cultures – that imply, to some degree, a rejection of the modern Native);

2. time and an introspection capacity (spirituality as described by certain tourists at the contact with the wild nature);

3. a (controlled) degree of physical effort; and

4. the acquisition of new knowledge stimulated by a certain curiosity about natural phenomena, which Antomarchi (2005: 46) links with the "science" interest of the experience.

In a nutshell, the geographical and sociological approaches, summarized in Table 2.4, provide complementary explanations of polar tourism. Both methods propose the beginning of an explanation as to the motivations of polar tourists. Each also proposes a unit of measure of the phenomenon, that is, respectively, the specific geographical space and the activity. The geographical approach (left column) makes it possible to identify the search for exoticism, the loss of markers or points of reference, the acknowledgement of physical barriers. The sociological approach (right column) sheds light on the use by tourists of elements listed in the left column.

Polar tourism is therefore more than an experience of extreme geography. It combines romantic perceptions of a particular type of geographical site (the concept of wilderness without human impact revisited by Romanticism) with a need for an alternative sociocultural experience. That exercise appeals to the collective (polar) imaginary. Thus, polar tourism is not so much associated with the destination's latitude as to what is evoked by the activity through its affiliation with nordicity. Polar tourism can therefore be defined as any travel activity or experience, whatever the region, that calls on or evokes the mythology of polar environments.

TABLE 2.4 – COMPARISON OF GEOGRAPHICAL AND SOCIOLOGICAL APPROACHES TO POLAR TOURISM

	POLAR TOURISM		
Geographical approach	• Experience associated with a specific geographical territory	• Experience associated with polar mythology (abstraction)	Sociological approach
	• Distance (physical) • Physical barriers	• Loss of social and cultural markers of the domestic universe • Potential environment for personal new challenges (rite of passage)	
	• As opposed to sunshine tourism	• Search of distinction through acquisition of cultural capital	
	• Polar environments as aesthetic sites (reflection) stimulated by the outside	• Polar environments as a medium for intra-reflection (self search / spiritual dimension)	
	• Allows accounting of tourists on a territorial basis	• Allows accounting of tourists based on specific activities	
	Unit of measure: the geographical space	Unit of measure: the activity	

Source: Adapted from Grenier (2007: 59).

It should be stressed that polar tourism must not be mixed up with ecotourism, as they are two distinct entities. The former refers to a range of experiences while the latter refers to a mode of tourism management according to the principles enforced by the World Commission on Environment and Development (WCED 1987, also known as *Our Common Future* or the Brundtland Report) and the concept of sustainable development promoted in its wake.

7. CONCLUSION

Technological breakthroughs, notably as regards recreational equipment and means of transport, and the enhancement of natural spaces in the context of environmental crises, have contributed during the last decades to the popularization of Nordic and polar regions. A few decades were sufficient to transform regions formerly associated in the general perception with polar hells into gardens of Eden. Besides the occasional slowdown caused by world recessions and the additional costs resulting from the soaring oil prices, nothing seems to announce a serious drop in the growth of polar tourism in the long term.

If the growth of the phenomenon delights tour operators, its massification worries observers. The efficiency of the current management models to control the industry is questioned, given their application on a voluntary basis and the absence of authority to supervise the industry's development and deployment. In the industry's current, unsupervised development model, where tour operators themselves are responsible for protecting the resources they promote for tourists, it seems inefficient to develop management tools without understanding the motivations and aspirations of the actors that are to be supervised. Even if the first demonstrations of tourism in polar environments go back almost two centuries, in certain regions it is only with the explosion of the phenomenon, less than two decades ago, that the discourse on its management has started being organized. In spite of the numerous studies on polar tourism (especially since 1995), none (except Grenier's 2007 study) has tried to understand the concept.

This study aims to initiate a discussion on the conceptualization of the polar tourism phenomenon. It has demonstrated that polar tourism is based not exclusively on a spatial geographical experience, but rather on cultural references attributed to polar regions (its mythology). That conclusion results from the fact that several resources on which polar tourism is based are not exclusive to the planet's extreme latitudes. While acknowledging the importance, from a geographical perspective, of developing adequate data collection methods related to polar tourism, another

approach is required to take into account a much more important component of the desired experience, that of polar mythology. In that perspective, the activity more that the site where it is occurring serves to evoke the emotions associated with the construction of polar regions (a taste for danger and adventure, a need for overachievement, etc.). Because polar tourism calls on cultural references that can be adapted to several sites outside polar regions (as defined by the Arctic and Antarctic circles), it is more a sociocultural than a geographical experience.

Reflection on the polar tourism concept must not only serve to collect tourist data for statistical purposes. It presents other fields of application, related in particular to modes of management. So far, the recourse to codes of conduct applied on a voluntary basis has produced mixed results in terms of data. Due to the investments it requires, the polar tourism industry is under pressure to better take advantage of the natural and cultural resources on which it grazes, threatening the sustainability that is required for itself and especially for these regions' natural resources to survive in the long term. Yet it is impossible to establish sustainable modes of management without acquiring a better knowledge of the desired touristic experience.

Polar tourism conceptualized around polar mythology must help industry operators and managers develop their products around a harmonious environmental experience rather than the collection and conquest of spaces. At a time when polar tourism experiences increasing popularity, it becomes essential to establish the concept's framework in order to develop the most appropriate management tools for protecting the resources targeted by the phenomenon. The future of polar environments depends on it.

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MEDITATIVE THINKING FOR POLAR TOURISM RESEARCH AND CODES OF ETHICS

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1. INTRODUCTION

Polar region travel is not a new phenomenon. Historic examples are found among the nomadic routes of Inuit and Sami, or the polar expeditions of Nansen, Rasmussen, Scott, Shackleton, and Mawson (Aporta 2009; Mazzullo and Ingold 2008; Snyder 2007a). The scholarly and commercial enterprises of polar tourism, however, are arguably fresh, and constitute another type of tourism among a growing list of alternatives (Grenier 2004). In applied terms, tourism is routinely prescribed and adopted as an economic stimulus for polar periphery regions and Arctic communities, and as an alternative or supplement to extractive resource developments such as mining, oil and gas, forestry, or hydroelectricity (Hall *et al.* 2009; Richard 2007).

As the subject of academic inquiry, polar tourism appears to be converging on many points of interest, perhaps in response to previous concerns about the scattered research community (Stewart *et al*. 2005). Recent collaborations have resulted in various book-length publications (Grenier 2004; Hall and Boyd 2005; Hall and Johnston 1995; Hall *et al*. 2009; Müller and Jansson 2007; Snyder and Stonehouse 2007a; Stonehouse and Snyder 2010), special-issue publications (Grenier 2009; Maher 2007), and the establishment of the Polar Tourism Network (<http://www.polar-tourismnetwork.uqam.ca>). Such initiatives point to the maturation of polar tourism scholarship, a process that this paper intends to contribute to further.

The objective of this chapter is to introduce some theoretical tools for polar tourism researchers, thereby responding further to observations made by Stewart and colleagues (2005: 389) that polar tourism research reflects a "lack of theoretical foundations." Theoretical deficiency has functioned as a blueprint for much tourism research (Franklin and Crang 2001), particularly when measured by its interdisciplinary appeal (Fennell 2006a). As such, this chapter attempts to draw interdisciplinary theoretical frameworks into polar tourism discourse. The theme that orients these broader objectives is tourism ethics and, more precisely, Arctic tourism codes of ethics and codes of conduct (hereafter simply referred to as "codes").

It is important to make clear from the outset that this chapter does not report on an empirical investigation (*e.g.* the content analysis of codes applicable to polar tourism), though certain crucial efforts, such as those of the World Wildlife Fund (WWF 2009) and the Sustainable Model for Arctic Regional Tourism (SMART 2006), provide some grounding to this analysis. Our intentions are of a different order. Informed by Heidegger (1966), the chapter infuses *meditative thinking* into polar tourism discourses (see Table 3.1). In contrast to outcome-driven or *calculative thinking*, which Heidegger argues dominates most intellectual and cultural fields, thinking meditatively enables access to how polar tourism codes express deeper meanings and possibilities for human behaviour, perception, and dwelling. In this way, meditative thinking can help researchers and practitioners gain insight into the social-ecological complexity that characterizes polar region tourism, livelihoods, and change, and use this to inform responsible decision-making, management, and policy.

The chapter begins by situating codes within tourism ethics and polar and Arctic tourism research. The subsequent body of the paper is framed around two challenges implicated in Arctic tourism codes and highlighted in the literature: self-regulation and cultural relativism. In both sections, we review features of these challenges and specify some theoretical bearings that may be used to reframe or better understand

TABLE 3.1 – **MEDITATIVE AND CALCULATIVE THINKING**

Meditative thinking	Calculative thinking

• Seeks to:
  – Understand meaning or principle of action or perception
  – Open the possibilities to understand and appreciate the bigger picture
• Nature: valued for majesty as well as functionality, thus subsequent behaviour is better informed
• Ethics: deontology (*e.g.* actions and perceptions judged against broader traditions, culture, universality, or rootedness)
• Tourism: one may assess the philosophical principles of travel against a philosophical backdrop, select a behaviour and frame his/her perception on the ecology in which he/she is about to participate and act.
	• Outcome driven: logical, rational, linear
	• Drives planning, organizing, computation, consequence, and practical affairs of science, state, economics
	• Provides intellectual means to use and exploit resources
	• Nature: valued for its function; perceived as resource for consumption
	• Ethics: consequentialism (*e.g.* greatest good for the greatest number of people)
	• Tourism: resources are valued for travel opportunities and the associated economic, sociocultural, or environmental benefits or impacts

Source: Adapted from Fennell and Malloy (2007).

them. At the risk of being redundant, our intentions are not to resolve each of the identified challenges but to use these as stepping stones to wade into a meditative discussion of polar tourism ethics.

2. TOURISM ETHICS AND ARCTIC TOURISM CODES

Tourism research has been characterized as a *reactive* enterprise in so far as it focuses on industry-led priorities, such as mitigating impacts (Fennell and Malloy 2007; Hardy *et al.* 2002) and designing authentic travel experiences (Conran 2006). Ironically, the growing attention to the study of tourism ethics (Fennell 2006c, 2006a; Hultsman 1995; MacBeth 2005; Smith and Duffy 2003) may be viewed on the one hand as illustrative of such reactionary investigations and, on the other hand, as an attempt to remedy this limitation.

In the first case, the apparent precursor to the study of tourism ethics was the popular rise of alternative types of tourism, such as sustainable tourism (Hardy *et al.* 2002), nature-based tourism (Hall and Boyd 2005), ecotourism (Fennell 2003; Weaver and Lawton 2007), or adventure tourism (Cloke and Perkins 1998; Gyimothy and Mykletun 2004), which emerged alongside the "sustainable development" platform. These forms of alternative tourism feature in polar tourism and are tied to ethical issues such as conservation (Holden 2003) and authenticity (Kim and Jamal 2007). Such ethical concerns in tourism may therefore be viewed as a reflection of broader concerns over human–environment relationships as a result of a growing awareness of global anthropogenic environmental change (Crutzen 2002). As citizens learn how modern society devastates the environment, increased support is harnessed for

resource conservation and wilderness protection programs and desire is engendered for obtaining real, "back-to-nature" experiences. These motivations are accounted for in polar tourism literature (Grenier 2004) and apply particularly to the knowledgeable and educated polar tourist (Hall *et al.* 2009). However, Hall *et al.* (2009: 250) are concerned that a possible implication of global environmental change is that "it may spark a 'see it while you can' response from tourists and the tourism industry, thereby leading to even greater stress on the Arctic environment and on capacities to govern tourism" (see also Lemelin *et al.* 2010).

Surprise would be an unlikely response from Butcher (2003) and Wheeller (2005) on these matters. Both have argued that moralizing has no business staining the hedonistic fabrics of tourism. Others, however, have recognized that the *discovery* of ethics in tourism (Fennell 2006a) functions valuably in the assembly of a philosophical foundation for robust and responsible tourism practices and scholarship (Hultsman 1995; MacBeth 2005; Nowaczek *et al.* 2007; Smith and Duffy 2003). In varying degrees, these latter works mark a shift in tourism scholarship away from reactive endeavours and towards theoretically intensive agendas, interdisciplinary frameworks, and meditative thinking (Fennell and Malloy 2007). They also parallel transformations among tourists who, according to Fennell (2006a), are becoming more attentive to the ethical policies and practices of operators.

Tourism stakeholders have taken notice of these trends and have started developing and publicizing organizational codes of ethics. According to Fennell and Malloy (2007), codes of ethics are systematically derived standards or principles, determined by moral values, which delineate ethical behaviour in a profession. Codes of conduct serve a similar purpose, albeit at the scale of individual operator or traveler. These codes function among a variety of tools tailored to modify visitor or operator behaviour (see, *e.g.*, WWF 2009). In effect, codes of conduct are self-regulatory measures (Dubois 2001; Mason 1997, 2005; Mason *et al.* 1999) designed to ensure adherence to certain principles based on moral expectations (Fennell and Malloy 2007). Thus, in the contexts of polar tourism, codes of conduct and codes of ethics (*i.e.* codes) function as morally rooted approaches to behaviour modification (*i.e.* of tourists, operators, professions), visitor management, and regional development (WWF 2009).

3. COMPLIANCE AND SELF-REGULATION

3.1. Codes as Self-Regulatory Visitor Management

A pressing challenge for Arctic tourism codes is compliance and, more narrowly, self-regulation. Compliance refers broadly to the implementation, monitoring, reporting, verification, and enforceability of a code (Fennell and Malloy 2007). Recent debate has surfaced within tourism literature regarding the efficacy of codes and how their development (*e.g.* who authors a code) is related to the achievement of their desired effect (Dodds and Joppe 2005). Fennell and Malloy (2007: chapter 3) provide a detailed review of these issues, but note in their account that very little exists in the tourism literature on compliance despite the fact that similar observations were made over a decade ago by Mason and Mowforth (1996). A main inconsistency is that code development tends to take place at macro-scale institutional levels (*e.g.* governments, NGOs) while attempts to implement, monitor, or evaluate codes must necessarily occur at more micro-scale interactions (Fennell and Malloy 2007). Instructive in addressing these challenges are Cole's (2007) collaborative efforts with a rural Indonesian village to develop, implement, and evaluate a code of conduct for tourists visiting the village. Among the lessons learned, Cole indicates that the collaborative development of the code stimulated dialogue among local tourism stakeholders, but that the ownership and official endorsement of the code (*e.g.* by governments) remained in question.

Specific to Arctic tourism codes, compliance is largely an issue of self-regulation. According to Mason (2005), *regulation* involves attempts to prevent, or occasionally allow, access to particular tourist areas. In tourism, regulation is rarely backed up by law and therefore becomes voluntary. Tourists choose whether to behave accordingly or not. Often, codes of conduct and guidelines serve as these self-regulatory instruments for visitor management and function as the backbone of visitor behaviour management in polar regions (Mason 2005; Snyder 2007b).

Reliance on self-regulation seems necessary in Arctic tourism for two interrelated reasons. First, Arctic tourism involves many independent adventure travelers, attracted by curiosity, wanderlust, and the diversity of backcountry recreation activities available in the Arctic (Snyder 2007a). Activities drawing these travelers include river rafting, sea and river kayaking, mountaineering, snowshoe treks, ski trekking, backpacking, camping, wildlife viewing, and nature photography (Snyder and Stonehouse 2007b). Because they plan and perform their travels independent of commercial operators and often in remote areas, the behaviours and practices of these

FIGURE 3.1

An independent backcountry traveler reflecting on a day's paddle.
To what extent are codes applicable, let alone abided by?
Photo: Bryan S.R. Grimwood

individualistic travelers are difficult to monitor or evaluate (see Figure 3.1). Even if an applicable code exists, whether it is accessible or observed by these travelers remains dubious (Cole 2007; Dodds and Joppe 2005).

Second, the evolution of independent travel in the Arctic is such that associated impacts are disproportionate. Snyder (2007a: 16–17) outlines this neatly:

> [Independent travelers'] direct contact with polar environments, native cultures and economies can produce significant impacts. Their needs for emergency services, communication infrastructure and hospitality services place considerable demands on the professional skills and financial resources of Arctic communities. And their pursuit of wildlife and adventure tourism directly affects the traditional resource uses and fishing and hunting cultures of the indigenous Arctic peoples.

As a result of these real and potential impacts, tourism management (including codes) in the Arctic is subject to sets of host conditions for, and debates relating to, cultural preservation, economic development, and natural resource use (Snyder 2007b).

3.2. Towards Responsibility and Place

Reliance on self-regulation has led Dubois (2001) to question the effective content or efficacy of codes for tourism, and what self-regulation reveals about the governance of tourism more generally. What may contribute a response to such questions is an understanding of what rests at the heart of self-regulatory visitor management strategies like codes of conduct. What are codes really about?

Snyder (2007b) indicates that Arctic travelers tend to be on their best behaviour; *i.e.* they often exhibit behaviour consistent with sound tourism management principles, they are willing to pay premium prices to access "pristine" environments, they tend to support wildlife management programs and contribute to markets supporting Indigenous products, and they offer time, money, and talent to resource conservation organizations. Are these tangible ends the hoped-for outcomes of Arctic tourism regional development? Are these indicative of what codes ought to be all about? They do seem consistent with the rather global ethics promoted by WWF (2009) and SMART (2006). Yet perhaps the achievement of such ideal, internationally approved tourism conditions is not entirely favourable.

Arctic travelers may be educated (Hall *et al.* 2009) and well-behaved (Snyder 2007b), yet Grenier (2004) observes that many polar region travelers are motivated by the social status earned on account of their journey, perceived by others as arduous and perilous. More than three decades ago, Relph (1976) made similar observations and coined "social tourism" – travel done for social ends more so than the experience – as a central factor in the placelessness of tourism. Placelessness, according to Relph (1976: 143),

> describes both an environment without significant places and the underlying attitude which does not acknowledge significance in places. It reaches back into the deepest levels of place, cutting roots, eroding symbols, replacing diversity with uniformity and experiential order with conceptual order. At its most profound it consists of a pervasive and perhaps irreversible alienation from places as the homes of men [*sic*].

Relph characterizes travel as a mechanism for placelessness in so far as the purpose of travel, for many people, is not so much about experiencing unique and different places as collecting social dividends. Like Grenier, Relph suspects that the consumption of travel destinations for social standing is responsible for pushing the tourist frontier into more remote and exotic locations.

A causal relationship between Arctic tourism codes and placelessness is far-fetched, let alone in need of serious empirical documentation. Still, it would be unwise to consider codes – especially ones created at macro scales for implementation in micro locales – as entirely innocent matters. The congruent content of various Arctic tourism codes (see, *e.g.*, WWF 2009; SMART 2006) implies that uniform tourist behaviour is an ideal to be achieved. Yet as Relph (1976) conveys, uniformity bears threat to the diversity and significance to be found in places.

3.3. Existentialism: Heidegger and Responsibility

Accounting for such place-based concerns are those that consider the existential dimensions of travel (Birkeland 2008; Fennell 2008; Kim and Jamal 2007; Steiner and Reisinger 2006) and parallel notions of responsibility in tourism (Cole 2007; Fennell 2006a, 2008; Mowforth *et al*. 2008; Yaman and Gurel 2006), themes that would seem to resonate deeply in Arctic tourism codes. However, Fennell (2008: 3) has argued,

> what has constrained other types of tourism in their attempt to mitigate tourism's impacts in the past, is equally true of responsible tourism today: the absence of a well grounded philosophical framework which could help us better contextualize the meaning of responsible or responsibility in tourism.

To patch some of these philosophical gaps, Fennell (2008) approaches responsible tourism through Søren Kierkegaard's existentialism. Here, we supplement this existential look at responsibility by taking stock of Heidegger's (2008) notion of dwelling.

Of central importance to Heidegger (2008) is the relation between *building* and *dwelling* and the kind of *thinking* that results from the consideration of that relation. With etymological precision, Heidegger demonstrates that common conceptions of building and dwelling – that is, as a means-and-ends relationship – are misplaced. His concern is to regain an original perspective which enables people to see how the activities of building (*i.e.* cultivation and construction) belong to our dwelling in the world and to the way we are (Ingold 2000). Heidegger instructs that by listening to language, the word *bauen* ("to build") tells us that: (a) building is really dwelling; (b) dwelling is the manner in which humans, as mortals, *are* on earth; and (c) building as dwelling unfolds into the building that cultivates and constructs/erects. Thus, for Heidegger (2008: 350), "we do not dwell because we have built, but we build and have built because we dwell, that is, because we are *dwellers*." Thus, dwelling encompasses the whole manner of how people live their lives on the Earth (Ingold 2000), or how people experience the connectedness of the world as possibilities for taking action and behaving (Steiner and Reisinger 2006). An essential implication of this *building which embraces dwelling* (Relph 1976)

is that places evolve, retain organic qualities, and have "what Heidegger calls the character of 'sparing' – the tolerance of something for itself without trying to change it or control it – places which are evidence of care and concern for the earth and for other[s]" (Relph 1976: 18).

Sparing, as the fundamental character of dwelling, is useful to understanding Heidegger's existential authenticity as the means of existing according to one's essence (Steiner and Reisinger 2006). The existentially authentic transcends routine behaviour, activity, or thought and is experience-oriented, non-conforming, and always in a state of momentary change. A person is only momentarily authentic in different situations. Importantly, this also extends to social interactions. When people interact, Heidegger says that one can either "leap in" for the other or "leap ahead" of the other.

> When a person leaps in for another ... they take away the other's possibilities by solving the other's problems for them, by taking over their concerns, by pushing the other out of their own place in relation to their possibilities ... when a person leaps ahead of someone, he/she encourages the other person to look past their present situation to their future, their potential and their possibilities (Steiner and Reisinger 2006: 308).

By leaping ahead, people show others that they have choices and possibilities, an essence to being human and an opportunity for authenticity. Leaping in is to refuse this sparing, and renders others dependent and impedes their authenticity. Such is the case with most tourism, according to Steiner and Reisinger (308–9), an industry "uncritically committed to leaping in for people, this so they are not troubled, stressed, or endangered, so they have an uneventful holiday (nicely averaged and leveled down) rather than one full of drama, excitement and unpredictability."

So where does this leave us in terms of Arctic tourism codes? What can we learn from Heidegger? Perhaps, as behaviour guidelines for travelers and operators, codes limit touristic possibilities and choices for being authentic. Codes may encourage conformity in place, thereby endorsing placelessness and an inability to dwell well. If such is the case, codes may be emblematic of common thinking that perceives building as a means for dwelling, rather than a worldview that sponsors sparing, tolerance, and change. In other words, codes help construct places in a particular fashion and inscribe how we ought to conduct ourselves – they leap in. Bearing this in mind, codes that remain more distant – focused on higher-order concepts, for example (see section 4, below) – may offer greater possibilities for authentic dwelling to emerge.

This raises a recurrent concern with existentialist ethics. Without some obligation greater than the self, how can people determine what is right or wrong for society at large? How is responsibility towards others

ensured (Garofalo and Geuras 1999)? A response to such a concern can be found in Fennell's (2006a) description of a triangulated approach to ethics, which includes dimensions of deontology, teleology, and authenticity. In terms of codes, they are routinely deontological in nature but have been shown to be most effective when structured in consequential terms (Cole 2007; Fennell and Malloy 2007). Perhaps it is the case that self-regulation is an essential component of codes that ensures travelers and operators have opportunities for experiencing unpredictability, courage and anxiety, and moments of authenticity. Were codes to be governed and enforced by law, for instance, a significant element of discovery, choice, and self-determination for stakeholders would be forfeit. Incorporating such philosophical and meditative thinking into Arctic tourism codes is an essential countermeasure to the possibility of placelessness migrating into the contexts of Arctic and polar region tourism.

4. NEGOTIATING RELATIVISM

4.1. The Cultural Ambience in Arctic Tourism

The human dimensions of the Arctic yield different challenges for tourism codes than in Antarctica. In addition to meeting regional, national, or international expectations for Arctic tourism management, tourism codes, in order to be operational, must gain acceptance among Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples living in the Arctic, *i.e.* heterogeneous communities underwritten in various ways by lingering effects of colonialism. Encounters between hosts and tourists, or between the hosts and outfitters of different communities, are examples of micro-scale interactions that must be accounted for in the workings of Arctic tourism codes (Mason *et al.* 1999).

Tourism represents a flow of values (Lovelock 2007) into Arctic communities and landscapes, so micro-scale conflicts are to be expected. Buckley's (2005) report from Pond Inlet, Nunavut provides a case in point. According to Buckley, Inuit provide tourists with boat transportation to narwhal sighting areas and then proceed to hunt the marine mammals, doubling-up on financial gains of taking the trip. These practices often oppose the desires and expectations of narwhal-searching tourists, including Buckley himself, who advocates for the protection of endangered narwhal over the cultural hunting traditions of Inuit (see Figures 3.2 and 3.3). Similar contrasts between "Indigenous hosts" and "ecotourists" are noted by Hinch (1998), elaborated by Johnston (2006), and resonate within Fennell's (2006b) perspective that Indigenous stewardship is debatable.

Tourist and resident shooting practices. What values are identifiable in these practices? To what extent are certain values expressed in polar tourism codes?
Photos: Bryan S.R. Grimwood

FIGURES 3.2 and 3.3

Disparagement of Aboriginal cultural practices (*e.g.* Kemmerer 2004), however, is open to harsh critical charges in return. Johnston (2006), for example, claims that within ecotourism there is widespread ignorance of Indigenous rights to self-determination and ancestral title. Moreover, ecotourism has been referred to as an elitist, patronizing, and ethnocentric construct, helping to reinforce current power structures and the hegemony of "Western" ideology (Cater 2007). Braun (2002) imparts a related message from the British Columbia coast. The conservation ethic, couched in technocratic and anthropocentric approaches to environmental management, such as codes, is not exempt from similar charges (Holden 2003).

To be sure, substantial efforts have been invested into negotiating these apparent divisions, and are notable in the literature linking Traditional Ecological Knowledge (TEK) and Scientific Knowledge (SK; *cf.* Berkes 2008; Riewe and Oakes 2006). Yet concern arises when TEK is employed as a general referent, thereby ignoring the heterogeneity of Indigenous Knowledge (IK; Wenzel 1999). Wenzel (2004), for instance, accounts for the specificity of Inuit knowledge, *Inuit Qaujimajatuqangi* (IQ), in Nunavut, Canada. According to Wenzel, equating IQ with TEK diminishes the depth of its socio-cultural content, and ignores the historical, political, and economic contexts that have influenced the nuances of IQ. Correspondingly, Watson and Huntington (2008) argue that the conceptualization

of particular IK in juxtaposition to SK represents a style of "cross-cultural" research whereby IK and SK are separate and distinct, in need of bridging, and achieved only through scientific epistemologies. These authors smartly insist that such conceptions of epistemic space do not attend appropriately to the shared history of knowledge. That is, "cultures have been in contact, exchanging ideas and goods, for thousands of years (see Smith, 1989) – some of these exchanges producing the very 'Western Science' supposed to be uniquely 'Western'" (Watson and Huntington 2008: 275).

Despite such thoughtful and contextual considerations of epistemic space, the ambience within the preceding discussion is suggestive of the fact that we are often reluctant to criticize or impose judgments across cultural contexts. Similar issues are elaborated by Widdows (2007), who considers whether global ethics, such as human rights or codes of ethics, are forms of moral neocolonialism. Widdows describes moral neocolonialism as one's covert attempts to convert another's way of thinking about what is "right," "wrong," "good," or "bad." In this form, "values are not presented as superior [as they were in moral colonialism of the past], but as universal, requiring not conversion to an alternative (presumably better) value system, but recognition of universal values" (Widdows 2007: 306). Human rights and codes of ethics, according to Widdows, exemplify these attempts to demonstrate values belonging to and derived from all human beings. It is often held by those who critique such global ethics that they are expressions of dominant Western frameworks to morally colonize through the promotion of universal values.

Ultimately, however, Widdows (2007) argues that practical necessity is driving global ethics and that the principal question is no longer "Should global ethics be advocated?" but rather "What type of global ethics should be promoted?" Whether or not global ethics is desirable is negligible relative to questions concerning how global conceptions of ethics should be developed. To the extent that Widdows' observation is plausible, it would seem reasonable to suggest that radical thinking is required in order to avoid *global* ethics that rewrite current dominant structures and systems.

4.2. Descriptive and Normative Ethical Relativism

The point of issue related to Arctic tourism codes in line for attention here is cultural relativism. A term used in moral philosophy, cultural relativism suggests that different cultures have different moral codes and that no standards of "right" or "wrong" exist independent of culture (Rachels

1999). It challenges beliefs in objective and universal moral truths, asserting that our own codes are only a few among many and carry no special status (Rachels, 1999). In light of the previous discussion, cultural relativism may appear to have a place at the table of Arctic tourism codes. Can codes effectively mesh with the Arctic's heterogeneous communities and knowledge systems? If so, how can codes be developed such that colonial power relations, which remain underwritten in Arctic landscapes, are not reinforced? These questions may lead some to accept a form of relativism whereby codes are seen to, at best, ineffectively address the complexity of Arctic tourism interactions or, at worst, impose global and hegemonic ideals derived from a particular worldview. Although the idea is widely dismissed, thinking about cultural relativism in relation to Arctic tourism codes helps us negotiate appropriate and logically consistent ways of comparing or making judgments about human difference (Smith 2000).

Before proceeding further, an important point of distinction deserves mention. First, descriptive ethical relativism, or moral particularism, refers to the notion that peoples' beliefs about what is right or wrong differ among individuals and societies; that a diversity of moral values and practices exist which are locally specific (Smith 2000). In other words, what is held to be morally legitimate is dependent on a particular cultural and historical context (Proctor 1998). As Smith (2000) observes, moral particularism has been represented in facts collected by various social scientists. In contrast, normative ethical relativism holds that what is actually right or wrong differs among individuals, societies, and cultures. According to this perspective, what people believe is ethical in their particular context is in fact ethical. Unless we subscribe to a vulgar relativism (Smith 2000), which respects equally any moral code (*e.g.* institutionalized torture, slavery, human sacrifice), normative ethical relativism remains contentious and often rejected. However, debate is also elicited when moral absolutes are proposed (Proctor 1998), despite identifiable manifestations of moral universalism – marshaled by moral codes, such as the Golden Rule, and moral values, such as honesty, courage, cooperation, and care – in most ethnic and religious traditions (Lee and Smith 2004). Still, many agree (Coates 1998; Proctor and Smith 1999; Smith 2000; Steelwater 1997) that universal notions are provisional, derived from a context or, as Lee and Smith (2004: 5) put it,

> a process of people coming to terms with living together in mutually supportive social relations, theologians or philosophers capable of systematizing and propagating such a rule, and a politics and set of institutions able to translate these social ideas into practice.

4.3. So Why Are We Reluctant to Criticize?

In its normative ethical form, cultural relativism tends to be rejected for two interrelated reasons. First, people recognize the sensibility in condemning some practices (*e.g.* slavery, anti-Semitism) and considering societies as always imperfect, in constant need of reform, and progressing morally (Rachels 1999). Second, it is dismissed in favour of higher-order concepts such as truth telling, cooperation, or prohibitions on murder. The theoretical premise here is that higher-order moral rules must be held in common by all societies in order for the society to exist.

Nevertheless, people demonstrate a reluctance to criticize the moral practices of other societies. Rachels (1999) refers and responds to three central reasons for this. First, people tend to avoid making negative judgments about other cultures that have suffered historical wrongdoings. By way of example, Canadians of European descent living in southern parts of the country may hesitate at judging contemporary Inuit hunting practices because of colonial atrocities performed upon the Inuit by European ancestors. However, as Rachels points out, judging a cultural practice as morally deficient is a matter of articulating a moral point of view and is much different from a campaign of assimilation, diplomatic pressure, or sending in the army. Second, people feel that they should be tolerant of cultural differences. Tolerance is, after all, a virtue that enables cooperation, and is helpful to sidestepping differences between "Western" and "non-Western" ethics (Widdows 2007). Yet there is nothing about tolerance that requires a person to consider all beliefs and social practices as equally admirable. In fact, without ideas about right or wrong, better or worse, there would be nothing for people to tolerate (Rachels 1999). Finally, Rachels specifies that people may be reluctant to criticize because they do not want to express contempt for the society in question. Again, Rachels asserts that this is misguided; that condemning a cultural practice does not equate to the culture on the whole being contemptible or inferior to any other culture. As it happens, critical diagnosis of social practices and values can be supplemented with a normative prognosis (Castree 2001), contributing as such to the continuity of moral progress, subjectivity, and liberation (Singer 1999).

4.4. Cooperation and Reciprocal Altruism

Although cultural relativism, in its normative ethical form, is often rejected, it remains instructive for negotiating the human dimensions of Arctic tourism codes, particularly because its counterclaims open up opportunities for continued moral progress towards higher-order concepts. For Rachels (1999), these higher-order moral constructs are those that are fundamental to all peoples and enable societies to exist and function in

the first place. Widdows (2007) demonstrates a similar intent by comparing the work of virtue ethicists and developing-world bioethicists, exposing a significantly exaggerated divide between "Western" and "non-Western" ethics. Arctic tourism codes may then avoid charges of moral neocolonialism while addressing particular moral contexts of heterogeneous peoples by speaking to higher-order themes. Such a strategy seems apparent in the WWF (2009) Arctic tourism codes, which promote conservation, respect, responsibility, and cooperation.

Widdows' (2007) finding is important because it serves to illustrate that at the foundation of society – the makeup of our communities, how we are governed, and how we interact with one another – is a moral aptitude that mediates our tendencies towards self-interest and cooperation. In the Canadian context, Saul (2008) has shown that Canadians are as much an outcome of Indigenous influence and experience as they are of four centuries of European immigration. Whether we know it or not, Canadians, at their very core, are a people that draw inspiration from fairness and good governance, and this is something that comes from our shared history with the Aboriginal "other."

In searching for explanations of why there are parallel or shared trajectories between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal contexts, as noted above, culture cannot be the only explanation. After all, culture has often been used in explaining why we are not the same. To be sure, this explanatory quest elicits continued philosophical and empirical investment.

Recently, the virtue of cooperation in tourism encounters was considered from the sociobiological theory of reciprocal altruism (Fennell 2006c). The lineage of reciprocal altruism (RA) includes evolutionary theory, animal behaviour studies, and, primarily, the research of Robert Trivers (2002: chapter 1). Fennell (2006c: 106) connects RA to tourism in the following:

> RA can be viewed as a form of symbiosis, where actors help one another so that both ultimately benefit. The symbiosis has a lag time, however, where the donor must wait for a period of time before s/he is helped in turn. While sufficient time is an aid in building cooperative relationships, too little of it is an enemy. Darwinian fitness, the basis of sociobiological theory, states that it is rational to take advantage of others in increasing our own fitness, especially if interactions are infrequent. In tourism, this mindset helps to explain the erosion of personal relationships between hosts and guests, thus setting the stage for tourist area patterns of evolution.

By drawing from Trivers, Fennell demonstrates that cooperation (and by extension morality) is far from a simple gesture of altruism, but is rather couched within evolutionary foundations of human behaviour. Trivers' (2002) own observations of RA led him to accept that human

social behaviour evolved in small, stable, and dependent communities that provided groups of people with opportunities to develop cooperative relationships through repeated interactions over time. This emergent cooperation would have likely improved living conditions and increased longevity and social harmony. In contemporary tourism, which often involves fleeting episodes or an array of one-off interactions among agents, cooperation may, understandably, be in short supply unless economically driven. The inverse of cooperation, cheating, may be more rational for tourists, service providers, or host communities because of limited time to build trust and establish long-term stable relationships (Fennell 2006c).

Fennell (2006c) goes on to specify that the tendency among tourism researchers is to ignore the fundamental aspects of human nature – *i.e.* rudimentary biological understandings of micro-scale human relationships, interactions, and behaviours – in favour of more macro elements of tourism such as impacts or political economy. Hence, in addition to employing RA as a theoretical tool for explaining moral practices of cooperation during tourism encounters, Fennell proposes "Successive RA" as a theoretical possibility for creating a climate of regional tourism cooperation. Successive altruism may occur, says Fennell, when primarily altruistic interactions between tourists and hosts occur over consecutive generations. That is, as tourists move in and out of a host region over short periods of time, repeated altruistic interactions may promote trust and cooperation between hosts and guests and, thus, the possibility for sustained symbiotic relationships (*ibid.*).

Taking stock of these perspectives demonstrates that cooperation is tied to human nature, and is important to Arctic tourism codes and relativism debates for two interrelated reasons. First, these human nature foundations supply valuable tools for directing how higher-order moral concepts may be used for building global codes of ethics. For example, cooperation in contemporary touristic encounters is hard to come by unless driven by economic incentives, and the temporal limitations of tourism function as significant deterrents (*ibid.*). Effectively developed and implemented codes may, therefore, be essential instruments to promoting "Successive RA," in so far as the codes help to establish trust and cooperation through repeatable interactions among generations of hosts and guests over time.

Second, and what is more, viewing cooperation through the lens of RA implies that those higher-order concepts attended to in global ethics are inherent in all of us. The differences among heterogeneous systems of knowledge, which may substantiate cultural relativism, become blurred as

our origins become fused within a shared evolutionary lineage. Somewhere along the line, cultural differences are entrenched with similarity. Indeed, RA bolsters Rachel's (1999) point that higher-order moral rules are necessary among all.

5. CONCLUSIONS

Readers will detect that this paper is driven not by outcomes, consequential affairs, economic or state efficiencies, or gestures of evaluation. Instead, the intention has been to instill a different kind of thinking into polar tourism research; a form of meditative thinking which, according to Heidegger (1966), we are in flight from. In learning from the pragmatic angle of Widdows (2007), the challenge is not to determine the desirability of global ethics but to understand how global conceptions of ethics are, and should be, determined. Heidegger's meditative thinking is instructive here because it orients us towards deeper meanings that underwrite our behaviour, and provides a foundation – or rootedness – to our dwelling within the world (Fennell and Malloy 2007).

Further opportunities for meditative thinking can be taken from Saul (2008), who indicates that since European arrival southern Canadians have perceived the North as a place to be crossed and not lived in. Saul's emphasis on Canada reverberates within polar tourism more broadly. Although a glaringly obvious point, perceptions of the North as a place to be crossed by travelers raises considerable opportunities for meditative debate, for example in terms of how Northerners are engaged in polar tourism operations and scholarship. Saul explains that the mentality of southerners has led to situations where Northerners – Inuit, Métis, *coureurs de bois* in Canadian contemporary and historical milieu – are positioned as marginal players. This tendency remains in current nation-state approaches to sovereignty (Saul 2008). As tourism researchers investigating many fronts, how do our efforts perpetuate these asymmetrical relationships? How could they contribute to Aboriginal pillars of a fair and inclusive circle of citizenship (*ibid.*)? How can we better learn to listen to and for the stories of Northerners (Cruikshank 2005) so that we may engage with them in the creation of responsible touristic enterprises?

Beyond what codes of ethics are meant to do as prescriptive or proscriptive tools for addressing socio-cultural or ecological issues and concerns, the foregoing has opened up new avenues of thought regarding the North, ethics, and tourism. It would seem logical to extend the discussion along by enabling ethics, through codes, to verify or legitimize the responsibility that all stakeholders involved in tourism in the North have in creating positive tension in polar tourism and improving the lives and

livelihoods of all involved. Saul (2008) argues that the Aboriginal notion of a circle is founded on the idea of tension between opposing states. As such, the tension between individual and the group is an essential element in an ethic of fairness and inclusion, just as it is in mediating between social programs based on structure and form rather than content and consideration – lessons we learned from Heidegger, above. In being true to ourselves, Saul observes, we must rely on the personal engagement of the citizen (a tourist or service provider) at the level of individual as well as member of state. If our codes of ethics create that climate of personal responsibility on one hand and appreciation for the other on the flip side, then we have indeed opened the doors of possibility. In embracing ethics through codes or other means, we have made a deliberate move towards living a life characterized by uncertainty. Too often we slip with ease into patterns of predictability and stability because this way of living is more comfortable and easier, more certain, no matter whether it is right or wrong (Saul 2001). Ethics challenges us as individuals and organizations to look at the other, in moving us away from our own instrumental reason.

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MUST WE PUT DOGSLEDS ON WHEELS FOR THE TOURIST SEASON?
Inuit Heritage, Tourism, and Respecting the Community in Kangiqsujuaq

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*We could welcome tourists to this community.
I do not believe that this would constitute
a threat to our culture if we are able to
show them our way of life and make them
understand that we don't want to lose it.*

Resident of Nunavik quoted by Thibault Martin,
*De la banquise au congélateur: mondialisation
et culture au Nunavik* (2003: 160)

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1. INTRODUCTION

The opening in November 2007 of the permanent exhibition at the Pingualuit National Park Interpretation Centre in Kangiqsujuaq, Nunavik, represents an important stage in the development of northern museums. The product of a network of partners from the North and the South, this centre reflects an approach to sharing knowledge among the various communities concerned. By integrating traditional Inuit knowledge and expertise, the centre displays local cultural products in a context of elements unique to the cultural and natural environment of the Ungava Peninsula. Among these elements is a special geographical feature dubbed not so long ago "Nouveau-Québec Crater" and now referred to as "Pingualuit Crater." The Pingualuit National Park Interpretation Centre is now an addition to other tourist attractions of the village of Kangiqsujuaq (northern landscape, Arctic flora and fauna, and petroglyphs on Qajartalik Island). What is the genesis of this new institution? What are the current issues at stake? For example, could a balance emerge between the recognition and preservation of material and intangible cultural heritages and economic and touristic development? The goal of this chapter is first to briefly present the history of the development of museum-type institutions in Arctic Canada, and then to discuss more specifically some questions relative to patrimonialization, sustainable development, and ethical tourism through the study of the context of the Kangiqsujuaq Interpretation Centre.

FIGURE 4.1

The Pingualuit National Park Interpretation Centre in Kangiqsujuaq
Photo: Alain A. Grenier

In the early decades of the twentieth century, Inuit communities in the Canadian Arctic underwent radical transformations entailing major cultural upheavals as well as dramatic changes in traditional lifestyles, social organization, and language (Simard 1982: 57; Crowe 1979: 188). Some contend that they have since demonstrated resilience in attempting to maintain, if not recover, these various aspects of their culture which are under threat, through adapting ancestral know-how to new institutions, sometimes making use of social and cultural programs – one might think here of the development of modern Inuit sculpture – and economic, indeed legislative, measures put at their disposal by federal and provincial governments (Martin 2003: 150; Dacks 1990: 337). The area of heritage is indeed affected by the general trend towards cultural assertiveness and renewed recognition of culture, despite the fact that the establishment of museum institutions has been mostly based on conceptions originating from the South. Nonetheless, the growing involvement of the Inuit communities of Nunavut, Nunavik, and Labrador within these institutions reveals a definite willingness to take control of their own tangible and intangible cultural heritage's patrimonialization process (Issenman 1991: 1). It then becomes interesting to learn about the common or divergent objectives of the various actors who will have to work together for the protection, management, and promotion of the natural and cultural heritage of the Canadian Arctic (Inuit communities, cultural organizations, regional administrations, government departments, etc.). Similarly, it seems appropriate to consider the strategies adopted by these institutions to reconcile the needs of local communities (cultural assertiveness, social, economic, and touristic development) and the expectations of outsider visitors (sociocultural experience, recreational and educational activities, etc.). Indeed, Arctic museum institutions are now attempting to take part in the territory's economic development while reflecting and preserving the culture, activities, and traditional skills of the communities residing there (Atamanenko *et al.* 1994: 22).

The present research is based on a review of the literature dealing with the development of museum-related institutions in the Canadian North or with the Pingualuit Crater and its preservation. This includes scholar papers published in museology, anthropology, and art history in the last thirty years, in addition to resources and press releases from Québec's ministère du Développement durable, de l'Environnement et des Parcs (Departement of Sustainable Development, Environment, and Parks; MDDEP). I also wish to thank Mr Louis Gagnon, of the Avataq Cultural Institute, who kindly answered my questions and gave me a wealth of details about the creation of the Pingualuit National Park Interpretation Centre. A particular emphasis has been put on the practical modalities, as well as on the social actors (defined as individuals or groups

that have taken an active part in creating the Interpretation Centre) in order to understand the relational dynamics among these actors from varied backgrounds and communities. The theoretical framework is based on Howard Saul Becker's (1988) *Art Worlds*, Becker having himself been inspired by Herbert Blumer's (1969) interactionist theory. This theoretical framework is focused on the relationships between individuals and material and cognitive objects that link them, in order to discover the interpretation given to a cultural product. This model, first developed to study works of art, may be adapted to museum-related institutions to identify the actors involved in creation, management, and promotion activities and, in accordance with current sociocultural conventions in a given society, consider their viewpoints to better understand the bases of the institution concerned. In fact, the cultural heritage processes involve various social actors – citizens, administrations, experts, etc. – with sometimes divergent conceptions and goals with respect to the designation, safeguarding, and preservation of cultural heritage objects (Rautenberg 2003: 19, 81, 96). These processes bring to the forefront a selected memory. They result from decisions taken by a range of public or private authorities, in a particular social and historical context, motivated by emotion, ideology, interest, etc.

Finally, let us specify that most documents consulted were written by non-Aboriginal stakeholders and that a more in-depth investigation would benefit from interviews with Aboriginal actors from the Pingualuit National Park Interpretation Centre.

2. MUSEOLOGY IN THE CANADIAN ARCTIC TERRITORY

In recent Inuit history, it is recognized that forced sedentation led these hunting people to turn to other means of subsistence, including art production. This had become an economically profitable source by the end of the 1940s (Vorano 2007: 503) and especially after the 1967 World's Fair held in Montréal. For several decades now, the shift of Inuit art from a commercial status to that of a cultural legacy has led to significant questioning about its interpretation, development, and role in terms of identity. This questioning has emerged not only among Inuit art specialists, but also within the Inuit communities themselves (Sinclair 2005: 19). Indeed, from the moment when the Inuit started to define these productions in terms of a cultural heritage to be preserved and transmitted to future generations, as with language or other types of traditional practices, the question of the arrangement of appropriate locations for the conservation and development of the cultural heritage arose (Tilden 2005: 39). Certainly, while the taste for this art coming from the Arctic first benefited cultural and commercial institutions in the South (D'Amours 2008: 63–4),

communities in the North have progressively come to appreciate the benefits of controlling its production and distribution, but also of retaining a significant portion of it, thus ensuring its patrimonialization (Atamanenko *et al*. 1994: 25; Tilden 2005: 37). Consequently, the first northern museum-related institutions founded by Inuit emerged – some had been created earlier, but by non-Aboriginal people, notably by the Oblate missionaries (Brandson 1994: 15) –, such as the Nunatta Sunakkutaangit Museum (1969) in Iqaluit, the Saputik Museum (1978) in Puvirnituq, or even the Daniel-Weetaluktuk Museum (1992) in Inukjuak. It is worth recognizing here that Inuit creations have since become an element of cohesion and cultural reinforcement in northern villages where there is a critical mass of artists and artisans who are making their communities famous, leading to a growing interest in documenting their cultural heritage and establishing museums or cultural centres in these villages (Tilden 2005: 37). Let us stress that this recent willingness to conserve material products in Canadian Arctic museums and cultural centres was developed in conjunction with the promotion of intangible cultural heritage, for example, with talks given by the elders as part of these institutions' programs, demonstrating not only the participation of Inuit communities, but also the position of the institution at the very heart of these communities (Laugrand 2002: 93; MDDEP 2006: 18).

In the early 1980s, these museological orientations were presented in a report on the development of museums in the Great North. Robert R. Janes, former director of the Prince of Wales Northern Heritage Centre, favoured the establishment of new forms of museum-related institutions in the Canadian Arctic. He was particularly interested in the logistics involved and in basic questions such as access to the collections and the type of public these institutions should attract (Janes 1983: 277–84). In his report, Janes recommended that local communities become proactive in collaboration with researchers from the South. In addition, he stressed the need to know the goals of the communities themselves with respect to the handling of the collection and the exhibition. In this case, he discussed the necessity for Arctic communities to have museums that would be representative and make future collections accessible to the Inuit. This interest in developing new museum-related institutions in the Arctic was to become increasingly evident in the years that followed. For example, in 1990 Gillian Conliffe explained that such institutions needed to rapidly "focus on cultural preservation using traditional methods, particularly the oral dissemination of knowledge and participation"[2] (Conliffe 1990: 15). In doing so, she refered to the Inuit Silattuqsarvingat, an Inuit organization

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2. "[Mettre] *l'accent sur la préservation culturelle par des moyens traditionnels, particulièrement la diffusion orale des connaissances et la participation.*"

in Nunavut whose mandate since its foundation has been to interpret, promote, and preserve the Inuit material culture. This organization established its program following lectures by Inuit elders who sought means to "communicate oral traditions and demonstrate traditional customs"[3] within the museum (*ibid.*).

Generally, the history of the establishment of Inuit institutions in the Canadian northern territory is marked by three series of events. The first is related to task force workshops that reflected on the establishment of national museums in the North. The second series of events is tied to the Department of Indian and Northern Affairs' transfer of their artistic and ethnographic collections to cultural organizations, including Inuit organizations. The last series of events is part of the development of cooperatives (institutions first oriented towards the sale of art works produced in the Inuit villages), a context that later led to an awareness of the necessity to preserve *in situ* some of the Arctic heritage and, by extension, other forms of cultural productions.

3. THE TASK FORCE ON MUSEUMS AND FIRST NATIONS

The Task Force on Museums and First Nations (1988), set up by the Assembly of First Nations and the Canadian Museums Association and composed of non-Aboriginals and Aboriginals (including Inuit), allowed this new Arctic museology to experience promising developments. This working group, whose principal mandate was to improve relations between museums and Aboriginal groups, identify conflicts, and propose solutions, also set in place a series of training programs in museology for the Inuit with the participation of the Canadian Museum of Civilization, among others. The Task Force report, *Turning the Page: Forging New Partnerships between Museums and First Peoples* (AFN and CMA 1992), underscored the importance of establishing partnerships based on the First Nations and Canadian museums' respect for each other's knowledge and expertise. In this case, it favoured the collaboration of Aboriginal communities in all the stages of production, distribution, and conservation of museums presenting Aboriginal art. Since then, collaboration between museums and Aboriginal communities and organizations has increased, as evidenced in the symposium organized in 2007 by the Canadian Institute of Conservation and a First Nations members' advising committee. This symposium allowed Aboriginals and non-Aboriginals to share knowledge with respect to traditions, techniques, ethics, and

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3. "[C]*ommuniquer les traditions orales et démontrer les coutumes traditionnelles.*"

the intangible aspects of Aboriginal culture. This was also, among other things, the opportunity to introduce the local cultural committees which exist in each of Nunavik's fifteen communities with a mandate to communicate and promote Inuit culture according to each village's particular situation:

> with the goal of reinforcing the Nunavimmiut assuming control of preserving the Inuktitut language, as well as the transmission of the Inuit culture and traditions that characterize it … Each committee determines its annual program of activities in terms of the cultural needs and aspirations expressed by its community. From the outset, the seven members of the Pukik Committee of Inukjuak (on the eastern coast of Hudson Bay) chose a process of cultural reappropriation based on the reactivation of cultural practices that have fallen into disuse. Consequently, such cultural activities were seen as a way to encourage the rediscovery and transmission of traditional know-how and rituals, as well as their specific vocabulary and linguistic expressions … Certainly, this also is intended to foster the sense of cultural belonging among youths and their parents who have not necessarily known, or have progressively abandoned, traditional practices without returning to them[4] (Gagnon and Palliser 2007).

Thus, a number of researchers, work groups, and governmental and museum-related institutions are increasingly working in close collaboration with the Inuit to develop Arctic museums. In these museums, partnerships with professionals and institutions from the South are more and more frequent and there is a definite openness to new proposals for museum insitutions beyond the conventional format, with respect to Inuit aesthetic and spiritual values and criteria to develop their cultural heritage (Lalonde 2002: 202). These works are especially important as they allow for a gradual development of Inuit heritage interpretations that are not reductive, essentialist, or folkloric, in a context of genuine collaboration. As Betty Issenman (1991: 7) emphasizes: "With Inuit as allies and equal

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4. "[E]*n ayant pour objectif de renforcer la prise en charge par les Nunavimmiut de la préservation de la langue inuttitute ainsi que de la transmission de la culture inuite et des traditions qui la caractérisent … Chaque comité détermine son programme annuel d'activités en fonction des besoins et des aspirations culturelles exprimés par sa communauté. D'emblée, les sept membres du Comité Pukik d'Inukjuak (côte est de la baie d'Hudson) ont privilégié une démarche de réappropriation culturelle s'appuyant sur la réactivation de pratiques culturelles tombées en désuétude. Du coup, de telles activités culturelles se sont révélées comme autant de prétextes visant à encourager la redécouverte et la transmission de savoirs et de gestes traditionnels aussi bien que le vocabulaire et les expressions linguistiques qui leur sont spécifiques … À n'en pas douter, cela a aussi pour projet d'exacerber le sentiment d'appartenance culturelle chez les jeunes et leurs parents qui n'ont pas nécessairement connu ou qui ont progressivement délaissé les pratiques traditionnelles sans y revenir.*"

partners, museum workers can help preserve, recapture and reinterpret Inuit heritage and ultimately, with new vision, transform museums to accord with the realities of the 21st century." These museum projects are then able to integrate concerns about identity, community, self-determination, and promoting the traditional culture, while being fully connected with contemporary Inuit reality.

4. THE TRANSFER OF NORTHERN MUSEUM COLLECTIONS AND PROJECTS

At the end of the 1980s, the Canadian Department of Indian and Northern Affairs started to yield certain mandates in the cultural field to Inuit communities and to share the content of its collections among a number of national and northern cultural institutions. The transfer of collections conserved in the Department of Indian and Northern Affairs to the Avataq Cultural Institute[5] was extremely significant for this northern territory. Today, this transfer appears to have been one of the major elements in the development of Canadian Arctic museology and the presentation of the Inuit heritage (Craig and Smith 1990: 56). Thanks to this transfer, the people of the North now have access to an extended array of works, notably works of art, coming from most of the communities and produced during the period that spans from the late 1940s, when this production started to be exported to the South, up to the mid-1980s, when the Department found itself involved in an accelerated process of decentralization (*ibid*.: 54). It is at this point that the idea of conserving, promoting, and communicating Inuit heritage and creating projects for museums in Nunavik acquired a renewed importance, through the association between the Makivik Society, Québec's ministère des Affaires culturelles (Ministry of Cultural Affairs) and the International Movement for a New Museology. As Michel Noël (1990: 38) stresses, "this idea is clearly closely associated with the Aboriginal movement of identification and assumption of control, not only of their political life, but also of their cultural aspirations, and the rise of nationalism. It is also a product of the growing fear of acculturation, of deterioration of the language, of loss of traditional values."[6] Museum projects were to allow, among other things, for a reflection about

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5. The Avataq Cultural Institute is an independent Inuit body founded in the continuity of the first Inuit Elders Conference held in Kangirsuk in 1981, that continues today to apply the latter's recommendations for the good of the Inuit communities of Nunavik.

6. "*Cette idée est évidemment étroitement associée au mouvement autochtone d'identification, de prise en charge non seulement de leur vie politique mais aussi de leurs aspirations culturelles et de la montée du nationalisme. Elle est aussi issue de la crainte grandissante de l'acculturation, de la détérioration de la langue, de la perte des valeurs traditionnelles.*"

the form that heritage institutions would assume in Nunavik (that is, traditional museum, cultural transmission centre, etc.), but also about issues regarding the repatriation of Inuit art objects or even the conservation, promotion, and communication of this heritage among Inuit communities. In 1991, a first cultural transmission centre was established in Inukjuak, but it should be acknowledged that, despite these admirable efforts, a genuine museum program has yet to be defined there as well as elsewhere in the Arctic.

The history and development of Arctic museum-related institutions, their role, their collections, and their public all remain to be documented, as do the modalities of exhibitions on Inuit territory, that is, the museum policies and practices for presenting Inuit works in Arctic cultural institutions. Above all, we know that there is a need within Inuit communities for institutions to preserve, collect, and display Inuit heritage. This is what the elder Rhoda Karetak confirmed in 2005 when she said: "Today, I believe that all communities must unite and decide how they can build our museum"[7] (Tilden 2005: 39). Moreover, Elsa Olu reminds us that different power struggles may dominate or even serve to put economic or touristic factors before cultural, identity, or community interests in museum programs. In particular, Olu (2008) discussed the difficulty of reconciling the seemingly contradictory values of economics, tourism, and culture. Thus, "from this clash of values between tourism and culture was born a genuine rift, with the arrival, on one side, of the *tourist economy* that works with *cultural tourism* and, on the other, the maintenance of *The Culture* (heard as the genuine, authentic one), an unselfish notion that wishes to remain forever independent of contexts and social, political, economic, and other contingencies. The evolution of society having rapidly played in favour of the economy and tourism, what had been a separation soon appeared as subordination: failing to instrumentalize tourism, *culture* finds itself instrumentalized, subject to *cultural tourism*"[8] (Olu 2008: 10). How could one reconcile various cultures (Inuit contemporary and traditional, tourism, museum-oriented, etc.) so as to produce an appropriate interpretation and promotion of Inuit communities and cultures? Redefining both local actors and decisional bodies' participation

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7. *"Aujourd'hui, je crois que toutes les communautés doivent s'unir et décider comment elles peuvent construire notre musée."*

8. *"De ce choc des valeurs entre tourisme et culture est ainsi né un véritable schisme, avec la survenue, d'un côté, de l'*économie touristique, *qui travaille le* tourisme culturel, *et de l'autre, le maintien de* La Culture *(sous-entendue la vraie, l'authentique), désintéressée, qui se voudrait à jamais indépendante des contextes et des contingences sociales, politiques, économiques, etc. L'évolution de la société ayant rapidement joué en faveur de l'économie et du tourisme, ce qui était une séparation a rapidement pris des allures de subordination: à défaut d'instrumentaliser le tourisme,* La Culture *se trouve instrumentalisée, soumise au* tourisme culturel."*

as well as working methods among non-Aboriginal and Aboriginal communities is probably needed to bring these heritage and tourism development projects to fruition.

5. THE COOPERATIVE MOVEMENT IN NOUVEAU-QUÉBEC AND THE SAPUTIK MUSEUM

In Nunavik, at the instance of the Canadian government, the establishment of cooperatives in Inuit villages at the end of the 1950s aimed at integrating these communities into the country's economic system. Thanks to the cooperative movement, in the form of a federation from that point, the Nunavimmiut (residents of Nunavik) managed to integrate their traditional values of reciprocity and collaboration into their new activities while developing management programs for their cultural products in accordance with their community concepts. In doing so, they succeeded in freeing themselves from the chronic dependence imposed by the South. According to Martin (2003: 159), this is a strategy of glocalization (in contrast to strategies of globalization) that is "based on a global clientele to whom is offered a local product that respects the traditional relation that Aboriginals have with the environment and that favours the highlighting of certain traditional customs."[9]

Then, the diversification of activities and fields of interest in the Fédération des coopératives du Nouveau-Québec (restaurants, hotels, travel agencies, etc.) suggests that the positive experience of cooperatives probably encouraged the idea that it was possible for the Inuit to (re)gain control of a number of areas of their social and economic life and thus create and independently run sites allowing to preserve and transmit the Inuit cultural heritage, always from a perspective of self-determination. The case of Puvirnituq speaks volumes in this regard. Home of the first cooperative operated by Inuit, this village was also the first place in Nunavik where an Inuit museum was created, in 1978. Founded by Taamusi Qumaq Novalinga, the Saputik Museum established a precedent with its mission of preserving and promoting some of the village's cultural products while reinforcing the community's sense of identity. In Nunavik, as in Nunavut and Labrador, there are now a small number of these institutions, notably in Puvirnituq, Inukjuak, Kangiqsujuaq, Iqaluit, and Nain.

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9. "[S]'appuie sur une clientèle mondiale à laquelle on offre un produit local qui respecte la relation traditionnelle que les Autochtones entretiennent avec l'environnement et qui favorise la mise en valeur de certaines coutumes traditionnelles."

Given the many actions undertaken in the last thirty years, in particular the development of new cultural institutions, the achievement of partnerships, the political will to transmit Inuit culture to future generations, and cultural committees that sit in a number of Canadian Arctic communities, one is forced to acknowledge that we are now in the presence of a process of power reappropriation and redefinition of the modalities of conservation, promotion, and communication of Inuit cultural heritage, based on the Inuit communities' cultural resources, in a context of respect and sharing with other communities. In addition, a number of Inuit communities, proud of their traditions and desiring to pass them on to future generations, agree on the type of tourist development that they wish to promote, that is, a sustainable tourism, "respectful of their natural and cultural heritage and [that] works as a motor for economic progress"[10] (Antomarchi 2009: 57). Moreover, the Fédération des coopératives du Nouveau-Québec has already demonstrated a certain expertise in the tourism field, through its restaurant, hotel, and travel agency activities. These power reappropriation processes and this consensus around the modalities of heritage preservation and sustainable tourism already allow for reflection on future museum developments on Arctic territory.

6. THE PINGUALUIT NATIONAL PARK INTERPRETATION CENTRE

The Pingualuit National Park Interpretation Centre, located in Kangiqsujuaq, was inaugurated November 30, 2007. Côté Chew and Gagnon (2007) describe the event as follows:

> It was the premier, Jean Charest himself, who cut the symbolic sealskin ribbon, in the presence of the elders … Over the years, the original concept had been modified a number of times to adapt it to the objectives and vision of the Parks Service of the MDDEP, the governmental body responsible for establishing Québec national parks in Nunavik.[11]

The need to think about the economic and touristic development of the region of Kangiqsujuaq caused the creation in 1996 of the Pingualuit Working Group – comprised of representatives of the Makivik Society, the Kativik Regional Administration, the northern community of Kangiqsujuaq, Tourisme du Nunavik and the Société de la faune et des parcs du Québec

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10. "[R]*espectueux de leur patrimoine naturel et culturel et vecteur d'un progrès économique.*"
11. "*C'est le premier ministre Jean Charest lui-même qui a coupé le ruban symbolique de peau de phoque, en présence des aînés … Au cours des ans, le concept original a été modifié plusieurs fois afin de l'adapter aux objectifs et à la vision du Service des parcs du MDDEP, organisme gouvernemental responsable de l'implantation des parcs nationaux du Québec au Nunavik.*"

(currently the MDDEP). Subsequently, the MDDEP was responsible for planning the national park of Pingualuit – a project arising from the James Bay and Northern Québec Convention (1975). The MDDEP opted for a "recreo-educational" approach in conjunction with the desired types of tourism, that is, ecotourism and ethnotourism:[12] "the park's clientele will be involved in leisure activities and, therefore, will want to take part in outdoor activities that will require a certain physical commitment. Furthermore, education about the natural and cultural heritage will constitute a favoured means of facilitating and enriching discovery, revealing to visitors the meaning of phenomena or landscapes observed (Figure 4.1). The integration of two elements gives rise to the recreo-educational approach, which proves to be best adapted to exploration of Pingualuit Park's natural and cultural heritage"[13] (MDDEP 2000: 28). For its part, the MDDEP's *Plan d'éducation* defines the considered audience by distinguishing three groups and specifying precise objectives for each. For tourists, these ojectives are: understanding of and respect for regulations; understanding of and respect for Inuit lifestyles; participation in the acquisition of knowledge; and consideration of possible risks in the practice of activities (MDDEP 2006: 33). For the Inuit clientele, the specific objectives aim at preserving knowledge and expertise, searching for a commitment to protect the park, integrating traditional knowledge into educational activities, and contributing to the activities or services offered at the park. For

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12. The MDDEP (2006: 10) defines ecotourism as an activity that "aims to allow the discovery of a natural environment while preserving its integrity. This form of tourism includes an interpretative activity of natural or cultural components of the milieu, encourages an attitude of respect towards the environment, is based on notions of sustainable development and brings in its wake socioeconomic benefits for local and regional communities … As for ethnotourism, it is oriented towards genuine contact with human communities, in respecting their diversity and special characteristics." ("[V]*ise à faire découvrir un milieu naturel tout en préservant son intégrité. Cette forme de tourisme comprend une activité d'interprétation des composantes naturelles ou culturelles du milieu, favorise une attitude de respect envers l'environnement, repose sur des notions de développement durable et entraîne des bénéfices socioéconomiques pour les communautés locales et régionales … Quant à l'ethnotourisme, il est tourné vers un contact authentique avec les communautés humaines, dans le respect de leur diversité et de leurs particularités.*")

13. "[L]*a clientèle du parc se trouvera en situation de loisirs et, de ce fait, elle souhaitera prendre part à des activités de plein air qui demanderont un certain engagement physique. Par ailleurs, l'éducation au patrimoine naturel et culturel constituera un moyen privilégié pour faciliter et enrichir la découverte, en révélant aux visiteurs la signification des phénomènes ou des paysages observés. L'intégration des deux composantes donne naissance à l'approche récréo-éducative, laquelle s'avère la mieux adaptée à l'exploration du patrimoine naturel et culturel du parc des Pingualuit.*"

young Inuit, the specific objectives revolve around transmission of the aboriginal heritage and awareness of the employment possibilities related to the park (*ibid.*).

According to the MDDEP's *Plan directeur* (2005), this project had to be developed jointly with Inuit partners to integrate the Kangiqsujuamiut's knowledge and expertise into conservation procedures. This is why the Kativik Regional Administration, the Makivik Society, and representatives of the village of Kangiqsujuaq were all involved in the stages leading to the creation of the park and centre. The participation of Inuit stakeholders and organizations was formalized in an agreement to share management of the park and centre, thus comprising the first such infrastructures jointly managed by the Government of Québec and the Inuit of Nunavik.

Therefore, Pingualuit Park was conceived both as a touristic resource that would be useful for economic development and as a tool to preserve the region's natural and cultural heritage. The interpretative centre's permanent exhibition, for its part, is seen as the "entryway" to discovering the park's heritage (MDDEP 2006: 8, 88). The Ministry has given the centre a twofold mission: to serve as a reception area for park visitors and to provide a perspective on the whole history and culture of Kangiqsujuamiut through a permanent exhibition. Let it be stressed that the MDDEP also foresaw at this point the production of a communication plan "for residents of the affected village. It will help the latter and those of Nunavik to develop and benefit from tourism and other economic possibilities

associated with the park"[14] (MDDEP 2005: 55). For its part, the Kativik Regional Administration then asked the Avataq Cultural Institute to take charge of this exhibition and develop an educational program based on it. To effectively complete this project, the Institute had to work together with the MDDEP, the cultural committee of Kangiqsujuaq Itsanitait, the community, and the personnel of Pingualuit Park in order to establish the exhibition's orientations and content. The Ministry attributed a primary role to the centre in terms of the permanent exhibition's educational role. It gave the centre the mandate to produce an overview of Pingualuit Park's attractions, as well as of the history and culture of the Kangiqsujuamiut from prehistoric times (that is, since the pre-Dorset culture, around 4,500 to 2,500 years B.P.), the Dorset culture (around 2,200–2,100 to 1,000 B.P.), the Thulean culture (starting around 1,300 years B.P. in the Eastern Arctic) to modern times. In addition, the Ministry recommended in its *Plan directeur* "to integrate the community of Kangiqsujuaq's traditional knowledge with actions taken to conserve resources, as well as the management of activities and services, and prioritizing research supported by communities in the region"[15] (*ibid.*: 36).

These efforts and reflections were completed on November 30, 2007, when the Pingualuit National Park Interpretation Centre's permanent exhibition was inaugurated. In addition to the region's natural features, the exhibition presents 4,000 years of land occupation, from the pre-Dorset culture till today, including the Dorset and Thulean cultures. Customs, personalities of the region, historical events, and artefacts, including sculptures of Mitiarjuk Attasie Nappaaluk, are featured. There is also access to a documentation centre based on Inuit heritage.

7. COLLECTION

The Pingualuit National Park Interpretation Centre's collection was assembled through the collaboration of many stakeholders. First, the Avataq Cultural Institute lent a collection of objects from the Inuit art collection of Nunavik, formed through the transfer of collections from Ottawa in 1990. To this was added a collection of artefacts donated to the centre by the Canadian Museum of Civilization and Université de

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14. "[D]*estiné aux résidents du village touché. Il aidera ces derniers et ceux du Nunavik à développer et à tirer avantage du tourisme et des autres possibilités économiques associées au parc.*"

15. "*Intégrer les connaissances traditionnelles de la communauté de Kangiqsujuaq aux actions qui seront prises relativement à la conservation des ressources de même qu'à la gestion des activités et des services et d'accorder la priorité aux recherches appuyées par les collectivités de la région.*"

Montréal; in fact, these objects were acquired by anthropologist Bernard Saladin d'Anglure in Kangiqsujuaq during his early research in the area in the 1960s – notably a fragment bearing a Dorset engraving of a face from the rock site of Qajartalik, conserved for more than thirty years in the Canadian Museum of Civilization. Moreover, Professor Saladin d'Anglure also participated in the process of repatriating a kayak that he had also collected and that had been conserved at Université de Montréal. Finally, a number of Kangiqsujuamiut donated ancient artefacts to the centre so that they could be more widely seen.

8. THE PRESENCE OF LOCAL KNOWLEDGE AND INUIT TRADITIONS

The exhibition has allowed for the affirmation of traditional Inuit values of reciprocity, knowledge diffusion, and collaboration. The repatriation of certain objects was the occasion to enrich knowledge of the tangible and intangible Inuit culture, as evidenced by the kayak built in the late 1950s by Maasiu Ipuaraapik Ningiuruvik, still well known and respected by Kangiqsujuaq residents. In the same way, the residents' access to the collection has contributed to the identification of artefacts. In fact, the villagers, in collaboration with the Institute, have shared their expertise in order to document the objects on display. Thus, they were able to identify those who produced the objects or used them. Photographs, drawings, and audio recordings were then attached as additional documentation. These supports will certainly contribute to further research on the Kangiqsujuamiut's cultural artefacts. Moreover, Inuktitut was used, in addition to French and English, to provide precise explanations of the cultural and scientific content of the vignettes and panels in the Interpretation Centre. Finally, based on the Inuit oral tradition, talks by the elders were planned at the centre in order to transmit some knowledge and know-how to visitors. Speaking of the process of setting up an exhibition at the centre, Louis Gagnon, curator at the Avataq Cultural Institute, stressed how participation of the Inuit at each stage of the exhibition planning was determinant for the content (Louis Gagnon, personal communication, April 2008). He indicated, however, that a number of decisions about the setting up of exhibitions and the definition of the museum program were not made by the Inuit, but rather imposed by the MDDEP, "who forced the Kativik Regional Administration to impose some choices that were not those formulated by the Inuit with whom they were collaborating"[16] (*ibid.*). Finally, let us mention that the Avataq Cultural

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16. "[Qui a] *forcé l'Administration régionale de Kativik à* [leur] *imposer des choix qui n'étaient pas ceux formulés par les Inuits avec lesquels* [ils] *collabor*[aient]."

Institute obtained authorization to use the Inuit language (in addition to English and French) in the texts in the Interpretation Centre, creating a precedent in the museum domain, especially with respect to museology on Aboriginal territory.

9. DISCUSSION

In Kangiqsujuaq, both Inuit and non-Inuit stakeholders are now increasingly recognizing the importance of working in collaboration and sharing knowledge on the basis of mutual cultural respect and of involved communities assuming more responsibilities. This collaborative effort and these effective partnerships are especially important given the historical and social context of Nunavik. In this context, issues related to acculturation phenomena and counter-acculturation cannot be ignored. In addition, this collaborative exercise addresses the concerns expressed over the last thirty years by researchers who have proposed new museological and museographic frameworks where local communities would take an active part in the development of museum programs. However, the museum program initially foreseen by the centre was modified a number of times to adapt not to the expectations of the people of Kangiqsujuaq but to the MDDEP's requirements. Furthermore, while heritage institutions developed by the Inuit since the 1980s have inclined towards the model of "Maisons de transmission de la culture" (centres for the transmission of culture), in Kangiqsujuaq the "classic" interpretation centre model was followed.

Are representatives of non-Aboriginals and Aboriginals only aware of their own expectations? The question may well be raised, given the difficulties that sometimes ensue in creating genuinely collaborative working methods in the Canadian Arctic. From this perspective, in order to open up the dialogue and undertake projects on a common basis, we may propose three operational concepts – close to the Inuit traditional values of cooperation and community life – that also address the recommendations of the Working Group on Museums and First Nations. The first concept, that of sharing, accounts for the dynamics and orientations that link two individuals or two groups together; as an active principle, it focuses on the pooling of ideas, approaches, values, perceptions, and interests. As regards the notion of community, it deals with a social organization's structure, with specific means of action that may be defined according to various criteria: by ethnic, linguistic, or cultural community, but also by knowledge, interest, and historical community, etc. Starting with these two notions, one may forge the operational concept of a "sharing community," referring to at least two social organizations with convergent interests: participants putting aside their ethnic origin and

linguistic, cultural, or other particularities, accepting a common procedure of action/intervention or operational structure, with a view to the achievement of a common goal.

These new concepts could certainly serve the development of museology in Arctic territory and contribute to understanding the significance of the collection and conservation of Inuit cultural artefacts in Northern communities and assessing whether exhibition sites meet the expectations of those involved in the Inuit museum environment, citizens of Inuit communities, and potential tourists. The complexity of the collaborative exercise in the development and promotion of Inuit heritage – uniting the different conceptions of both scientific and Inuit communities – highlights the need to understand the dynamics behind the development and management of museum-type institutions in the Canadian Arctic. For example, what is meant by "participation of the Inuit or Inuit organizations" in development plans from the South for the North? Is this an offer of an equitable participation with equal shares?

10. CONCLUSION

The experience of the Pingualuit National Park Interpretation Centre is very revealing in its history and particular context. In the light of such case study, one may better appreciate questions relative to heritage and economic and touristic development of northern communities and, above all, work to develop models that are adapted to their reality.

On the other hand, in Nunavik as elsewhere in Québec, heritage institutions are underfinanced, especially in a period of budgets balancing. Therefore, stakeholders could be tempted to have a profit-oriented attitude in the development of the Pingualuit National Park Interpretation Centre, seeing it in terms of economic strategies rather than research, documentation, and conservation activities. Those activities, however, benefit to both tourists and the local community, given that, as the MDDEP stresses (2000: 28), ecotourists and ethnotourists are "quite demanding in terms of the acquisition of knowledge but also in terms of the authenticity of the cultural experience."[17] Therefore, in the long term, promoting local cultural life and high standards in the centre's research and interpretation activities could be a more profitable attitude than the mere pursuit of immediate economic profitability.

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17. "[D]*es exigences élevées au chapitre de l'acquisition des connaissances mais aussi quant à l'authenticité de l'expérience culturelle.*"

Besides, considering the very short tourist season in Kangiqsujuaq, given the difficult climatic conditions, it would be a shame if the centre would "forget" to serve its local community. What would be the use or value of an interpretation centre that only operates for one or two months of the year? In fact, this would be absurd, considering that the centre integrates Inuit knowledge and know-how, as well as being expected to pursue research that first benefits the community, as recommended by the MDDEP. We then understand the need to develop local mandates (renewed appreciation for Inuit culture and identity, desire to preserve and transmit Inuit cultural heritage, cultural exchange, development, self-determination) alongside those of the tourist industry, to make tourism a positive experience for the host community as well.

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5

TOURISM DEVELOPMENT IN EUROPE'S "LAST WILDERNESS"[1]
An Assessment of Nature-Based Tourism in Swedish Lapland

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1. INTRODUCTION

Tourism in peripheral and wilderness areas has been a regular concern of scientific investigation (Brown and Hall 2000; Hall and Boyd 2005; Müller and Jansson 2007b). In this context tourism in the Arctic and sub-Arctic areas has been a matter of particular interest, in view of the increasing touristic demand for these areas as well as their fragile environments and challenging socioeconomic conditions (Hall and Johnston 1995; Maher 2007; Maher and Stewart 2007; Snyder and Stonehouse 2007). Nevertheless,

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1. The work on this chapter has been conducted within the Outdoor Recreation in Change program, financed by the Swedish Environmental Protection Agency and the project Back in Time: The Revival of Mining and Its Impacts on Endogenous Regional Development, financed by the Swedish Research Council.

important gaps in research are evident, for example as regards addressing the impacts of global environmental change on tourism in the high latitudes (Stewart *et al*. 2005). Notwithstanding the increase in demand, it is obvious that developing tourism in peripheries is no easy business, despite examples of successful ventures such as the ICEHOTEL in Kiruna, Sweden, and the Santa Claus Village in Rovaniemi, Finland (Grenier 2007; Müller and Jansson 2007a). However, even there, problems remain, and Hall (2007: 19) points at the fact that tourism "frequently failed to deliver what has been promised" even though it has been recognized as an important tool for regional development for over 50 years.

However, despite these critical comments, politicians and authorities continuously use tourism as an opportunity to develop peripheral economies by creating new jobs. And indeed, in the case of Sweden, it has been shown that the importance of tourism for the peripheral labour markets cannot be underrated (Müller and Ulrich 2007). This development is due to an absolute increase in tourism employment and to a relative growth of the sector compared to other, declining industries. Similar development is reported, for instance, by Saarinen (2003, 2007) and Grenier (2007) for the north of Finland. Hence tourism plays an important role in local communities, although tourism development alone has not been able to restructure peripheral economies and communities (Saarinen 2003; Lundmark 2006). Resource extraction industries such as forestry and mining continue to be dominant activities in the periphery. Hence tourism development is challenged not only by market variations, but also by competing and conflicting interests regarding land use.

This is the point of departure for this chapter, whose purpose is to assess the public vision of tourism as a route to development with regards to its viability and applicability in a time of global change. This is done by reviewing available statistics on tourism development in northern Sweden. First, however, ideas about peripheries are reviewed and discussed regarding recent trends of global change.

2. TOURISM IN NORTHERN PERIPHERIES

As early as the 1960s, Christaller (1964) identified peripheries as areas where people from European centres spend their vacations. Besides the northern peripheries, the Mediterranean areas were mentioned among such regions. However, forty years later, these realms are dramatically marked by development. Many southern destinations with assets such as a favourable climate have developed successfully and, in some cases, have even experienced stagnation, consolidation, and rejuvenation stages. In fact, some of these areas are hardly considered as peripheries anymore.

Tourism development in the northern peripheries differs considerably from development in southern areas. Northern areas do not own assets that allow them to compete with typical Sea-Sun-Sand destinations. Less favourable climatic conditions, limited population numbers, restricted accessibility, and several other factors prevent them from becoming true mass tourism destinations. Nevertheless, the rhetoric of tourism development is preached like a mantra expected to change the bad development cycles characterizing many peripheral areas, despite tourism having failed to deliver the desired development (Hall 2007).

The idea of center-periphery relations can be traced back to Christaller's (1933) theory of central place. Originally aiming at explaining settlement patterns, Christaller stated that centralization of people and activities is a dominant order in human societies. Thus central places carry a surplus of economic, political, and cultural functions and services catering for surrounding areas. Peripheries, in contrast, cater for the recreational needs of urban dwellers (Christaller 1964). Wallerstein (1974) developed a similar approach with a clearly Marxian connotation to the global scale dividing the world in core and peripheral countries tightly woven in a complex world system of economic, cultural, and social relations, an idea that also was adopted in dependency approaches to tourism (Britton 1982, 1991).

While this approach has been popular regarding tourism in developing countries, it has been used less frequently as regards northern peripheries such as the sub-Arctic and Arctic areas. In contrast, regional policy, for example within the European Union, has earmarked this periphery and allocated substantial funds for facilitating a restructuring of the northern regions from within, expecting an endogenous potential for solving its problems (Hanell *et al*. 2002). Since this strategy has not been too fruitful, there is reason to approach the northern areas from this perspective. Table 5.1 summarizes tourism development problems that still are present and applicable in peripheral areas.

The situation in the northern peripheries can thus be characterized as marginal (Figure 5.1). Using Mehretu *et al*.'s (2000) typology, it can in fact be argued that there are multiple marginal conditions present. Accordingly, contingent marginality depends on market mechanisms putting certain areas at disadvantage. Barriers to market performance can be of a social, cultural, environmental, or locational order. In the case of the northern realm, distances to demographic and economic centres obviously create locational constraints making northern places less competitive on an international market. Systematic marginality stems from a socially constructed unevenness in relations between areas. Hence, although the northern peripheries were not "colonized" in the

TABLE 5.1 – **MAJOR TOURISM DEVELOPMENT PROBLEMS IN PERIPHERAL AREAS**

| Peripheral problems |
| --- |
| Lack of political and economic control over decision-making |
| Geographical remoteness from demand markets |
| Weak internal economic linkages creating dependency on imports |
| Decreasing population figures, ageing societies |
| Comparative lack of innovation |
| State intervention |
| Poor information flows within and from the periphery |
| High aesthetic natural value due to underdevelopment |
| Poor infrastructure |
| Lack of human capital |

Source: Botterill *et al.* (2000); Hall and Boyd (2005); Müller and Jansson (2007a).

way Africa was, they share a history of being new territories within nation-state frameworks and thus they still suffer today from an uneven power distribution and a dependency on outside decision-making and funding. Collateral marginality is caused by association with areas characterized by contingent and systematic marginality. Hence, although the area as such does not fit into the description given for these categories, it still is perceived as a part of the marginal area. Consequently, the relative success of tourism development in Kiruna and Rovaniemi is often neglected since these places are perceived as part of a greater spatial unit lacking similar success figures.

Saarinen (2005) emphasizes that perceptions of wilderness and periphery are contingent on culturally embedded social constructions mirroring in particular the historical role of peripheries as new territories. Hence, he explains current images of Northern Finland as the result of negotiation discourses on the region and its development (Saarinen 2001). The image of the periphery as "new" territory has also been applied in Sweden, where the North has been promoted as an alternative to outmigration as Sweden's America (Sörlin 1988), a strategy that owes much to a great access to natural resources. Finally, northern areas suffer from a leveraged marginality that results from flexible production schemes enabling companies to adapt quickly to changing preconditions for production. Since almost all Arctic and sub-Arctic countries are well regulated welfare states, the degree of freedom for the northern areas in bargaining for investment and production is limited.

FIGURE 5.1

*Marginality
in northern
European countries*
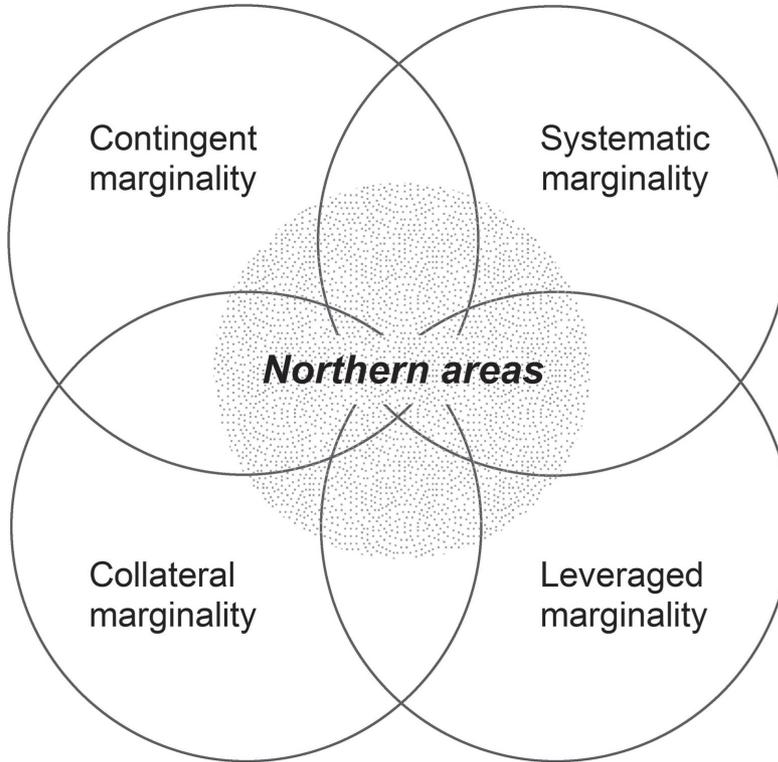
The marginal situation that systematically places northern areas at a disadvantage can be counteracted by uniqueness, which is expected to overcome distance (Prideaux 2002). Hall (2007) points at the peripheral areas' major assets. He argues that the perceived naturalness of peripheral areas is far higher than in core areas. In this he follows ideas put forward by von Thünen and other geographers arguing that the land use intensity declines as distance from core areas increases. Moreover, Hall adds that even cultural heritage is often far better preserved there than in core areas since competing land use interests are absent. The result of this situation is usually a nature-based tourism product, popularly labeled "wilderness." The growing touristic popularity hence indicates that the product sells increasingly well. Thus Pedersen and Viken (1996) wonder whether Finnmark, at the northern tip of Norway, has become a global playground for adventure seekers. Despite this success, distance decay implies that the number of trips to the area usually remains low compared to established warm-climate destinations.

In the remainder of this chapter, we will be focusing on two factors relevant for understanding the region's marginality and potential as tourist destination, *i.e.* accessibility and resource base.

3. ACCESS TO NORTHERN PERIPHERIES

A major issue of concern in times of increasing awareness of global environmental change and declining fuel resources is transportation. Peripheries can be addressed geographically as areas remote from population agglomerations, usually causing contingent marginality (Hall 2007). Lundgren (1982) suggests a spatial hierarchy of tourist flows. Accordingly, tourist flows between metropolitan areas are far greater than flows between peri-urban areas and the metropolis. Peripheral rural destinations attract and generate even less tourist flows, while remote wilderness areas are practically outside populated areas. This can be compared to Lundgren's later (1987, 1995, 2001) work on touristic penetration of the northern space in Canada and Scandinavia. Accordingly, it can be argued that northern spaces in Europe are penetrated to a far greater extent by transportation infrastructure and population and hence, preconditions for tourism development are different from the Canadian case, where wilderness areas with difficult access conditions are a part of the regional product offer. Europe thus largely lacks destinations on the lowest level of Lundgren's spatial hierarchy.

Lundgren (1987) also demonstrates the importance of railways for tourism development in northern Sweden. Tourist stations such as Abisko, that are often located along the railway lines or have bus connections, form the spine of early concentrated tourism development. In contrast, Finland's north has been developed differently since railway connections never were established. Based on a road network established after World War II, tourism development was much sparser. Although the penetration of the peripheral space in northern Sweden now compares with northern Finland, the importance of early patterns cannot be underestimated.

In summary, the North Calotte is part of Europe's most remote and least accessible areas. Accordingly, all northernmost areas are classified as very peripheral or extremely peripheral within the European context. Very peripheral locations in the northernmost counties usually have an airport and scheduled flight connections to various countries' capital regions. Nevertheless, these links are often maintained by public support and thus competition is lacking implying relatively high airfares.

This situation makes destinations in the European North vulnerable to increasing transportation fares. In particular, recent increases in oil prices are a challenge for northern destinations. Besides, growing

environmental concern regarding greenhouse gas emissions warrants new solutions for transportation to peripheral areas. Thus, despite improvements in transportation technologies, actions to limit global greenhouse gas emissions are imperfect (*e.g.* Peeters *et al.* 2006). Consequently, a main challenge will be to develop attractive tourism products requiring less air transportation. Some potential schemes for influencing tourism into that direction are (*ibid.*): (i) a charge on tickets; (ii) a fuel tax; (iii) an emissions tax; and (iv) emission trading. The impact of the introduction of fuel taxes on international travel patterns has been calculated by Tol (2007) in a global model showing that Nordic countries would hardly suffer from global taxes on air fuel since taxes would mainly affect long-haul intercontinental flights. A one-sided introduction within the EU would however disturb the current patterns. Interestingly, Tol argues that air travel to Canada, Russia, and Norway would increase, while Sweden, Finland, and Greenland would be disadvantaged owing to their EU membership henceforth implying higher airfares. Thus, incoming air travel to Europe is expected to be relocated to areas outside the European Union, making Canada and Russia good alternatives, especially for the American market.

Although his calculations are illustrative of the international scale, Tol (2007) does not present any detailed assessment of national variations. Moreover, it can be assumed that the model he uses has its shortcomings since Norway should suffer as much as the EU member countries because flight connections to the country usually go via hubs within the EU. Nevertheless, since the model indicates a substitution of intercontinental flights by shorter intracontinental flights, it can be assumed that this will also be valid for a smaller geographical scale such as Europe, *i.e.* railway transportation and shorter flights will substitute flights to the European periphery. Hence, while destinations in southern Sweden will be winners, the northern periphery may be at a disadvantage, especially in the face of smaller passenger volumes and higher cost per kilometre.

Recently the European Union decided to include flight fuel in the European emission trade scheme, so changes in air fares with similar impact as greenhouse gas taxes assessed by Tol should be expected. Tol's scenario may therefore become reality soon, reinforcing the symptoms of contingent marginality.

4. RESOURCE EXPLOITATION IN NORTHERN PERIPHERIES

A traditional role of peripheral areas within the western realm has been the deliverance of natural resources. Regional support has been seen as a compensation, but it has failed to create new employment since even

these traditional activities have been subjected to considerable restructuring and rapid technical development in times of increasing globalization and competition (Westin 2006).

Since then, peripheral areas within the Western sphere have particularly been associated with problems such as depopulation and unemployment (Jussila *et al.* 1998). According to Anderson (2000: 93) these areas are thus been viewed as "an outpost of capitalism, a residuum of leftover core activities." The active development of tourism as a means of peripheral development is mainly rooted in the economic crisis among natural resource mining and forestry (Jenkins *et al.* 1998; Hall and Boyd 2005; Müller and Jansson 2007b). In this context tourism development has been one of the few options for maintaining population in the periphery and providing at least a seasonal source of livelihood.

Often governments have tried to counteract this contingent marginality by improving the regional market competitiveness (Wiberg 1994). This included constructions of new communication and transportation networks and the launch of regional policy support schemes. Hall (2007) calls this a locational economic development policy. Besides he lists four other policy options aiming at economic development: entrepreneurial mercantile policies stimulating endogenous growth; human capital policies providing education and training; world-class community policies facilitating innovative production capacities; and place-based ownership policies enhancing the rootedness of enterprises in place as a means to counteract the increasing mobility of capital caused by globalization.

Tourism has frequently been a field where these endogenous growth policies have been tested. Tourism solutions implied investments into nature protection to facilitate small-scale nature-based tourism as part of these regional policy schemes (Müller and Jansson 2007b). This must not be only seen as competition between conservation and the harvesting of natural resources. It can also be related to a notion by Harvey (1974), who states that ecological limits are relative to socioeconomic systems in place. Hence the protection of nature and its consumption through tourism can be interpreted as utilization of redundant space not needed or suitable for any other form of production. Consequently, nature becomes an integrated part of production competing with other economic development options (Castree 2000). The consecutive transition into a "pleasure periphery" thus follows, in line with Christaller's (1964) argument that identifies tourism as a means to utilize peripheries. Northern areas were thus transformed into a touristic wilderness (Hall *et al.* 2008).

Recently, increasing global demand for northern resources as well as concern about climate change challenge the tourism solution for the northern periphery. For example, the iron ore mine in Kiruna, deemed

to shut down within 20 years in the early 1990s, now plans for an unlimited production period entailing, among other things, a relocation of the town of Kiruna. Moreover, multiple wind farms are proposed for mountain areas as a means to open up alternative energy sources, and forests are seen as supply for biofuel. This return to a traditional resource exploitation–based economy challenges the maintenance of the pleasure periphery. Hence one may wonder whether the recent development, which was largely dependent on external investment and core relations, can be seen as backward restructuring totally wiping out previous regional policies aiming at endogenous growth (Müller and Pettersson 2008).

The struggle, however, is not only between conservation and touristic use on the one side and natural resource mining on the other. Indigenous land claims have repeatedly caused infected debate and influenced development (*e.g.* Lawrence and Raitio 2006). In this context it becomes obvious that the role of institutional and political settings for applying different policy options has to be scrutinized separately for each Nordic country. In particular, the Norwegian decision to sign the ILO Indigenous and Tribal People Convention No. 169 as well as the decision to re-transfer ownership of forests in Finnmark County from the Norwegian State Forest Company to the local community creates diverging preconditions for resource exploitation and conservation between Sweden and Norway. Nevertheless, even other institutional settings such as regulations and policies are influencing economic development options.

In summary, it can be concluded that nature-based tourism development is increasingly contested by other land use claims, promising, among other things, greater and faster revenue than a tourism industry that sometimes has failed to deliver as geographical constraints were neglected in development schemes and plans (Hall 2007; Hall *et al.* 2008).

5. TOURISM DEVELOPMENT IN THE SWEDISH PLEASURE PERIPHERY

We will now focus on Lapland, a marginal area in northern Sweden (Figure 5.2). The area covers about 120,000 km², or one-fourth of Sweden's total area. The area has 96,000 inhabitants, only one percent of the country's total population. Hence, population density is critically low with ca 0.8 inhabitant per km². Recent trends in the area are population loss and an ageing population, due to negative natural population change and out-migration. Most settlements in the area have less than 5,000 inhabitants. Only the mining towns of Kiruna and Gällivare/Malmberget have significantly higher population figures. This situation makes the area dependent on outside services and regional policy schemes (Westin 2006).

FIGURE 5.2

Map of Sweden
Map: Benjamin Ferlay

5.1. Tourism Demand

Despite this situation, accessibility is guaranteed by a rather well developed road network and daily flight connections to Stockholm from Kiruna, Gällivare, Arvidsjaur, Hemavan, Storuman, Vilhelmina, and Lycksele. Nevertheless, time tables do not allow day visits into the area since regional flight policies aim at guaranteeing access to Stockholm, not the other way around. A railroad connection is only available to the northern part of the area, which, however, mainly serves mining operations. During the summer season, a north-south railroad in the interior parts of the area is operated as a tourist service.

Nevertheless, Swedish Lapland is an important tourist destination. The number of commercial guest nights accounted to more than 830,000 in 2006,[2] which is about 1 percent of the national amount (Statistics Sweden 2007). However, 190,000 or 23 percent of these represent foreigners, with Norway and Germany being the main markets responsible for about 56 percent of all foreign overnight stays in the area. Hence the share of international overnight stays is twice the national share. Additionally, an unknown number of overnight stays is done in second homes, tents, and other unsurveyed accommodations. The undisputable tourism centre in the area is the municipality of Kiruna, with about 41 percent of all overnight stays and 47 percent of all foreign overnight stays. These figures may not be impressive, however they mean an important contribution to local employment and community development (Müller 2005; Müller and Ulrich 2007). Thus it has been shown that local labour market dependency on tourism in small communities outside the municipal centres is over 30 percent. Hence focus on tourism is justified despite its limited significance at the national level.

The development of tourism has been variable within the area, however. In fact, tourism figures peaked right at the beginning of the available time series, in 1990, when over 907,000 commercial guest nights were registered. Since then the number has dropped to 832,000 in 2006. The lowest level was registered in 1998, when only 700,000 guest nights were registered. In terms of tourists' origins, only small relative changes occurred between 1990 and 2006 (Table 5.2). More than three-fourths of all overnight stays are still domestic. Significantly, however, the share of domestic tourists and tourists from the Nordic countries and Germany has declined, while the share of more long-haul tourists increased. This already indicates that the importance of air transport for reaching the North has increased, too.

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2. Figures do not include all municipalities since statistics are only collected for municipalities having at least five commercial suppliers, thus excluding Malå, Lycksele, and Åsele. Hence figures only refer to 10 out of 13 municipalities in the area.

TABLE 5.2 – **MARKETS FOR OVERNIGHT STAYS, 1991 AND 2006**

Market	1990		2006	
In thousands	Number	%	Number	%
Sweden	710	78.2	643	77.2
Nordic countries	106	11.6	89	10.7
Germany	53	5.9	40	4.8
Other European countries	30	3.3	47	5.6
Non-European countries	9	0.9	14	1.7
Total foreign tourists	198	21.8	190	22.8
Total	908	100	833	100

Source: Statistics Sweden (2007).

Only two of the surveyed municipalities, Arvidsjaur and Kiruna, which boast the two main airports in the area, have managed to increase their number of commercial overnight stays. Moreover, Table 5.3 reveals different trends for the selected municipalities. Storuman, thanks to the Hemavan alpine resort, has managed to establish itself as a major winter destination with direct flight connections to Stockholm, although all international tourism is declining. In Arvidsjaur, a significant growth of commercial guest nights has been noted. This is partly explained by the establishment of car-testing facilities that attract almost all European and Asian car makers for winter testing of their technology. Moreover, the vicinity to Norway has obviously made the municipality a popular destination for shopping tourism from the neighbouring country (Löffler 2007). Also interesting is the situation in Arjeplog. Here all foreign tourist groups except Germans have grown. Nevertheless, the total amount of foreign overnight stays has decreased, which clearly indicates the importance of the German demand for tourism in the area and the rather small figures for other European and non-European markets.

It is difficult to speculate about the declining German demand in northern Sweden. One explanation may be related to a specific segment of the demand market. During the 1990s coach trips through Scandinavia, with a visit to the North Cape as a highlight of the journey, were a prominent product on the German market. However, increasing competition usually based on price implied longer day trips and lower quality in accommodation and catering (Midtgard and Prebensen 1997). Hence, from 1995 onward, this market segment collapsed and visitor figures decreased significantly. This development is also likely to leave an imprint on northern Sweden, which was on the itinerary of most coach trips.

TABLE 5.3 –   **DEVELOPMENT OF COMMERCIAL OVERNIGHT STAYS, 1990–2006**

	Total	Swedish	Foreign	Nordic except Sweden	German	Other European	Non-European
Storuman	–	+++	——	——	——	—	——
Sorsele	——	——	——	——	—	+++	——
Dorotea	——	——	——	——	——	—	+
Vilhelmina	—	—	——	–	——	—	+
Arvidsjaur	++	+++	+	+++	——	——	+++
Arjeplog	——	——	–	+++	——	++	+++
Jokkmokk	—	—	——	——	——	—	+++
Gällivare	——	——	—	——	——	+++	+++
Kiruna	+	–	+++	+++	+++	+++	+++

——	> 20 percent decrease	+++	> 20 percent increase
—	10–20 percent decrease	++	10–20 percent increase
–	< 10 percent decrease	+	< 10 percent increase

Source: Statistics Sweden (2007).

TABLE 5.4 –   **PASSENGER ARRIVALS AT KIRUNA AIRPORT, 1996 AND 2006**

Arrivals	1996			2006		
	International	National	Total	International	National	Total
January		4,135	4,135	12	7,400	7,412
February		4,528	4,528	6	8,967	8,973
March		6,276	6,276	151	10,898	11,049
April	59	5,343	5,402	35	8,137	8,172
May	305	5,634	5,939	3	6,763	6,766
June	116	6,714	6,830	17	6,469	6,486
July	212	7,897	8,109		6,427	6,427
August		7,072	7,072	5	7,066	7,071
September		4,602	4,602		5,473	5,473
October		4,963	4,963		5,822	5,822
November		4,644	4,644	215	5,645	5,860
December		5,340	5,340	128	7,546	7,674
Total	692	67,148	67,840	572	86,613	87,185

Source: LFV (2007).

The strongest foreign tourism growth was registered in Kiruna, where figures have increased by 73 percent. This can partly be explained by the success of the ICEHOTEL which was established in the early 1990s, but gained a worldwide reputation in the mid-1990s. It can also be noted that the amounts of non-European and other European tourists have grown, particularly in the northern part of Lapland. However, this growth did not compensate for losses in the German and Nordic markets.

In summary, it can be concluded that tourism in the area is increasingly dependent on long-haul tourists. However, growth in the non-European and other European markets could not compensate for losses in the German and Nordic markets in most of the area's municipalities. This change also implies new patterns of transportation since long-haul markets depend on air transportation to a greater extent while German and Nordic tourists are more inclined to use their car to access the area. Unfortunately, statistics on seasonal patterns were not available for this analysis. However, the success of the ICEHOTEL could imply tourism growth during the winter season, which makes a shift towards air transportation even more likely. This is demonstrated for Kiruna Airport (Table 5.4). Since there are no scheduled international arrivals at Kiruna, it is clear that international charter has shifted seasons from summer to winter since 1996. Moreover, the major increase in passenger arrivals was recorded for January to April, the main winter season in the area.
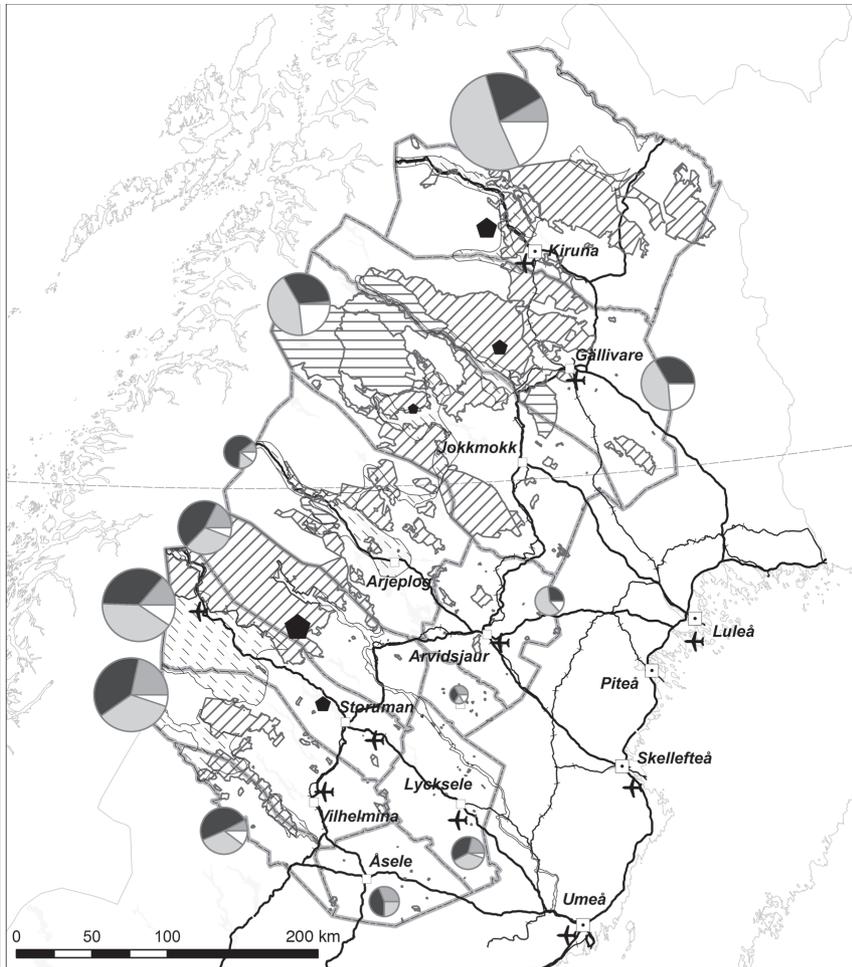
5.2. Tourism Supply and Resources

Despite the increasing demand during the winter season, summer remains the main season in the area. Most touristic offers refer to summer activities. A survey of the commercial tourist supply available on the regional tourist offices' web pages showed that the mountain municipalities in the western part of Swedish Lapland are particularly well represented (Figure 5.3).

Besides various nature-based tourism activities such as guided hiking trips, dog-sledge tours, and horseback riding, guided hunting and fishing trips are important products (Figure 5.4). Canoeing and Sami tourism complete the supply. Thus, northern Sweden also has the highest concentration of ecotourism companies licensed according to the Nature's Best scheme developed by the Swedish Society for Ecotourism in cooperation with the Swedish Nature Protection Agency, among others (Fredman *et al*. 2006). Hence nature-based tourism is dominated by activities consuming space and depending on access to recreational land.

Nature-based tourism in Swedish Lapland: resources and Internet offers
Source: Müller (2008).

Nature-based tourism in Swedish Lapland

National park	**Nature-based tourism offers 2008**	Town	
Reserve		Minor settlement	
Outdoor	48		

Ecotourism companies

- 1
- 2
- 3–4
- 5–6

Boat
Hunting and fishing
Nature
Sami

Airport
Railway
Main road

Municipality
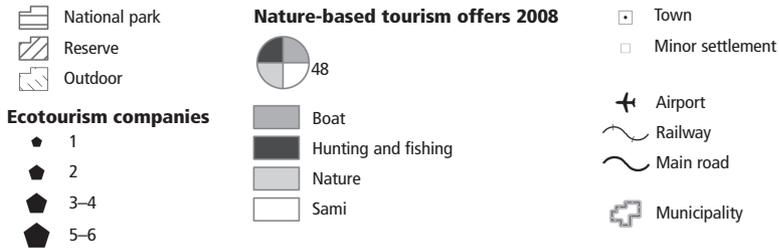
In fact, Figure 5.3 shows that large parts of the area are indeed protected by various nature conservation regimes. Europe's oldest and largest national parks are located in the area. In addition, nature reserves provide similar protection to considerable tracts of land. A less rigid form of protection is given by the national planning system to areas deemed of national interest for outdoor recreation. All these areas are arenas for outdoor recreation and nature-based tourism, offering, at least on the surface, a pristine nature, particularly within the national parks and nature reserves, where economic activities other than indigenous reindeer herding and licensed tourism tours are largely banned, while outdoor recreationists are explicitly welcomed (Figure 5.5). Even here the Swedish Right of Access is applicable, guaranteeing a free right to roam for everybody. In fact the Swedish Environmental Protection Agency is obliged to protect nature while also taking in consideration sustainable regional growth, which, of course, is facilitated by tourism (Müller 2008).

A network of hiking trails and mountain huts operated mainly by the Swedish Tourist Association (STF) offer accommodation even in remote areas of the mountain chain. They registered more than 105,000 overnight stays in the northern mountains in 2006 (STF 2007). Altogether, the protected spaces cover 37 percent of the total area. In Jokkmokk roughly half of the municipal land is protected. Jokkmokk and Gällivare are also sites of the Laponia World Heritage Area. Hence it can be concluded that the vast wilderness type areas form a major tourism resource in the area since approximately one-eighth of all commercial overnight stays are registered in STF's mountain huts.

The relationship between tourism and nature protection is quite complicated, however, since the latter is often frowned upon. For instance, plans to develop a large national park in the Kiruna Mountains were stopped by local hunting and fishing organizations fearing additional constraints on their opportunities to conduct their traditional harvest (Sandell 1995). Today, plans of transforming Vindelfjällen, Europe's largest nature reserve, in Storuman and Sorsele municipality, into a national park are highly disputed by the tourism industry since harsher regulations are expected to hinder business development. Hence there is some struggle over land use between tourism entrepreneurs and environmental interests. However, these conflicts are not over tourism as such, but about which forms of tourism are suitable in the area.

A Nature's Best dog sledge trip close to Lycksele. Despite the vastness of the land, ecotourism has to coexist with less environmentally friendly land uses
Photo: Dieter K. Müller

5.3. Resource Exploitation

Northern Sweden has traditionally been a major source of natural resources, particularly forest products, hydroelectric power, iron ore, and other metals. In fact, it is argued that the development of hydroelectric power was particularly favourable for tourism in the area (Bodén and Rosenberg 2004). In the river valleys affected, the development implied an improvement of transportation infrastructure and an inflow of economic compensation that was reinvested into tourism.

In the two northernmost counties, including Lapland, 86,000 km² are covered by forests (Skogsstyrelsen 2007). Although growth in the north is limited compared to regions further south it is likely that the production of forest-based biofuel will increase the pressure on the forest resource base in the area. Other alternative sources of energy production can also influence the landscape and thus the touristic resource. The implementation of numerous wind farms in the mountains is debated, although there is no consensus regarding whether they have a negative effect on tourism. A study indicates, however, that tourists tend to reject the idea of change, particularly in the mountain landscapes (Hörnsten 2002).

FIGURE 5.5

Pristine nature at Nikkaluokta, Gällivare municipality
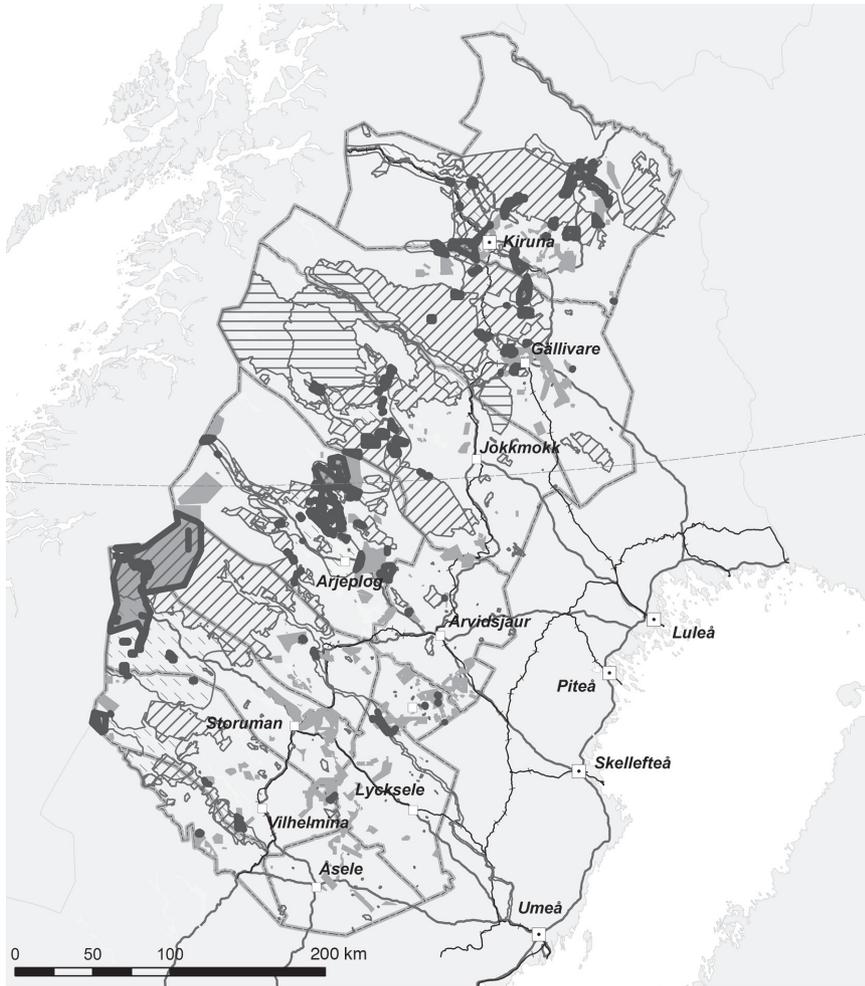Photo: Dieter K. Müller

The most relevant conflict with tourism development, however, concerns mining. The recent rise in interest for mineral resources challenges tourism and nature conservation in mineral-rich Lapland. Up to now, the responsible authority, the Mining Inspectorate of Sweden, has issued 183 exploration permits for iron ore and other metals covering a total area of over 5,600 km² in the two northernmost counties, of which a considerable share is within Lapland (Bergsstaten 2007). Several of the exploration licenses relate to tracts within protected areas, indicating the relativity of environmental protection measures (Figure 5.6). Moreover, the Mining Inspectorate notes an increasing interest in licenses, in particular among foreign companies.

Although the impacts of mining may be limited to certain places, its impact on the image of the area is difficult to assess. Mining already is a common and visible activity in Kiruna and Gällivare (Figures 5.7 and 5.8). It is not known whether this has damaged the place's image; in fact, the visitors' mine has become a top attraction in Kiruna. Still, the now prospected areas are partly within protected areas, which may cause different attitudes and impacts. Moreover, there is a political debate on whether to abandon the ban on uranium mining, which definitely could alter public and, more significantly, tourists' perceptions of the area. Already the flow of letters to local newspapers bears witness to the fact

Environmental protection and mining in Swedish Lapland

Protected areas

National park

Reserve

Outdoor

Mining areas

Exploration permits

Conflicting land use claims

Town

Minor settlement

Railway

Main road

Municipality

Terraces caused by iron ore mining at Kirunavaara, Kiruna
Photo: Dieter K. Müller

A house on the move through Malmberget owing to growing mining in the town
Photo: Dieter K. Müller

that increased mining and other resource exploitation are not welcome in all local communities. So far, local resistance has never been able to stop large-scale mining or even preparations for it. This reinforces the image of a marginal region having little to say regarding land uses in its territory.

6. CONCLUSION

This chapter has demonstrated the challenges that hinder current tourism development in northern Sweden. It is obvious that most of these challenges refer to the area's marginal position and peripheral characteristics in relation to national and international arenas. There are indications for all states of marginality. Contingent marginality is a challenge due to the area's position in the access hierarchy. Systematic and leveraged marginality is exercised regarding exploration for new mining opportunities, but also as regards the establishment of new protected areas. Former governmental plans to stimulate endogenous growth through tourism development are easily neglected in relation to higher goals such as mining incomes and saved biological diversity. In particular, the possibility of uranium mining causes threats of collateral marginality among tourism stakeholders. All this indicates that the area is tied into a global system where decisions are contingent on global change rather than local aspirations. Thus, the Chinese demand for iron ore and other metals, the European need for energy and biofuel, and the national pride in providing many protected areas and contributing to preserve biological diversity all overrule previous ideas of endogenous growth based on tourism. Tourism is certainly one of the industries influenced by global change. However, since its revenues do not match those of other industries, there is a risk that tourism might be sacrificed for achieving goals that are more relevant in Stockholm than in Kiruna.

Hence, tourism development in the northern parts of Sweden but also in other northern peripheries faces difficult times ahead. Increasing transportation price levels and growing international interest in land and resources set tourism at a disadvantage. It already is obvious that tourism development is centred in certain locations in the periphery. Hence, it appears reasonable to focus even more on these development nodes instead of trying to develop the entire region as a pleasure periphery. Advantages of such a strategy could be a better planned and commodified space for tourism, including a more focused product and service development. Moreover, improved accessibility should develop the potential for tourism during the entire year, promising marketing advantages and better employment opportunities and less seasonal labour (Lundmark 2006). This solution does however imply a step away from individual tourism as it is exercised today in the area. Instead, an individualized

mass tourism allowing for more effective transportation and better planned consumption of space should enable the local and regional stakeholders to sustain northern Sweden's market position. However, such a strategy also demonstrates the weakness and the problem of peripheries; are the local communities able to decide where those tourist spaces should be or are decisions to be taken outside the peripheral arena?

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THE CREE VILLAGE ECOLODGE[1]
Success through Community Empowerment

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1. INTRODUCTION

Despite marketing campaigns, numerous studies, reports, and research, Aboriginal tourism initiatives in remote regions of Canada and elsewhere remain somewhat enigmatic. Given the growth in Aboriginal tourism and its potential impacts in Northern Canada and other polar tourism destinations, it is important that we assess the current state of knowledge regarding these activities and enterprises. In this chapter, we explore key components of Aboriginal tourism, provide a definition of Aboriginal tourism, examine the nature of Aboriginal tourism enterprises located

The Cree Village Ecolodge
Photo: Raynald Harvey Lemelin

in Canada and elsewhere, and provide a case study of one Aboriginal tourism establishment, the Cree Village Ecolodge (CVE) in Northern Ontario, Canada (Figure 6.1).

This descriptive case study examines the history of the CVE located in the Canadian sub-Arctic and describes the key factors resulting in the lodge's continuity and success. Findings derived from personal experiences (the lead author is a founder of the lodge, while the fourth author is the current manager) and literature reviews provide the basis of our analysis. Through the application of an expanded version of Scheyven's (1999) tourism empowerment framework, this case study provides an illustration of how traditional philosophies and modern technologies can be incorporated into a tourism facility and how such a facility can support community development and empowerment while providing the impetus for local and regional tourism strategies in Northern Ontario, Canada.

2. ABORIGINAL TOURISM

The history of northern tourism in Canada has been relatively well documented (Johnston 2000; Hall and Johnston 1995; Notzke 2004; Nuttall 1998; Smith 1989, 1994, 1996), while the worldwide growth in the demand

for cultural and tourism experiences has led to increased Aboriginal tourism opportunities (see Butler and Hinch 1996, 2007; Hall and Johnston 1995; Johnston 2006; Lemelin and Blangy 2009; McIntosh 2004; Notzke 2006; Ryan and Aicken 2005; Zeppel 2006).

Studies conducted throughout Canada regarding visitor preferences for Aboriginal tourism (*e.g.* Kutzner *et al.* 2009; Williams and O'Neil 2007) have been unified in their findings that tourists

- are looking for heritage, outdoor adventure, festivals, handicrafts and art, cuisine, and sport related to their Aboriginal tourism experience;
- tend to seek unique destinations that allow hands on experiences and learning opportunities;
- prefer pristine natural areas; and
- are looking for authentic opportunities to engage with local people to learn about the culture and ways of life.

While statistics on Aboriginal tourism are difficult to obtain, Aboriginal Tourism Canada (then Aboriginal Team Tourism Canada) conducted a study on Aboriginal tourism in Canada in 2001 (ATTC, 2003a, 2003b), some highlights of which are provided below.

- The direct contribution of all Aboriginal tourism businesses to GDP is $596 million (about $290 million excluding casinos).
- *Direct employment* by Aboriginal tourism businesses including casinos is estimated at 13,000 jobs (full-time equivalents).
- *Retention of income* is particularly high in retail (71%), travel trade (77%), and the attraction sector, excluding casinos (91%).
- For every dollar of economic activity at Aboriginal tourism businesses, Aboriginals directly earn 15.8 cents in wages. A further 23.7 cents is spent within their communities on material inputs.
- When casinos are excluded, a larger share of each dollar goes to Aboriginals through wages and salaries but a smaller share through spending on material inputs.
- Casinos, transportation, and accommodations are all important direct output generators for the Aboriginal tourism industry. The combined employment generated by accommodations and outdoor/adventure is about equal to that of attractions.

The figures provided by the study from ATTC (2003a, 2003b) demonstrate that the economic activity generated by Aboriginal tourism businesses is significantly higher than previous estimates. It should be noted, however, that these figures do not take into account successful Aboriginal tourism ventures whose owners have chosen to rely on word-of-mouth advertising in order to remain small. Some of these ventures in Northern

Ontario include polar bear tours offered in Fort Severn and canoe tours offered by the Missanabie Cree First Nation. These types of ventures may also have little if any contact with regional organizations and marketing agencies (Notzke 2006). Small or large, Aboriginal tourism is promoted because it can create capacity, foster respect, generate equity, and promote empowerment. The various challenges and opportunities associated with each of these concepts are discussed below.

The ideal economic outcome of Aboriginal tourism is economic self-reliance, the alleviation of local poverty, and an even distribution of wealth throughout the community. Various types of for-profit and not-for-profit tourism enterprises owned by the band or individuals or co-owned with external investors have been implemented with various levels of success (Getz and Jamieson 1997). In practice, however, many indigenous communities struggle to develop economically sustainable and successful tourism enterprises, often relying on outside assistance for survival (Nepal 2004, 2005; Zeppel 2006). Challenges associated with local equity generation include leakage and the centralization of profits to an elite or powerful component of the community (Honey 1999; Scheyvens 1999; Smith 1996). Economic benefits from tourism do come in the form of economic diversification, stemming from the development of local enterprises, provision of local employment, incorporation of fees for licensing or entrance into certain areas, as well as the sale of services and goods. Tourism can lead to the further development of tourism-related infrastructures that can be locally integrated, assist communities in gaining access to funding for capacity building and small-enterprise development, and position communities in national and regional development strategies (Nepal 2004, 2005; Notzke 2006).

On a cultural level, Aboriginal tourism can result in increased external awareness, knowledge, and understanding of cultures, lead to local cultural rejuvenation and pride, be mutually supportive of traditional practices, and provide incentives for documenting and safeguarding cultural practices (Epler-Wood 2002; Gerberich 2005; Notzke 1999). As Gerberich (2005) and Notzke (2006) explain, tourism can contribute positively to a community through increasing local training, education, economic self-reliance, and meaningful employment, which subsequently can lead to greater collective self-esteem (Nepal 2005; Stronza and Gordillo 2008). Stronza and Gordillo (2008: 461) provide a deeper exploration of indigenous tourism's perceived social impacts by stating that community members

> seldom spoke of economic benefits in isolation from social changes. Some of the positive changes included opportunities to gain skills and leadership, heightened self-esteem, expanded networks of support, and better

organizational capacity. The negative changes were new restrictions on time, the erosion of reciprocity and other traditional relationships, and new conflicts associated with the distribution of profits.

Tourism also has the potential to complement traditional practices and subsistence activities such as agriculture, gathering, hunting, and trapping (Gerberich 2005; Notzke 1999). Negative cultural impacts from Aboriginal tourism can relate to lack of respect afforded to local cultural norms, the authenticity of cultural representations, appropriation of traditional knowledge, the loss of traditional rights, and incursions by tourists into sacred areas (Gerberich 2005; Harkin 2003; Kirtzoglou and Theodossopoulos 2004; Notzke 2006).

Less explored social benefits include tourism development's capacity to break down and heal social divisions between cultures (Higgins-Desbiolles 2005) and the social networking that happens between Aboriginal groups (Nepal 2005). The development of tourism can, unfortunately, also result in negative social impacts such as crime, begging, prostitution, displacement, and perceptions of crowding (Mansperger 1995). That being said, Aboriginal tourism can support the psychological foundations of communities when it "is based on indigenous knowledge systems and values, promoting customary practices and livelihoods" (Johnston 2000: 91).

For Aboriginal communities, the political implications of tourism development are related to inclusion in development processes and to issues related to control, management, ownership, recognition of rights, and self-determination. Participation in tourism development needs to happen from inception and include diverse stakeholders representing a diversity of interests, genders, and ages within the community (Scheyvens 2002). When tourism development is controlled externally, local people may feel resentment towards visitors and operators (Zeppel 2006). However, community-based and locally developed tourism products have the potential to lead to increased local ownership, management, and control (Fuller *et al*. 2007; Notzke 2006). An additional positive impact is the recognition of Aboriginal groups' political history and tribal land rights that can be gained through tourism (Honey and Thullen 2003; Zeppel 2007). Underlying all discussions on the political impacts of tourism development is an ongoing debate about whether tourism development can lead to self-determination or whether it is, by nature, a continuation of an oppressive colonial relationship leading to assimilation (Nepal 2005).

Empowerment in tourism is generated when tribal land rights and human rights are recognized, Aboriginal political history is acknowledged, and human-rights and democratic movements are supported. Thus the

development of Aboriginal tourism has the *potential* to contribute significantly to local and Aboriginal communities socially, culturally, economically, politically, environmentally, and psychologically (Butler and Hinch 2007; Carr 2007a, 2007b; Notzke 1999, 2006; Scheyvens 1999, 2002; Zeppel 1998, 2006). In reality, however, the impacts of tourism vary widely and, at the community level, tourism development can have many impacts that could negate their potential positive contributions: "Tourism is notorious for its potential to disrupt, disturb, or otherwise do damage to natural habitats and local communities. Especially in rural settings, tourism has been known to trigger a cascade of social, ecological, cultural, and economic changes not easily managed by local residents" (Stronza and Grodillo 2008: 448–9).

Finally, the development of Aboriginal tourism can lead to natural area conservation, biodiversity protection, and negative environmental impact minimization (Gerberich 2005). In fact, an integral part of the definition of tourism is that it contributes to the conservation of local areas through the incorporation of local knowledge systems (Butler and Menzies 2007; Lemelin 2006). Tourism can also provide a rationale for resisting more harmful forms of development (Langholz 1999; Notzke 2006). In addition, the need to maintain traditional sites, landscapes, and resources for tourism can inspire an Aboriginal "conservation ethic" (Carr 2007b).

For many Aboriginal communities Aboriginal tourism "is seen as a way of achieving cultural, environmental and economic sustainability for the community" (Zeppel 2006: 3) while promoting entrepreneurship (Carr 2007b; Getz and Jamieson 1997). For the first author Randy Kapashesit, Chief of the MoCreebec Council of the Cree Nation (MCCN), tourism utilizes people's traditional skills, which bolsters perceptions of self-worth and is consistent with the values and other economic activities of the MCCN. Thus, in ideal situations, Aboriginal tourism generates CREE, *i.e.* capacity building, respect, equity, and empowerment. Capacity building shapes environmental attitudes and cultural awareness is generated through the sharing of environmental knowledge, reinforcing Aboriginals' cultural links with the territory. Respect and sensitivity for local cultures are enacted by providing codes of conduct and educational and interpretive programs. Protected area revenue sharing with local communities, legal land title to negotiate tourism contracts, lease land on reserves, and sell wildlife quotas, business ownership or co-ownership by tribal communities, and user fees can provide financial benefits for local communities. In many First Nations, Aboriginal tourism refers to sustainable tourism activities in which Aboriginal people are directly involved through control or by having their culture, knowledge, and land access serve as the essence of the attraction development (Butler and Hinch 2007). The control factor

is key in any discussion on tourism, for whoever has control or exercises power generally determines the scale and pace of development (*ibid.*). For this particular study Aboriginal tourism is defined as: special events (dances, festivals, pow-wows), experiential tourism (guided hikes, interpretation, wildlife tourism, applied activities), arts and crafts, museums, historical re-creations, restaurants, accommodations, lodges, and resorts celebrating Aboriginal culture that are offered by or are located in Aboriginal communities (Getz and Jamieson 1997). Ownership (in part or whole) by Aboriginal communities is an essential component of these enterprises.

3. SITE DESCRIPTION AND HISTORICAL OVERVIEW

The province of Ontario has the highest overall population (242,495) of Aboriginal people (Amerindian, Métis, Inuit) in Canada. Approximately half (158,395) of these individuals are Amerindian (Cree, Anishnabee, Oji-Cree; Statistics Canada 2009). According to the 2006 national census undertaken by Statistics Canada, Aboriginal people in Ontario still account for approximately 2% of the province's population and about one-fifth of Canada's Aboriginal population. In Northern Ontario, the Amerindian population makes up almost 8% of the population; this figure increases significantly when traveling northward beyond the 50th parallel (Southcott 2000). In some Northern communities, the population may consist almost entirely of Amerindian people (*ibid.*).

Centuries of interactions with Europeans explorers and traders have resulted in Cree communities that have proven to be quite resilient and adaptable to changes (Berkes *et al.* 1995; Lemelin and McIntyre, 2011). In fact, a number of authors have noted how the Cree were crucial in the fur trade industry, not only as fur and pelt providers, but also as outfitters (*i.e.* the homeguard) for the forts (Berkes *et al.* 1995; Honigmann 1981; Lytwyn 2002). Later they became renowned shipbuilders (Ray 1987) and an integral part of Northern Canada's mix-economy (Berkes 1999; Lemelin and McIntyre, in press).

Moose Factory Island is located within the Moose River, 18 km upriver from James Bay (Figure 6.2). The island is located at the edge of the boreal forest, slightly above the Hudson Bay Lowlands, forming a 150–300-km-wide belt of flat, low-lying land adjacent to the coast. Moose Factory is the site the Hudson's Bay Company's second post (founded 1672–73) in Canada and the first English settlement in what would later become Upper Canada, which is now Ontario (Marsh, no date). Located across the Moose River is Moosonee, a community established in 1903 as a rival fur trading post operated by Révillon Frères. Moosonee benefited from a desire to colonize the north through the construction of the railway in 1932, an air force base (1961–75), and the proposed salt-water port on James Bay
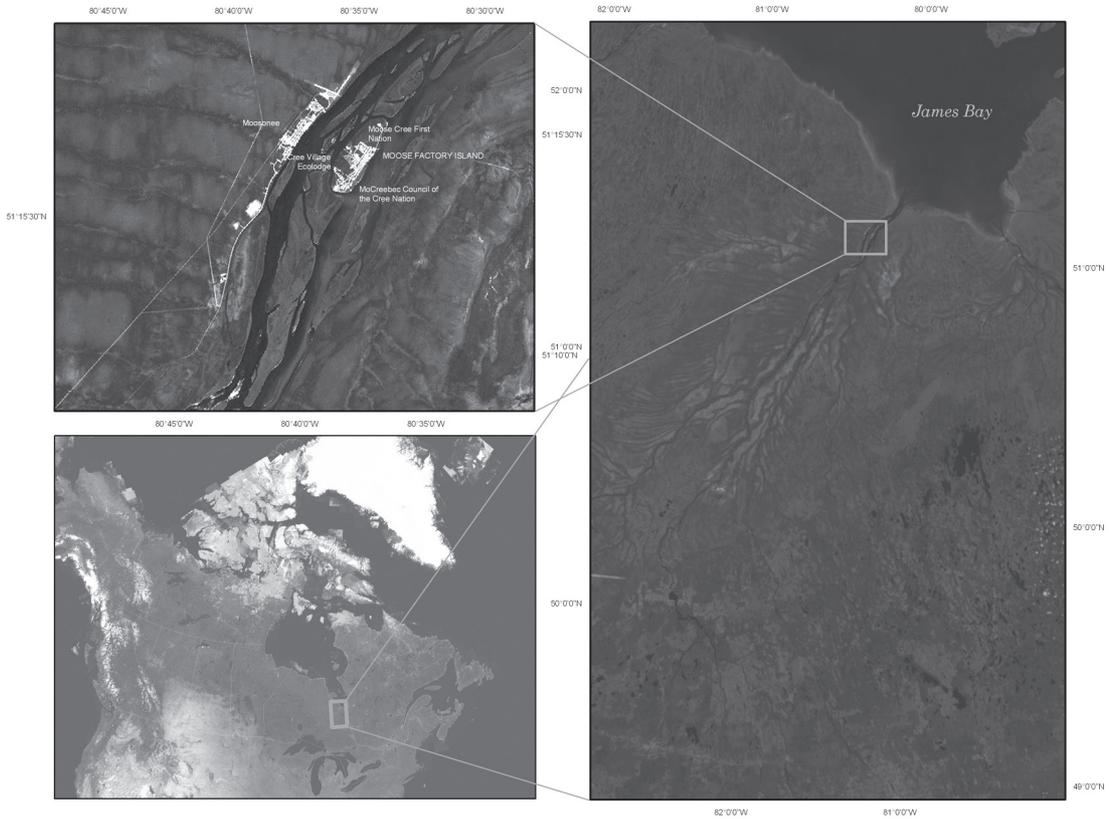
(Barnes 1988; Smith 2004). The latter is a vision that has not yet materialized. The completion of the railway has provided various economic booms to the community of Moosonee and, as early as 1932, facilitated tourist travel to Northern Ontario (Smith 2004). However, it was the Polar Bear Express, a train experience catering especially to tourists initiated in 1964, that would bring thousands of tourists to the area every year. While numbers have declined somewhat in the last few years, nearly two thousand visitors still travel on the Polar Bear Express every summer (T. Marshall, personal communication, March 24, 2010).

Moose Factory island is divided into various political entities, including federal and provincial lands and two First Nations. The Omushkego Cree (also called the West Main Cree or Swampy Cree) are the people of the Western James Bay and Hudson Bay Lowlands. Historically, they

occupied the *muskeg* (the Cree word for wetland) and ranged 200–300 km inland from the coast (Honigmann 1981). With over 3,215 registered band members in 2002, the Omushkego Cree of the Moose Cree First Nation make up the bulk of the resident population. However, the Aboriginal population also includes the descendants of the Eeyou Istchee – the Eastern James Bay Cree (the MCCN living mainly in Moose Factory and Moosonee; Berkes *et al.* 1995).

Numbering just over five hundred, the MCCN membership is considered to be part of the James Bay and Northern Quebec Agreement (JBNQA) administered by the Grand Council of the Crees in Québec, while also maintaining an affiliation with the Nishnawbe Aski Nation (NAN; formerly known as Grand Council Treaty #9) in Northern Ontario (Cree Village Ecolodge 2006). While affiliated to both organizations, they benefit very little from either.

Throughout the 20th century, the community has initiated a number of processes aimed at increasing its independency while asserting its right to traditional practices through its quest for nationhood (Cragg and Schwartz 2000; Kapashesit and Klippenstein 1990). These processes have resulted in the development of a number of locally driven social, political and economic organizations. The most notable of these organizations are:

- MCCC Nation Non-Profit Housing Association, which manages the housing program and oversees housing maintenance;
- MCCN Development Corporation Ltd., which operates Moosonee Cable System and Moose River Cable Services (CreeCable);
- Moose River Non-Profit Broadcasting Association;
- Information Technology Department;
- MCCN Health Program;
- Moose Factory Tourism Association;
- Cree Village Non-Profit Corporation, which oversees the operation of the Ecolodge and restaurant; and
- Weeneebayko Eeyou Association, a registered non-profit entity dedicated to the preservation of culture, language, and well-being of the MCCN (Kapashesit, 2005).

In the winter of 1980, the MCCN Association was created to address JBNQA issues for beneficiaries living in Moose Factory and Moosonee. Thirteen years later, members of the MCCN ratified the MoCreebec Council of the Cree Nation Constitutional Framework (Kapashesit 2005). The eight clan councils of the Cree Nation were recognized in 1995 at the MCCN Membership Ratification meeting (*ibid.*). These economic development

and governance strategies embody a process known locally as the Cree economy, where "business and opportunity [are] created for the individual and collective well-being of the MCCN, now and for the future" (*ibid*.: 10). These philosophies have also been implemented in local tourism development strategies, which will be discussed later.

Annual visitation to Moosonee and Moose Factory Island has declined in the last forty years, from nearly 10,000 in the late 1960s and early 1970s to approximately 2,000 in the early 21st century. While the locality of Moosonee possesses most of the infrastructure (*e.g.* transportation, accommodations, restaurants), Moose Factory Island possesses most of the attractions, such as Centennial Park, containing two of Ontario's oldest buildings (the Forge and Powder Magazines), the Hudson Bay staff house and museum, the Cree Cultural Interpretive Centre, and the CVE. Concerns regarding the leakage of tourism profits have been expressed by a number of residents from the MCCN and the Moose Cree First Nation. However, a major opportunity occurred in the late summer of 2007, when the operator and owner of Two-Bay Tours shut down operations after 20 years of activity. Discussions with community members from Moose Factory revealed a tepid response to this opportunity. However, for members of the MCCN, the shutdown provided an opportunity to diversify and provide sociocultural outings. As a result, Kway Journeys was established in the summer of 2008. This local operator works closely with the CVE, offering various types of cultural tourism experiences and adventures. In 2010, the regional Moose Factory Tourism Association (MFTA), composed of representatives from the MCCN, the Moose Factory First Nation, and the township of Moosonee, was established to replace the Moose River Historical Society. One of the aims of the MFTA will be to develop regional marketing and tourism opportunities that will benefit all its members.

4. THE CREE VILLAGE ECOLODGE

The precursor to the CVE was actually the Cree Village Restaurant, opened in 1994. The establishment included a 44-seat restaurant, a craft shop, and a small marina (Kapashesit 2005). In early 1997, the lodge steering committee, which would later become the Cree Village Non-Profit Corporation overseeing the operation of the Ecolodge and restaurant was established (Figure 6.3). The plans for the lodge were finalized, funding was secured (most of which was accessed from the Northern Ontario Heritage Fund, whose purpose is to foster economic development in Northern Ontario, and the MCCN), and construction of the CVE began in the fall of 1999. In the spring of 2000, the restaurant closed its doors, to be re-opened in the summer of 2000 when the CVE began operating (*ibid.*).

The CVE is located on west side Moose Factory Island, facing the Moose River. It is one of the most environmentally advanced accommodations facilities in Canada. The CVE is a non-for-profit community initiative undertaken by the MCCN. The goal was to create an establishment which would embody and reflect the Eeyou Cree Nation's cultural values, create capacity, generate equity, and institute empowerment. Thus, energy efficiency, durability, low environmental impacts, environmentally friendly designs, and social justice were guiding elements for the selection of materials chosen for the construction and furnishings of the lodge (Figure 6.4). The results are a 21st-century facility featuring twenty guest rooms and a 66-seat restaurant modeled on a traditional Cree dwelling, the Shabatwon (pronounced "Shaapuhtuwaan"), meaning "long teepee with doors at each end."

From high-efficiency low-noise ceiling fans and triple-glazed windows to its situation that takes advantage of natural wind conditions, what distinguishes the lodge from other resorts and buildings in Ontario is in the details (Figure 6.5). Wall treatments are natural cedar wood, ceramic tile, and low-emission paints. Floor coverings are hardwood, ceramic tile, and natural wool carpeting. Furniture throughout is natural wood and fibres, with details such as birchwood blinds on windows and natural wool bedspreads. Even the television sets have been specially selected for lowest energy consumption (Blangy 2006).

Environmental designs and energy efficiency are not limited to the building, for the community and the management board also want to minimize the lodge's ecological footprint whenever possible while also

The Cree Village Ecolodge
Photo: Raynald Harvey Lemelin

Inside the lodge
Photo: Raynald Harvey Lemelin

promoting social justice. Thus, environmental amenities including natural wool carpeting, organic cotton mattresses, pillows, and sheets, and bio-degradable hand-soaps and shampoos in dispensers are featured in every room. Local products and crafts are also featured in the lobby (McIntyre 2005). Future strategies will examine the viability of implementing various renewable energy technologies (*e.g.* wind turbines, photovoltaic sun cells) to further minimize the CVE's ecological footprint (*ibid.*). Surrounded by

FIGURE 6.6

the rugged beauty of the Canadian sub-Arctic and steeped in Cree culture and history, the CVE is also, according to Chief Kapashesit, a gathering place for sharing and understanding.

Since its inception, the year-round operations of the CVE have generated significant benefits to the community in the form of revenue and employment. Each year, the CVE hosts 4,300 overnight visitors, including a number of repeat visitors (Figure 6.6). The centre has trained countless individuals in the hospitality industry and provided revenues for important social activities such as elder gatherings. Due to its outstanding contribution to the Canadian tourism industry, the lodge has been the recipient of a number of awards including the Business of the Year Award for Single Units in 2005, awarded by the Tourism Industry Association of Canada and Air Canada, and the Green by Design Award for the extensive use of wood in its design and structure. The National Museum of the American Indian, *Natural Home Magazine*, the *Toronto Star*, and the *Ottawa Citizen* also highlighted the CVE as one of the top ten eco-destinations in North America (Kapashesit 2005). The most recent recognition was provided by Aboriginal Tourism Canada, in partnership with the Canadian Tourism Commission, who undertook to identify Canada's Significant 28 Aboriginal tourism products and cultural experiences that are already developed and ready to showcase internationally and nationally. Each of the 28 "products" has a major cultural aspect and is owned and operated (wholly or in part) by First Nations, Inuit, or Métis peoples (see Table 6.1).

Other Canadian sites not included on this list include the Quw'utsun' Cultural and Conference Centre operated by the Cowichan First Nations and the K'san Historical Village and Museum in British Columbia; the

TABLE 6.1 – **THE MOST NOTABLE ABORIGINAL TOURISM DESTINATIONS IN CANADA**

BC	AB	ON	QC	Atlantic
Gwaii Haanas	Eagle Star	Cree Village Ecolodge	Hôtel-Musée Premières Nations	Metepenagiag Heritage Exhibit (NB)
Aboriginal Journeys, Campbell River	Tsuu T'ina	Polar Bear Provincial Park	Onhoüa Chetek8e (site traditionnel huron)	Kejimjukik National Park (NS)
Haida Heritage Centre at Kaay Linagaay	Blackfoot Crossing Historical Park	Kay-Nah-Chi-wah-Nung	Nunavik Arctic Survival Training Centre	Miawpukek Festival (NL)
Nk'Mip Resort	Head-Smashed-In Buffalo Jump	Moccasin Trail Tours	Croisières Essipit	
Quw'utsun Cultural and Conference Centre	Nakoda Lodge and Conference Centre	Temagami Anishnabai Tipi Camp	Bercé par l'Harricana	
St. Eugene Golf Resort		Great Spirit Circle Trail		
Squamish Lil'wat Cultural Centre		Turtle Island Tourism Company		
		Cruise North		
SK	MB	YK	NU	NWT
Wanuskewin Heritage Park	Manito Ahbee Festival	Tombstone PP	Bathurst Inlet Lodge	Aurora Village
Batoche National Historic Site		Great River Journeys		

Source: The Authors.

White Buffalo Spiritual Society and Le festival du voyageur in Manitoba; Saint Marie among the Hurons in Southern Ontario; and the Cree Tourism and Outfitting Tourism Association (*i.e.* Eeyou Istchee Tourism) in Québec. In addition, pow-wows, festivals, and other cultural events are also excluded from this list.

As can be expected, most of the attractions identified in Table 6.1 were in British Columbia and Alberta. Destinations located in Ontario and Québec, unlike their western counterparts, are not easily identifiable, providing significant marketing and promotional challenges to Aboriginal tourism initiatives in Eastern Canada, which are located in Ontario's remote "far north" and accessible only by plane or train.

The CVE faces further challenges as an elite tourism destination competing against these national Aboriginal tourism enterprises. Compounding these factors is the fact that Canada, as an international Aboriginal tourism market, ranks below Australia and New Zealand and, in some cases, even behind the USA (Insignia 2007). Some of the most notable Aboriginal tourism destinations in these three countries are presented in Table 6.2.

TABLE 6.2 – **NOTABLE ABORIGINAL TOURISM DESTINATIONS IN NEW ZEALAND, AUSTRALIA, AND THE USA**

New Zealand	Australia	USA
Nga Hau E Wha Maori Village, Christchurch	Uluru-Kata Tjuta National Park	Lodgepole Gallery and Tipi Village, Montana
Waitomo Tiki Tours, Waitomo	Kakadu National Park	Metlakatla Tours, Alaska
Spirit of the River Jet Boat Tours, Wanganui	Umbarra Aboriginal Cultural Centre, New South Wales	Northeast Wisconsin Native American Cultural Tour
New Zealand Maori Weddings, Rotorua	Tjapukai Aboriginal Cultural Park, Queensland	Alaska Native Heritage Center
Ko Tane – Maori Cultural Experience, Christchurch	Aboriginal Art and Cultural Centre, Northern Territory	Go Native America, Montana
Hell's Gate and Wai Ora Spa – Rotorua	Anangu Waai Tours, Northern Territory	Discover Navaho
Flat Earth Maori Treasures – Wellington	Manyalluk – The Dreaming Place	Hopi Tourism (Katsina dances)
Awatuna Homestead – Hokitika	Mangarrayi People (Far Out Tours), Northern Territory	Northeast Wisconsin Native American Cultural Tours
TIME (To Integrate Maori Experiences) Unlimited	Tandanya Aboriginal Cultural Institute, South Australia	White Mountain Apache Wildlife and Outdoor Recreation
Indigenous Trails	Kooljaman, Western Australia	Birdsong Inn, Guest House, and Writing Retreat
	Kepa Kurl Eco Discovery Tours, Western Australia	Cherokee Nation Cultural Tourism
	Bookabee Tours	

Source: The Authors.

It is important to note that there are several other Aboriginal tourism destinations in South and Central America, Africa, Asia, and Europe. However, according to the Aboriginal Tourism Commission and the Canadian Tourism Commission, the "competition" for Aboriginal tourism in Canada is New Zealand, Australia, and the USA. Strangely, no mention is made of Mexico, another popular Aboriginal tourism destination in North America.

5. DISCUSSION

Rather than suggesting that there is a universal set of criteria such as economic gain, cultural authenticity, or level of control, that can be used to judge the success of Aboriginal tourism efforts, we argue that local success from Aboriginal tourism efforts can be measured most effectively through an empowerment framework (Scheyvens 1999, 2002). Our rationale for supporting the use of such a framework in measuring local success is that it allows for the consideration of locally perceived benefits over specific measurable outcomes. Scheyvens' (1999, 2002) empowerment framework examines indicators of empowerment and disempowerment in four spheres where Aboriginal tourism impacts on communities: economic, psychological, social, and political (see Table 6.3). We have expanded

TABLE 6.3 – **EXPANDED ECOTOURISM EMPOWERMENT FRAMEWORK**

	Signs of empowerment	Signs of disempowerment
Economic empowerment	Ecotourism brings lasting economic gains to a local community. Cash earned is shared between many households in the community. There are visible signs of improvement from the cash that is earned (*e.g.* improved water systems, houses made of more permanent materials).	Ecotourism merely results in small, spasmodic cash gains for a local community. Most profits go to local elites, outside operators, government agencies, etc. Only a few individuals or families gain direct financial benefits from ecotourism, while others cannot find a way to share in these economic benefits because they lack capital and/or appropriate skills.
Psychological empowerment	Many community members' self-esteem is enhanced because of outside recognition of the uniqueness and value of their culture, natural resources, and traditional knowledge. Increasing confidence leads community members to seek out further education and training opportunities. Access to employment and cash leads to an increase in status for traditionally low-status sectors of society, *e.g.* women, youths.	Many people have not shared in the benefits of ecotourism, yet they may face hardships because of reduced access to a protected area's resources. They are thus confused, frustrated, disinterested, or disillusioned with the initiative.
Social empowerment	Ecotourism maintains or enhances the local community's equilibrium. Community cohesion is improved as individuals and families work together to build a successful ecotourism venture. Some funds raised are used for community development purposes, *e.g.* to build schools or improve roads.	Ecotourism brings disharmony and social decay. Many in the community take on outside values and lose respect for traditional culture and for elders. Disadvantaged groups (*e.g.* women) bear the brunt of problems associated with the ecotourism initiative and fail to share equitably in its benefits. Rather than cooperating, individuals, families, and ethnic or socioeconomic groups compete with each other for the perceived benefits of ecotourism. Resentment and jealousy are commonplace.
Political empowerment	The community's political structure, which fairly represents the needs and interests of all community groups, provides a forum through which people can raise questions relating to the ecotourism venture and have their concerns dealt with. Agencies initiating or implementing the ecotourism venture seek out the opinions of community groups (including special-interest groups of women, youths, and other socially disadvantaged persons) and provide them with opportunities to be represented on decision-making bodies, *e.g.* the Wildlife Park Board.	The community has an autocratic and/or self-interested leadership. Agencies initiating or implementing the ecotourism venture treat communities as passive beneficiaries, failing to involve them in decision-making. Thus the majority of community members feel they have little or no say over whether the ecotourism initiative operates or the way in which it operates.
Cultural empowerment	Local culture is clearly highlighted in the experiences offered to ecotourists. Traditional practices, including harvesting, and skills are integrated. Furthermore, through the development of authentic cultural tourism experiences, local knowledge of cultural practices and language are strengthened. Documentation of cultural assets is supported and areas of cultural significance are carefully protected. As this happens, community members show an increasing level of pride in their culture. Acculturation is minimal or local people have control over the speed and level of acculturation (Gerberich 2005).	There is a lack of an indigenous theme in ecotourism offered within and near the community. Local cultural resources are ignored. Culturally significant areas and assets are damaged through ecotourism planning and practices. Traditional practices are restricted. This contributes to a further cultural disconnection within the community.
Environmental empowerment	Ecotourism provides incentives for conserving lands and resources surrounding the community. Ecotourism management contributes to local control over resource use and an increasing capacity for resource management.	Ecotourism contributes to a degradation of the local environment. Resources and areas allotted to ecotourism operators are taken away from local people. Local people do not feel welcome in their own cultural and sacred sites.

Source: Scheyvens (1999).

on the original framework by adding two additional spheres: cultural and environmental empowerment. Cultural empowerment reflects the extent to which tourism accurately represents and focuses on local Aboriginal cultures and the impacts that this has on the local community. Environmental empowerment refers to a community's ability and involvement in managing and preserving local natural resources, which are an integral part of the tourism experience.

The application of the empowerment framework, rather than using specific indicators (*i.e.* economic gain, control) to judge the success of a tourism venture such as the CVE, allows for more diverse community perspectives on what constitutes success.

Despite some setbacks and the flood of 2008, the CVE is viewed by many members of the MCCN and others as a community success. The numerous awards and the selection as one of Canada's Significant 28 attest to this. However, for the community it is much more than this; it is a source of employment and pride, a symbol of resilience. However, none of this would have come to fruition without proper leadership, communal support, and dedicated proponents in the community, government, and other agencies who saw the potential for economic and social development of the CVE and actively supported the project through policy initiatives, consultation services, financial assistance, and implementation (Butler and Hinch 2007).

As highlighted in the amended Scheyvens (1999) empowerment framework (see Table 6.4), the CVE creates capacity through social and cultural empowerment, increases respect through psychological and environmental empowerment, generates equity through economic empowerment, and increases the MCCN's quest for nationhood through political empowerment. These factors have provided the community with the opportunity to develop the necessary skills and experiences in tourism and to continue expanding and diversifying current offerings. Many of these strategies reflect Amin's (1999) recommendations for improving local and regional development: building clusters; learning to learn and adapt; broadening the local institutional base facilitating local decision-making; and mobilizing the social economy.

The CVE is a central entity providing comfort and food to individuals wishing to partake in outdoor and cultural activities in regional tourism opportunities. The CVE has also examined and pilot-tested several regional tourism opportunities, including networking with a fishing lodge, the Moose Cree Outdoor Discoveries Kesagami Wilderness Lodge. Attempts at diversifying current tourism offerings by the CVE include developing regional packages with the Polar Bear Express and guided eco-cultural and adventure tours (*i.e.* birding, wildlife, nature, outdoor recreation) near

TABLE 6.4 – **THE CREE VILLAGE ECOLODGE
AND THE SIX LEVELS OF EMPOWERMENT**

Cree Village Ecolodge	
Economic empowerment	• The non-profit entity ensures that profits are re-invested into the community. • Employment is generated. • Tourism entrepreneurship is facilitated.
Psychological empowerment	• The various awards and being one of the most notable Aboriginal tourism destinations have brought accolades to the community. • Employment opportunities are generated. • The CVE provides a sharing and healing place for locals and visitors. • Culture has value in the present day.
Social empowerment	• The community can celebrate its past while developing a vision for the future. • The CVE provides a community gathering place.
Political empowerment	• Decisions regarding the management of the lodge are made by the co-operative board composed of community members. • The CVE contributes to community self-reliance.
Cultural empowerment	• Local entrepreneurs and guides provide visitors with various opportunities to learn about Cree culture. • The development of cultural tourism products has led to documenting and preserving various aspects of the culture.
Environmental empowerment	• The lodge embodies the Cree philosophies and conservation ethics. • Cree practices and regards for the land are incorporated into interpretation strategies.

Source: Adapted from Scheyvens (1999).

TABLE 6.5 – **SEASONAL ACTIVITIES IN THE CREE VILLAGE ECOLODGE**

Season	Months	Activities	Challenges
Winter	December-April	Trapping, ice-fishing, ice walks, snowmobile, survival learning, Northern lights, tracking, visiting the flow-edge	Weather, temperatures
Spring	May-June	Birding, canoeing, flightseeing, heli-fishing, guided hikes, photography workshops, artists workshops, feast	Ice break-up on Moose River
Summer	July-August	Fishing, visiting the coast, guided hikes, canoeing, kayaking, festivals	Insects
Fall	September-November	Goose hunt, moose hunt, caribou hunt, fishing, family-culture camp	Ice conditions

Source: Adapted from Notzke (1999).

James Bay through the newly established Washow Wilderness Lodge (owned and operated by the Moose Cree First Nation) near James Bay. Potential challenges and opportunities are presented in Table 6.5.

6. CONCLUSION

In the past, Northern communities have relied on a mix of employment opportunities in resource development (*e.g.* mining, hydro development, trapping, forestry), local government, military, education, and health-related industries to maintain community viability (Lemelin and Koster in press; Sandlos 2007). As employment in the resource sector has declined, many communities have turned to tourism based on natural resources to diversify their economic base (Reid 2003). A lack of existing documentation describing Aboriginal tourism initiatives in Ontario and more specifically in Northern Ontario perpetuates the assumption that Northern Ontario is largely driven by extractive industries such as forestry, mining, and hydro-electric developments. Such assumptions, as Cormier *et al*. (2008), Jasen (1995), Koster (in press), Lemelin *et al*. (2010), and Valda (2002) argue, fail to take into account the creation of large protected areas in Northern Ontario for recreational and tourism activities and the role of hunting and fishing in this region of the province. In fact, visitors have been coming to Moosonee and Moose Factory since the early 1930s (Barnes 1988, 1996; Smith 2004). Indeed, some destinations such as the Great Spirit Circle Trail and the Temagami Anishnabi Tipi Camp in Northern Ontario are quite popular, while other Aboriginal tourism destinations such as Eagle's Earth in Constance Lake, Kay-Nah-Chi-Nung National Historic Site near Rainy River, Minaki Lodge near Kenora, and the recent demise of NONTA (Northern Ontario Native Travel Association) illustrate the ongoing struggles and challenges that are associated with maintaining these infrastructures and operations. However, community attempts at "re-inventing themselves" with tourism as a major economic driver have met with mixed success (Williams and Van Patten 2006; Wilson *et al*. 2001) and, as a result, communities are both nervous about the boom-bust cycles characterizing such developments and disillusioned by empty promises of economic transformation (Payne *et al*. 2001). A major challenge presented by tourism as a means of community development is how to most effectively weave it into the complex socioecological fabric of the host community.

The analysis of the CVE with an expanded version of Scheyven's (1999) empowerment model provides an example of how tourism strategies can be integrated into larger social and economic development. The expanded empowerment framework provides a construct for examining

this case study where tourism was planned and managed to generate equity and promote empowerment. Based on ownership and the centrality of the Cree culture as an attraction, the CVE indicates how the MCCN has "negotiated their involvement in tourism from a position of strength" (Butler and Hinch 2007: 4).

However, as Getz and Jamieson (1987) and Butler and Hinch (2007) suggest, no set of principles or strategies can provide a universal guarantee of success in the context of Aboriginal tourism. This case study highlights several key factors (*i.e.* promotion, tourism infrastructure, services, hospitality) along with context, timing, leadership, and support that are key features of the CVE's success. Using the social-economy model of a community-owned non-profit entity, the CVE has successfully supported local and regional social and economic development, including the formation of a new regional tourism group (MFTA). Butler and Hinch (2007) and Getz and Jamieson (1997), however, suggest that while a communal approach to economic development is often associated with many Aboriginal communities, the success rate of similar tourism enterprises in Australia and western Canada (*i.e.* Alberta) is marginal.

Challenges facing Aboriginal tourism initiatives such the CVE and similar operations in Northern Canada are numerous, ranging from recovering from natural disasters to addressing the global economic downturn. The CVE and other success stories (*e.g.* the Quw'utsun' Cultural and Conference Centre, the K'san Historical Village and Museum in B.C.; le Village des Hurons in Québec) have demonstrated the potential for long-term sustainability of Aboriginal tourism operations (Kutzner *et al*. 2009; Zeppel 2002). The recent completion of the Hôtel-Musée Premières Nations in Wendake territory, just north of Quebec City, also indicates how the CVE has been influential in inspiring other First Nations in examining and developing similar types of infrastructures in their community. While these operations exist in a much different context, comparing the two operations in a few years would be interesting. The success and effectiveness of various Aboriginal tourism promotional strategies, including the distribution of the first edition of the *Aboriginal Tourism Guide* by Aboriginal Tourism Canada at the Winter Olympics in Vancouver, B.C., will also require further monitoring.

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7

REINVENTING ETHNIC IDENTITY
A Local Festival as a National Institution on a Global Scene

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1. INTRODUCTION

This chapter is about identity changes related to a festival and tourism in Northern Troms, a coastal Sami area. The festival, called "Riddu Riđđu," has been a yearly event in the locality of Manndalen (in the municipality of Gáivuona; see Figure 7.1) since the early 1990s. The festival has in many respects been a vital force of local change (Pedersen and Viken 2009).

The aim here is to show how the festival has been central to a revitalization process concerning the Sami identity of local people. There is of course a long history with processes and events that have formed the region's identity. Concerning the ethno-political situation, the area was long under strong Norwegization pressures, as policies tried to incorporate these people in the Norwegian society. This was a policy of suppression,

FIGURE 7.1

*The site of
Riddu Riđđu:
Manndalen,
Gáivuona (Norway)*
Map: Benjamin Ferlay

and the coastal Saminess was about to vanish in the late 1900s. In most places both the Sami language and many Sami symbols disappeared (Hauan 2003; Olsen 2000), and many young people were not aware of their Sami origins – it was more or less a non-topic. Partly due to this policy, the Sami were defined and perceived as a group of inlanders among the Norwegian public. Thus, many living in coastal districts have suffered from a double marginality. First, the Sami constitute a minority in Norway (as well as in Finland, Sweden, and Russia). Second, the coastal Sami have had a marginal position within the Sami society, where the mountain Sami have had dominant positions. At the end of the first decade of the 21st century, the costal Sami culture was regaining many positions, and in Gáivuona it is vital – almost half the children are taught the Sami language at school. Thus, a fast-going revitalization process has taken place. Initiated and forced through by a group of young people, the Riddu Riđđu festival has played a vital role in this process. It is not incidental that this happened in the late 20th century, a period with a growing institutional reflexivity (Giddens 1991: 21) when social institutions continuously were under "revision in the light of new information and knowledge" (Karlsen 2007: 34). Among institutions that have evolved are identity and ethnicity. The process has mostly been seen as revitalization by those involved with the Riddu Riđđu festival (Hansen 2007), but arguably, it has rather had the character of reinvention of culture since new ways of performing the culture have overshadowed the search for former practices (Steinlien 2006). However, such changes do not take place without controversies. Among those who have endeavoured to revitalize the Sami identity, many have tried to avoid antagonisms. However, their efforts have provoked others, and the ethno-political discourse has continually been part of the local public agenda. The controversies have sometimes been loud, but never really violent.

The Riddu Riđđu festival has been central in this process. It is acknowledged that festivals often have political undertones and can be viewed as demonstrations and celebrations of community power and solidarity (Jeong and Almeida Santos 2004: 641) and as "arenas in which politically and socially marginalized groups can express discontent and challenge the established order through symbolic revolutionary acts; thus [festivals] can be seen as mechanisms of resistance to the dominant social order" (*ibid*.). As this chapter will show, this is a good characteristic of the culture and festival in focus; a group of young people have used a festival as a revolt against an existing ethnic order. As for many other opposition groups, they have used arts and culture to convey their message. Both Bourdieu (1984) and Giddens (1991) discuss the significance of art in the negotiations of identity. To Bourdieu, art is a way of marking distinctions, whereas Giddens stresses the importance of art in the definition of selves

and in the creation of narratives about one self (Karlsen 2007: 39). The Riddu Riđđu people look at their event as an art festival – the programs have been filled with music, theatre, film, fine arts, and handicraft. As the 1980s had been a decade with much focus on Sami culture, it is not surprising that young people in this community should raise the question of their own identity. Their interrogation was transformed in policy, leading to the creation of an indigenous festival. The identity policies and impacts of the festival are the centre of attention for this chapter.

The chapter is based on observations, interviews, and a series of written accounts about the festival. One of the sources is a master's thesis giving a sequential description of the festival (Leonenko 2008). Master's theses by several of those involved in the establishing of the festival (Hansen, 2007) are another. The interviews are of three types: in-depth interviews with key persons in the festival organization, the manager, and the former manager in 2007; a few less structured interviews with academics related to the festival; and in 2008, during the festival, 12 interviews about local opinions of the festival. People were stopped outside the two side-by-side local stores and asked questions about the festival: "How do you look upon the ongoing festival?" was the first question after an introduction informing about this research. The respondents were of both genders and varying in age. As it turned out, most of those who were against the festival for religious reasons had little to say after having given a reason for their standpoint. A couple that had a politically based scepticism, as well as respondents who held a positive view on the festival, were much more informative. The interviews revealed that everybody seemed to have an opinion on the festival.

The chapter is organized as follows. First, the phenomenon of community festivals is discussed; second, the ethnicity discourse is referred to and related to the area in question. Third, the area's ethnic situation is discussed. Fourth, the empirical material is presented, focusing on the festival as such, its emergence, its role in the local identity policies, the prevailing ethnic antagonism, and whether the festival represents continuity or change. Fifth, the festival's institutionalization aspect is discussed, before a conclusion is drawn.

2. FESTIVALS

Festivals represent a social institution dating back to ancient times (Falassi 1987; Gold and Gold 2005; Hegnes 2006). Most festivals were social events and arenas, and often meant some business for a few stakeholders. In our age festivals have become much more commercialized and commodified than before and represent arenas for transactions and

individual consumption or benefit (Hegnes 2006). However, festivals still are arenas for pleasure and play and for celebrating traditions, customs, myths and beliefs, and freedom.

> At festival times, people do something they normally do not; they abstain from something they normally do; they carry to the extreme behaviours that are usually regulated by measure; they invert patterns of daily social life. Reversal, intensification, trespassing, and abstinence are the four cardinal points of festival behaviour (Falassi 1987: 3).

This tendency may also be strengthened by the fact that most festivals are arenas for art and new ways of presenting traditional culture and customs; arenas for creativity and experiments (Costa 2001). In fact, according to Duvignaud (1976), festivals can be seen as a means for social and cultural innovation and, according to Crepsi-Vallbona and Richards (2007: 120), there are festivals which have changed focus from the negative sides of modernization for local communities to the opportunity side of this process. As will be shown, the Riddu Riđđu Festival falls into this tradition.

Although many festivals are spaces for entertainment, individual consumption, and economic benefit, there also seems to be another background: local festivals based on community initiatives and volunteers, created to strengthen collective identities. Such festivals often have an integrative role (Hegnes 2006), at least for the originating group. Many festivals can be traced back to non-governmental organizations and political interest groups. Festivals seem to be a way to get attention. Lesbian and Gay Parades and New Age events are examples. Such festivals can be more or less political. During the last decades of the 20th century, the leftist parties in Norway held summer festivals, but there also is a tradition for festivals with narrower political aims – for instance, two festivals in Northern Norway are set up to create good relationships with neighbouring Russia (*Pomorfestivalen* in Vardø and *Barents Spektakkel* in Kirkenes) and another was created to give back a positive image to a place that, for a while, was known for crime and prostitution (*Skippergurafestivalen*). Thus, the festival in focus here, with an ethno-political goal, fits into a pattern of politically oriented festivals.

Festivals also have long traditions as markers of identities (Quinn 2005) as "community festivals frequently celebrate both group and place identity" (De Bres and Davis 2001: 327). Ekman (1999) has shown that festivals in Sweden are used as occasions for expressing belonging to a group or place. Festivals "engender local continuity," according to Quinn (2005: 928), and constitute arenas where history, cultural inheritance, and social structures that distinguish groups from one another are revised, rejected, or recreated. They represent a type of "cultural text" (Geertz 1993)

FIGURE 7.2   *Indigenous encounter*
Photo: Ole Magnus Rapp

that contributes to people's culture. This "text" has a discursive character; festivals are arenas not only for celebrating identities, but also for their negotiation. As De Bres and Davis (2001: 327) maintain, "[t]he role of festivals in challenging the perceptions of identity can be particularly important." In multicultural communities such as the one that is in focus here, there often is a struggle for hegemony among different ethnic groups.

Many festivals play on the tradition-modernity dimension (Hegnes 2006). Some festivals are put together to keep up traditions, some to revitalize traditions or revive history, and some to create new art, practices, or policies. History-oriented festivals often present entertainment through theatre or music plays. However, it is primarily the theme that is historic or heritage-related, as festivals as such are always modern. Coping with the past, be it in historical documents, as heritage, or as traditions, normally is done in a contemporary fashion and context where

selections, interpretations, and a denoting and encoding of the past take place (Lowenthal 1997). In particular, traditions are seen by many as contemporary constructs of former practices (Hobsbawm and Ranger 1983). Thus, when the Riddu Riđđu organizers play on the tradition-modernity dimension, they are within a strong tradition. Reinventing tradition is a way of interpreting the past and creating roots. This is one of the ways cultures develop.

Community festivals are also place-marketing and tourist attractions (Waterman 1998). Today, places are competing for attention among investors, workforce, and tourists. As tourist attractions, festivals will normally be part of the place promotion. Good festival experiences create good reputations for the place. However, for a group-based festival or a festival that negotiates an ethnic identity, the tourism rationale is more to gather ethnic compatriots than to display ethnicity for others. This is the case with Riddu Riđđu, which is created by and for the Sami, but not in an exclusive way. As both the performers and the audience primarily are Sami, this really is indigenous tourism – but not in the way it normally is perceived, *i.e.* indigenous culture as attraction for the modern gaze.

3. THE COASTAL SAMI IDENTITY: A MATTER OF LIFE EXPERIENCE, ASCRIPTION, OR CHOICE?

The concept of "identity" is a product of the modern age. According to Kellner (1992), in the era of post-modernity, identity is to a much lesser degree a given quantity and much more diverse, flexible, and situational than it was in earlier phases of modernity. Today, one cannot just be oneself: one must also choose who to be. Identity is the way in which we perceive, interpret, and present ourselves – and something of which one is relatively aware (Cohen 1994; Giddens 1991; Howard 2000). However, there is a strong tradition of seeing identity as a mirror of others' thoughts about oneself. It is "a dialectic between internal identification and external ascription," as Nagel (1996: 44) claims. This dialectic way of looking at identity coheres with a view of culture as a dynamic entity representing both a structure and "a process in which culture is defined and shaped by human thought and action" (*ibid.*). At the same time, how we define ourselves is not incidental. Identity is embedded in body and soul, something that goes behind all the social roles people possess (Castells 1997). In his discussion of identity, Mathews (2000: 12) refers to Bourdieu's concept of "habitus," a kind of embodied practice that contains a historical dimension. Habituated identities form stabilizing elements in people's lives. Ethnicity certainly is an identity element of this type.

According to Smith (1981: 66), an ethnic community is "a social group whose members share a sense of common origins, claim a common and distinctive history and destiny, possess one or more distinct features, and feel a sense of collective uniqueness and solidarity." This tends to be a conception of ethnicity as a structural trait, but Smith (2000) admits elements of social construction in the definition of ethnicity and the delineation of ethnic groups – referring both to theories of invented traditions (Hobsbawm and Ranger 1983) and imagined communities (Anderson 1991). In fact, this conception has had a strong position since Barth (1969) presented his seminal work on ethnicity in the late 1960s. "[F]or Barth, ethnicity is a superordinate identity, one which transcends or is at least equivalent to all other identities" (Nagel, 1996: 44), but when it comes to a particular ethnicity, there is no fixity as Barth sees it. Thus, there are many ways to act out a Sami identity. When growing up one takes on the local habits and habituates to local ways of living and thinking, developing a type of naturalized thinking and behaviour where cultural identity or ethnicity is a kind of immanent ethos. As this chapter will show, the coastal Sami ethos – spirit, values, and everyday practices – is still alive, at least in Manndalen, constituting a platform for the formation of a modern ethnic identity. However, this is also a relational matter. As Eythórsson (2003: 153) claims, the "ethnic identity of the coastal Sami is formed relative to the Norwegian, the Finnish, and the inland Sami others." Such processes tend to become "a demarcation between an 'us' and a 'them,' every identity implies the temptation to turn the other into an enemy who threatens my own (personal and group) identity" (Martín-Barbero 2002: 629).

Obviously, how vital the ethnic dimension is to people will vary. Cornell and Hartmann (1997: 73) elaborate a distinction between thick and thin ethnicity. In the first case, ethnicity "organizes a great deal of social life and both individual and collective action"; in the second, it is not important for everyday practices (*ibid.*). Cornell and Hartmann use the Italian Americans as an example. A hundred years ago, theirs was a thick identity, of vital significance for all aspects of life. Today, it is thin or of little importance for these people's everyday life. To what degree and how it is expressed is a matter of choice. This can also be said of the coastal Sami. For instance, Thuen (1995, 2003) shows that during the last two centuries it has been rather common that some members of a family were reckoned as Sami whereas others were not, depending on personal carriers and situations and contexts constituted by policies and metatrends. One of the informants in this study had had a dispute the day before about his family's origins: the informant claimed to have Finnish roots

and his brother, to be a Sami. This in fact illustrates that perceived ethnicity can be "situational" (Barth 1969) or "circumstantial" (Cohen 1969; Cornell and Hartmann 1997).

4. THE COASTAL SAMI SITUATION

For centuries people in the coastal Sami areas mainly lived off combining fishery and farming in a self-subsistence economy. Locally, they did not use the term "Sami," which for them applied exclusively to the reindeer-herding inland population. They called themselves "Lapps," "Finns," and "sea Finns," denotations that today have a tint of prejudice. The Sami's traditions, of course, also had identity implications. "Culturally speaking, the use of natural resources offers a sense of belonging and identity; reindeer herding by the inland Sami is a striking example of this. It appears that fjord fishing has a comparable symbolic effect for the coastal Sami," Nilsen (2003: 166) claims. There also were strong religious creeds in the region, notably Laestadianism, known as a strict and pietistic Lutheran Christianity.

Since the late 1800s, the Sami society and culture were a matter of suppressing and demolishing the Norwegian authorities' official assimilation policy. As the rights of Sami people have been recognized and their situation has improved in the second half of the 20th century, the focus has been on the inland Sami, whereas the coastal Sami society often has been forgotten or neglected (Eythórsson 2003; Hovland 1994). This happened even though the coastal Sami were as central as their inland companions in the first period of political organizing, around 1920. The coastal Sami way of living also was under pressure from the agricultural and fishing policies that favoured commercialized and market-oriented ventures (Nilsen 2003) and disregarded the self-subsistence economy. When fishing quotas were introduced, the number of catches in former years was decisive in getting a quota or not. Many of those combining fishing with farming had had too few catches and lost their fishing rights. Unlike many other indigenous groups in the USA, Canada, New Zealand, and Greenland (*ibid.*), the coastal Sami were awarded no concessions concerning farming and fishing. Thus, the traditional coastal Sami way of life in most places vanished or changed – some people found ways to adapt to the new political conditions (*ibid.*: 171). In many places, the coastal Sami were about to become or naturalized Norwegians had already done so. Most coastal Sami communities had at least become integrated parts of the Norwegian welfare society (*ibid.*: 164). However, it seems to be a better description to say that the Sami culture had more or less become

FIGURE 7.3

Looking outward and forward
Photo: Ole Magnus Rapp

invisible – a tacit and backstage culture (Eythórsson 2003). Despite all the political attacks, the coastal farming and fishing as well as the coastal Sami ethos survived; many coastal Sami still live their everyday life as it has been done for centuries, with some concessions to modernity.

Towards the end of the 20th century, most coastal Sami did not teach their children the native language, which was only spoken privately by elders. Most children went to ordinary Norwegian schools and, since the 1970s, many young coastal Sami have done university studies. In Manndalen, it was in fact these people who started posing ethno-political questions concerning their own origin, which evolved into the Riddu Riđđu festival. There still were signs of Saminess in their community. During their upraising the young people had noticed that grown-ups often communicated with people of their own age in a language they did not understand. Nor did they understand or accept that they had not been taught this language. They knew it was Sami. But they were Norwegian, they were told. Thus, many youths felt that they had lost something or had somehow been cheated on – why should they not learn the language of their forebears? And if their ancestors were Sami, how come they them-selves were Norwegian, as they were told? No wonder many were confused. As they did not feel like Norwegians and were advised not to be Sami, they had a neither-nor identity (Hauan 2003; Hansen 2007). Obviously, this problematic situation left many with an emptiness or confusion concerning their cultural identity.

In March 1991, some young people created a Sami Youth Association in Manndalen. To find out what it really meant to be a Sami, they made a tour to Guovdageainnu, in the middle of the inland Sami area. Coming back, they confronted their grandparents and others with what they had learned. But the elders' response was that this was not right, not the

traditions here, not their own Saminess. The local Saminess was something else, but what exactly was difficult to understand. The Saminess, for their grandparents, was not so much a reflexive matter as something naturalized and implicit. Thus the youngsters had to investigate what it was. There were few symbols left; no costumes, no reindeer herding, and the coastal farming and fishing were reckoned as Norwegian. But there were some strong leads, in particular the fact that elders spoke Sami and many place names that bore witness of a non-Norwegian past. One of the young Sami leaders had done a school thesis on place names which had also awakened her on her origins. Despite the Norwegization and assimilation processes, the coastal Sami daily life practices had not been eradicated. One informant told that, as an adult, she had recognized that her modesty is typical of the coastal Sami and that her way of relating to family and kin, as well as her way of cooking and the upraising of her children, had followed coastal Sami patterns.

At one point the young people in Manndalen gave up finding out what the *true* coastal Saminess was and more or less decided that it was *the way people in the community behave and think*. Steinlien (2006) argues that in this process these people changed their conception of culture and identity from something manifest and constant to culture as a processual matter and something created and chosen. This meant that to be a coastal Sami was to reckon themselves as Sami – *to choose to be Sami*. Some speak the language, others do not; some are aware of their Sami roots, others are not. Coastal Sami identity is not a given, but something to be defined. Thus it has been a culture-reinventing process, according to Steinlien (2006: 108). This way of defining coastal Saminess has obviously had great significance for the entire region. Central in this has been Riddu Riđđu, the festival initiated by young people from Manndalen in the 1990s.

5. RIDDU RIĐĐU: NEGOTIATING ETHNICITY

5.1. Emergence

The Riddu Riđđu Festival started in 1991 as a marking of the coastal Sami culture related to the annual national meeting of the Norwegian Sami Association (NSR). However, as several informants emphasized, there had already been some informal annual feasts that constituted a platform when the organizing process began in 1991. Thus, one of the origins of the festival was young people that wanted something to happen in their community: fun, music, and a party, as some of the founders remember it. Such motive also existed in 1991 when an event was labelled "Year or Days" (*Jagi vai Beaivvi*) and the Sami profile was clarified (Hansen 2007). Those in charge of the event were members of the newly started Sami

organization for young people, *Gáivuona Samenuorat*. The organization aimed at breaking the silence about Sami identity questions, creating awareness and policies regarding Sami culture and identity questions (Hansen 2007: 42), and raising such questions through performing arts and music events. This was not the first time that ethnic issues were raised in the community; the efforts made in the 1970s had not given viable results, but now an arts and music strategy was chosen instead of mere policies.

During the first years of the festival, such strategic choices were taken – informants insist that they were discussed and decided upon. The strategy highlighting arts and music was particularly important. There was an art tradition in the community. Several of the founders reflected on this fact. In her personal account, Hansen (2007: 56), a former festival leader, indicates that this probably was a way to utter values and thoughts that were alternatives to the strongly religious and narrow values that were predominant in the community. She quotes Weber (1970), who claims that art symbolizes freedom and a secular alternative to religious values. At one point the festival rejected a funding offer because it was too strongly related to politics (Hansen 2007). Most years the festival has had a heading theme: northern dance, northern theatre, northern trends, storytelling, celebrations, or traditional food (Leonenko 2008). One of those who had taken part in a former ethnic uprising, in the 1970s, admitted the art emphasis as a smart, softer, and more including strategy compared to the hard political line they had chosen previously. As part of the art and culture approach, local artists were involved in the development of the festival. Indigenous art and music were given priority in the festival programs. The first years, inland Sami performances and artists had a strong position reflecting their ethno-political dominance within the Sami society at the time (*ibid.*). However, in 2008, this pattern had changed. Another strategic choice was to ask questions and discuss vital local cultural issues. The Riddu Riđđu programs through the years show that vital topics have been advanced concerning the essence of their culture. However, at a certain point, the programs became more international and popular, or outwards and modern-oriented. A third strategic choice mentioned in the interviews was to involve ordinary people and the elders. After some scepticism and resistance in the first years, they attended as volunteers, tutors, and course holders. Thus, for years it has been a festival for all generations, not only young people, and in 2008 the family profile had already been emphasized for some years.

During the years the festival's ambitions grew higher, and in 1995 the name *Riddu Riđđu* ("Storm from the Coast") was chosen. The program has been a combination of local art and musicians, national artists, internationally recognized indigenous artists, and a combination of music,

Sami silhouettes
Photo: Ole Magnus Rapp

FIGURE 7.4

dance, theatre, art, and handicrafts with performances, exhibitions, work-shops, and seminars. This has been the major structure ever since, though an indigenous film program has been added to the festival.

The festival area is located a couple of kilometres off the main road, but in the middle of the settlement, close to the public school. There is no dens housing close to the festival, but it is surrounded by some farms and a magnificent mountain scenery. As it is, those living closer obviously hear the music played. However, the site is a bit away from the village.

Internally, the festival area is organized in different sections. There are two accommodation sites – there are no hotels in the area and people have to stay in tents –, one for youths and partying people, one for families. The performance area contains two stages, and there is an administration building with a film auditorium and seminar rooms, a shopping area, and a cafeteria and bar area. The accommodation and stage areas are separated by hay hedges (see Figure 7.2), a traditional way of preserving crops for the winter. The logistics function well, but also include a

significant guard staff due to some problems encountered in earlier years with drunk and high people. For some years the strategy has been that the festival shall be a family event.

There have been two particularly interesting sides to the programs all through the years of the festival. The first is their coping with the tradition-modernity dimension. When the young people realized that the type of Saminess practised in the inland was not theirs and decided that coastal Saminess is the way people live in the County of North Troms, this social construction solved many problems: "you may be as you are and you are a Sami – if you want." However, as a reflexive matter, culture is dynamic and the festival organizers were aware of their role as a creative cultural force. Thus they initiated many projects aiming at clearing up questions about their ethnicity. In these processes they looked back, forward, and outward. This means that to some extent, they tried to revitalize cultural expressions that had existed before, in particular the language skills and costumes, but also, for instance, storytelling and food traditions. However, this mostly was limited to symbolic markers of the culture. Related to this, Steinlien (2006: 105) denotes it as a policy of folklorification which often represents an exotization and a process in which the cultural content tends to change. This is also said to happen with modern Sami handicraft (*duoddji*; Gaski 2008). However, as both symbols and the functions they represented had vanished, it could be argued that the symbols have got meanings as signs of a modern and vital culture. In the Sami area, in many ways a modern society, this tends to be the primary function of many traditional symbols.

FIGURE 7.5

Coastal Sami rock circus
Photo: Ole Magnus Rapp

Along with the play on traditions, the festival has had a strong modern line with rock music, jazz, dance, theatre, and new films. This mixing of traditions and modern art and practices is probably a way to handle ethnicity in a postmodern era, using both elements in the construction of a contemporary community. Costa (2001: 544) claims that "the central mechanisms of transmission of tradition lie in the 'sociability' of the community that sustained and, at the same time, reflexively renews it by incorporating features of modern and contemporary life into the sociable framework of traditions." Somehow, the opposition between tradition and modernity is surmounted. This is very conspicuous at Riddu Riđđu.

A significant choice has been to give priority to indigenous cultures from all over the world, particularly in relation to ethnic music and dance. There has been an emphasis on northern peoples; Inuit, different Indian groups, and Russian Nenets, Komi, Tuva, and others. Indigenous groups from Asia have also been invited, and a particular relation seems to have been established with indigenous people from Taiwan (Leonenko 2008). Riddu Riđđu is probably more known internationally than in Norway, being globally a reputed indigenous music festival. The international impulses have been vital to the organizers and, as one of the key informants saw it, the global indigenous community has been much more important than the local and nearby traditions in constituting a modern coastal Sami identity. People from the festival, both organizers and Norwegian and local artists, have been invited to similar events in other places all over the world and, through this, got a recognition of the work done by the Sami and for their cultural expressions. Riddu Riđđu has added a recognition of the Sami culture as a strong indigenous culture, as was claimed at a seminar in 2008. At the same seminar a representative of the festival board declared that the Sami, originating from one of the richest countries in the world, should take a lead internationally in the indigenous peoples' strife for recognition.

5.2. Saminess on the Local Agenda

The most important role of Riddu Riđđu, from a local identity perspective, is that the festival has brought Saminess to the surface and ethnicity on the local agenda. Officially the Sami culture was reckoned as vanishing. As late as in 2001, the mayor of Gáivuona blamed those who tried to keep it alive (Hauan 2003). However, at that time, the reinvention process already had been going on for some years. The next mayor, himself from Manndalen and a Sami, has supported the festival very strongly. Saminess is no longer something to be silent about. Although the settlement's re-ethnification has provoked somehow strengthened antagonisms, it has also cleared the air (Pedersen and Viken 2009). As the process rolled, a

whole group of people realized that they were Sami. Thus, Saminess became a collective task, not something private and to be ashamed of. And more and more people, including in the generation of the youngsters' parents, showed their Saminess, partly willingly, partly led by their children, the public opinion, and political debates.

In 2008, the former neither-nor identity (Hansen 2007; Hauan 2003) has changed into a double identity; people are both Norwegian and Sami, a parallel to processes also known in other places on Earth (Kim 2006). Thus the Riddu Riđđu festival has had a therapeutic function by making ethnicity a collective and public issue and Saminess something to be proud of. Riddu Riđđu has given people in the region an occasion to go public with their Saminess. Olsen (2008: 175) claims that today "certain spaces in the public sphere are made available for expression of Sami identity." The festival also provided people with a repertoire of symbols to use in this process: first and foremost the language, but also costumes, small Sami emblems, and *yoik* singing. When some started to use the Sami markers others followed; one lady, telling about the tricky process it had been to start wearing the costume, confessed it definitely had helped not being alone. She was on the verge of tears when she told what a relief this had been. To her opinion Riddu Riđđu had been the most important

FIGURE 7.6

Coastal Sami in reconstructed costumes
Photo: Ole Magnus Rapp

catalyst in revitalizing the Sami identity in the region. According to Leonenko (2008: 97), "[s]ome of the informants even say that they would never know how to be a coastal Sami if the festival did not take place."

Many of those claiming to be Norwegian do not look on the self-declared Sami as real or authentic, calling them "new Sami," "cheat Sami," or "plastic Sami." The fact that the self-declared Saminess is so tightly tied to the festival contributes to this negative view: the festival is seen by many as a morally reprehensible or sinful event. Thus the Riddu Riđđu, while solving the ethnic dilemma on a personal level, somehow strengthened the oppositions within the community and the region. The question of origins is still is matter of dispute: however, as several informants claimed, there is a dynamic in such oppositions. Several of the critical informants admitted that the festival represented employment, activities, and promotion of the village and municipality (Pedersen and Viken 2009). It is also realized that in most of daily life, ethnicity is not very central, nor is the festival. Thus, for both sides, these controversies are to be lived with. This is in line with what others have noticed, that post-modern ethnicity can be practices "in classificatory spaces without interfering in the pragmatic coping with the everyday life" (Olsen 2008: 175). This probably also indicates that the ethnicity in question is not very thick (Cornell and Hartmann 1997) and that how thick it is often is situational. It is obviously much thicker during the Riddu Riđđu festival week than in the rest of the year.

One of the impacts of Riddu Riđđu is that it has created space for ethnic negotiation in the whole region and in many spheres. For instance, there is a strong music movement in the area, covering genres from rock to religious Sami hymns. The religious song tradition is inspired by *yoik*, the ancient traditional Sami type of singing. *Yoik* – a particularity for the Sami – has been given much attention by the festival, which also has offered courses and provided tutors. The Riddu Riđđu has also been important for local musicians, whose goal is to take part in the festival. Thus there are more or less year-round activities that relate to the festival. An institution within the festival is called "the young artist of the year." In 2007 a photographer won the title, which has gone to a songwriter in 2008, a testimony to the diversity of the festival's profile.

The Riddu Riđđu festival has provided people in coastal Sami areas with an identity that is ethnic and universal, modern and traditional, rural and urban at the same time. It has taught young people who want to be urban and mundane that it is possible to combine this with Saminess. To be ethnic and indigenous is to be modern and fashionable. The most important side of this is the confidence that people have earned.

Several informants agree on the utmost importance of this aspect: the festival has shown that it is possible to succeed with big projects and positive development if you work hard, have strategies, and make alliances.

5.3. Ethnic Coaching and Consolidation

The festival is not only a festival; every year, it has been a series of projects. In 2006–08, there were a children's festival and a youth camp. These events start in the beginning of the festival week, ending with a performance towards the weekend. This initiative has been successful and, as one said, a lot of fun. Since 2006 there has also been the Riddu Riđđu Indiville, "an indigenous village especially designed for families and others who want to acquire knowledge on indigenous issues" (Leonenko 2008: 75). Each year there are courses in particular arts fields and political or academic seminars are held. In 2008 a central topic was the Riddu Riđđu festival's role in the coastal Sami community during the last decade.

There also are discussions about offering some of the exhibitions or performances produced for the festival to other places. Several years, a theatre show has been produced that has been (or could have been) shown elsewhere afterwards. The possibility of doing this more systematically is contemplated, as well as including an arts administration or curator branch in the festival organization.

The Riddu Riđđu festival has become an institution for Sami encounters, not only for coastal Sami. People go there to meet other Sami. One of the informants said that Riddu Riđđu had become a reunion place and event for her family; she and her sisters and brothers lived dispersed, but in recent years they had gathered at the festival. This was also a place to bring children to inform them about Saminess and other indigenous cultures; Sami music traditions, Inuit drum play, and Indian folk music are examples of what these programs have contained. Thus, to many, it is a vacation and a family reunion. This role has also been observed in other festivals (Derrett 2003: 51). But at the same time it is an ethnic upraising of children that fosters new generations of Sami. Informants whose children went attended the children's festival were enthusiastic about this part; the camp was perceived as a good way to teach children aspects of their culture that their parents often do not master. One informant stressed the personal importance the festival had had in her process of becoming more aware of her coastal Sami background and what this meant. Thus the festival has both a function as "visiting friends and relatives" tourism and "roots" tourism, both modes being known from other areas. To most attendants the party factor is important, according to Leonenko (2008) – 60% of them come for the pleasure and fun, or for partying.

5.4. The Prevailing Ethnic Controversies

By 2008, Riddu Riđđu represented an important institution in the coastal Sami area. However the festival is still contested locally. It is reckoned as a good thing by those who look upon themselves as Sami and as a provoking event by others, some of the Laestadians in particular. Others say it is too much drinking and drugs, too much noise, and not their type of music. Elders look upon it as a youngsters' affair. The sceptics do not trust the Saminess of the festival people; they have taken it on to make money, several informants maintained. They have not much to say except for their negative stance. They are just negative, without having attended the festival. For some of them, there is an obviously religious background to their opinions. However, this does not mean that all Laestadians are against the festival, as some of them do attend it. Several of those who have negative feelilngs toward the festival recognize the work done by the Riddu Riđđu group. A couple of the negative informants had a secular standpoint and expressed some interesting thoughts. One of them said that the municipality of Gáivuona almost had become a fully Norwegian community at the time the youngsters started their ethno-political work – it could now have been a peaceful Norwegian community, but it is not. In particular, the fact that the municipality demands that people master the Sami language to get a municipal job is a pity, one informant claimed: "How can we then get the best qualified staff?" This was to take steps backwards as he saw it, expressing the dominant public opinion until

FIGURE 7.7

A relaxed audience
Photo: Ole Magnus Rapp

recently, that Saminess was "associated with backwardsness and humiliating poverty … whereas a Norwegian is associated with modernity and the new prosperous Norway of the post-war era" (Eythórsson 2003: 150). The same informant also meant that there had been a change in hegemony in the area; the Sami had reached a dominant position. The hegemonic group, as he saw it, strangles the opposition. One of the reasons that the opposition had become more tacit in recent years, he argued, is that the regional newspaper, *Nordlys*, the largest newspaper in northern Norway, had become a major sponsor of the festival. Thus, he meant, there was no public space for criticism. Viewed from the outside, it obviously has been a smart strategy for the festival to make this alliance.

It is in the nature of festivals to provoke and disrupt social order (Falassi 1987). Some have perceived the Sami awakening as threatening. In the early 1990s there was some symbolic violence going on. Most known is the shooting against signposts along the road that included both the municipality's Norwegian (Kåfjord) and Sami (Gáivuona) names. One of the ways this was responded on by Riddu Riđđu was a small play where these episodes were ridiculed (Hauan 2003). The social climate has changed: in 2008 the Riddu Riđđu people have a strong position in the municipality of Gáivuona. The festival has rearranged the social order, challenged the ethno-political hegemony, and partly changed it. Obviously, these processes have been supported by authorities on all levels (Nyseth and Aarsæther 2004; Pedersen and Viken 2009). Some feel this was provocative. This also has been observed in other inter-ethnic negotiations (Kim 2006: 292). The festival and the politics that accompany it have been a kind of societal stress that has made some people insecure and threatened.

5.5. Contextuality and Continuity

There is no doubt that there has been an encompassing revitalization of Sami culture going on in the County of North Troms and in Gáivuonain in particular, and that Riddu Riđđu has been a driving force in this process. However, it should be added that the political climate since the late 1980s has been favourable for such efforts, both nationally and internationally. There was a growing acceptance of the fact that the Sami issues had been neglected and obstructed by the authorities and of the need for Sami autonomy and support. The Sami Parliament was established as a powerful institution within the Norwegian political system. Internationally there also has been a period, from the 1990s onwards, where ethnic manifold and multiculturalism have been celebrated. For instance, ethnic music, which is a core element of Riddu Riđđu, has been an international vogue. Thus, the success of Riddu Riđđu also has a contextual and situational

explanation. There are good reasons to believe that the festival has represented a local and regional translation of national and international trends and policies. To announce it as an indigenous festival not only has been an adaptation to global trends; it can also be seen a strategic choice to have loose ties to the well-established inland Sami society. The global ethnic community has obviously been an alternative alliance. This strategy gives additional freedom and impulses in a situation where the attitude seems to be that the ethnic identity should be chosen more that recaptured.

In the Riddu Riđđu organizers' rhetoric, their project has been to *revitalize* the Sami culture (Hansen 2007). The choice of terms is contested. One of the informants maintained that this was wrong, as the coastal Sami culture never vanished, only having a period of meagre conditions. So, according to him, what happened is that the hidden or low-profiled culture has been brought up to the surface. To front the work as revitalization is to admit that the culture was dead, the informant rhetorically claimed. As he saw it, this was also a reason for the resistance among local people – why should they revive something that no longer exists? "This strategy was a mistake," he claimed. There obviously are two social constructs competing; continuity or change. Continuity should have been chosen, as this informant saw it. To him, what has happened is that some people have gone public with their ethnicity and, as he pointed out, "young people picking up the culture of the elders is the way cultures normally survive."

6. RIDDU RIĐĐU: INSTITUTIONALIZING "ANARCHY"

During the official opening of the 2008 Riddu Riđđu festival, the Norway Minister of Cultural Affairs declared the event a "node festival," a status it now shares with a dozen other festivals in the country. This means that the festivals will have a yearly funding from the government of 1.5 million NOK (200,000 euros). This is a significant recognition for the festival. However, in the discussion after the proclamation of this status, a fear was expressed that this would make the festival more commercial and bureaucratic and that it would lose its "anarchistic" character – the festival is perceived as being a bit incidental and without clear strategies, but creative and innovative. There was no risk for losing this, the management declared. However, there is no doubt that the festival has turned into one of the more important institutions within the Sami realm.

"Institutions consist of cognitive, normative, and regulative structures and activities that provide stability and meaning to social behaviour. Institutions are transported by various carriers – cultures, structures, and routines – and they operate at multiple levels of jurisdiction" (Scott 1995: 33).

This means that institutions are giving direction for policy and economic development, functioning as constraints and frames for both individual and collective action (see Dale 2002: 7). The Riddu Riđđu festival obviously constitutes a frame for local policy and development and for the lives of local people. One important aspect is that culture has become a viable industry locally. The elements highlighted by Scott (1995) can certainly apply to Riddu Riđđu. There has been a tremendous change in norms in North Troms, and in Gáivuona in particular. The predominant norm in the beginning of the 1990s was that it was not socially accepted to be a Sami or to speak the Sami language. Now, if you go to a place where people meet, you hear Sami as often as Norwegian. Concerning regulation, Riddu Riđđu has earned a position as a leading organization for Sami music and popular art, even as an official "node festival." The municipality has declared Gáivuona as Sami and the *Sami Act*, making Sami an official language, has ben enacted. The cognitive element of an institution is that it forms the way people are thinking and acting. This has obviously been the case in Gáivuona, as the language and culture are revitalized and many people are publicly Sami – something that also is constitutive for those who are not.

One way the Riddu Riđđu festival contributes to the institutionalization of Saminess is that it is a place where specific aspects and ways of Saminess are taught. The traditional way of picking up an ethnic identity is by being part of it, being raised and trained according to traditions and customs – it's the natural way of taking on an identity. As regards intentional training, the traditional knowledge has to be, at least to some extent, systemized and formalized. Another aspect of this is that the training is taken out of its context. *Yoik* is a way to express the person being *yoik*ed, and it is this person's personal belonging (Gaski 2008). As regards teaching, this aspect will not be there and the emotional side of *yoik* is weakened. So the courses that Riddu Riđđu organizes represent a step toward a formalized cultural knowledge. Traditions have turned into traditionalism – not something lived, but a matter of conveyance for political or ideological reasons. There is a risk that cultural expressions and artefacts become less dynamic, as formalizing culture means "freezing" it at a certain point. However, it could be argued that this is the way cultures are transmitted in the modern world, where kindergartens and schools have a significant share in the upraising of the next generations. A festival can have the same function. Anyhow, this type of institutionalization has been important to the revitalization of Sami knowledge in Manndalen and the areas around.

The Riddu Riđđu festival does not give the impression of becoming a rigid institution in the organizational meaning of the term. There is a strong youth element in the organization and the program. In 2008 the manager was a young lady in her mid-twenties and a significant part of the program is composed of performances by young people. Several elements underlined the manifold of both the festival and coastal Saminess; groups of young dancers and musicians consisting of Sami and non-Sami danced and played on the hybrid modern-ethnic identity. To the young artists this was a place to perform their modern art, its ethnic themes being of less importance. And the dance, which holds a strong position in Riddu Riđđu, has no tradition in Sami past. Probably this is the nature of post-modern ethnicity: playing with art, playing with ethnicity – being playful. Anyhow, the festival fits into the postmodern perception of culture, highlighting radical change, disruption, discontinuity, inequality, movement, hybridity, difference, and deterritorialization (Atkinson 2004: 281). Atkinson (*ibid*.), leaning on Appadurai (1996), mentions the way "culture practices like rap and hip-hop have been universalized and radically indigenized across the world." Riddu Riđđu has contributed to this process. So the festival fits into the frames of another structuring institution of the postmodern era, that of globalization. This is not only a stabilizing institution, but one that give young people space for experimenting and developing identities that at the same time are ethnic, hybrid, and modern. None of them bothers for the future of the coastal Saminess; this is their practice, their lives.

To sum up, the Riddu Riđđu festival is an example of ethno-politics where the Norwegian welfare and modernizing institution represented an institutionalized assimilation and suppression of Sami culture. Second, the modern institutions constituted arenas for development of reflexivity and rejection concerning the ongoing assimilation politics. Third, Riddu Riđđu represents an institutionalization of the modern ethnicity in the area. Fourth, the festival adds to a global institutionalization of indigenous groups, both in their original location and as stakeholders on the international political scene.

7. CONCLUSION

This chapter has presented the development and significance of an indigenous festival in the coastal Sami areas of Norway and discussed its role as an identity institution for coastal Sami. The festival obviously has had great importance for a significant group of people; the neither-nor identity of these people in the coastal Sami area has been changed to a double identity: they are both Sami and Norwegian. The festival manifests the coastal Sami culture as modern, internationally integrated, optimistic, and offensive. For a period of a week each year, the Sami have a hegemonic position in Manndalen. The rest of the year, the community is rather a multicultural one, with at least three ethnic origins, and occupied with normal daily life affairs. The festival gathers Sami people from all over Scandinavia and Russia and indigenous people from all over the world. Riddu Riđđu shows that mobility is also an indigenous trait these days. Contemporary coastal Sami culture is not merely a function of place and local history, but as much a result of global flows of ideas, information, cultural expression, and people.

Since the 1990s, the Riddu Riđđu festival has been an important arena for identity negotiations for the coastal Sami. As such it is interesting because its focus has been outward and forward, not inward and backwards. Nativeness is not necessarily to look back at rather than aside. In Gáivuona the efforts to re-establish a Sami identity that once existed were given up and substituted with an inventive attitude and a strong international orientation. The conclusion was that coastal Saminess is what local Sami themselves enact; their performances on stage, backstage, in feast, and in everyday life. This was their invention, implying that coastal Saminess is constantly reinvented. Saminess is obviously something to celebrate, not as heritage but as something that is lived and practised in a variety of ways. The coastal Sami have got a whole series of new symbols, but the most important is Riddu Riđđu. The festival stands as a proof of ethnicity as a viable force, if people believe in it, to go public and use art as a political medium.

This also shows that a festival such as Riddu Riđđu can be an important institution in negotiations of a (post)modern ethnic identity. This seems to be a mixture of ascription and choice. There are long-standing Sami traditions, but also a Norwegianized past. People, the communities, and the municipalities have in fact chosen to reinvent their Sami foundations, in a process strongly tied to the development of a festival. Thus, Riddu Riđđu has had a healing impact on the communities; the confusion of identities and the suppressed Saminess were like injuries that had to be treated. However, it should be emphasized that the festival would not have any agency without local people who have used it as a channel or a space where ethnicity issues could be dealt with and highlighted (Olsen 2008). This is clearly a vital side of modern festivals; they represent a public space that is needed – somewhere to meet, negotiate, and act together. Festivals are not only "cultural texts" (Geertz 1993), they are arenas where such texts are authored. And Riddu Riđđu is not only a cultural event, but a cultural institution that strongly contributes to the ongoing process of defining the local culture. The reason why the festival has been so important in these respects may also relate to the freedom of such events; they are arenas where it is more or less expected that culture will be challenged, controversial issues discussed, and policies formed (Falassi 1987). It may well be that this is particularly important for a sparsely populated area as Gáivuona and North Troms, where few public spaces exist. Thus, the Riddu Riđđu festival seems to fill a gap.

The challenge for the Riddu Riđđu festival organizers is to keep on to their innovative track – to also be, in the future, an arena for ethnic negotiations and a reinventing force. As for most other festivals and movements, there is a need for stability and to be organized and better managed. And Riddu Riđđu has got a status and budgets that enable a more organized existence. These institutional processes represent both opportunities and challenges; the festival is about to leave its infancy, to become a grownup. This is a more complicated life, that calls for being responsible and acting as a model for others. The festival organizers are aware of this and claim that the sprit of the young people and "anarchy" will remain the lead in future. It is the festival as such that is about to become an institution, not the people in charge or its content, it is maintained. Thus youth power seems to be an integral part of the institutionalized strategies of Riddu Riđđu – strategies that give hope for the future.

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8

SUSTAINABLE TOURISM DEVELOPMENT IN ANTARCTICA
Conceptualization, Perspectives, and Ways Forward

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1. INTRODUCTION

The last two decades have seen a rapid development of tourism in Antarctica with increasing visitor numbers, from a few hundred to almost 45,000 (IAATO 2008), and a diversifying supply of transport modes and activities. After an initial period of slow growth, tourism development took off in the late 1980s and early 1990s. Antarctica is a special tourism destination for a number of reasons, including the extreme climatic and weather conditions, the short four- to five-month season, the unique ecosystems and wildlife populations, the absence of an indigenous population, the sparse human (infra)structures, the relatively limited human activities, and the tailor-made international governance system posing particular challenges for regulation and management (see

Figure 8.1). The rate and diversifying scope of tourism development in Antarctica raises concerns about the sustainability of the activity in this special region.

Recent policy discussions at Antarctic Treaty Consultative Meetings (ATCMs) reflect these concerns and focus on the need for additional legal instruments and measures, such as site-specific guidelines and shipping standards, to mitigate some of the negative effects of tourism. A range of authors and organizations (Bastmeijer and Roura 2004; Molenaar 2005; Amelung and Lamers 2006; ASOC 2006) argue that, in addition to these rather reactive measures, a more proactive long-term tourism policy is needed, based on a strategic vision on Antarctic tourism. Recently, the tourism industry and a number of Antarctic Treaty Parties have taken up this idea of a strategic tourism policy vision (Antarctic Treaty System 2008; Scully 2008; United Kingdom 2008).

This chapter aims to contribute to this development in Antarctic tourism policy. The point of departure is the widely shared ambition of attaining sustainable development. The concept of sustainable development has never been thoroughly discussed in the Antarctic context, let alone for Antarctic tourism. Despite being a contested concept, it is clear that sustainable development involves a certain balance of economic,

FIGURE 8.1

A unique Antarctic experience: a tourist in contemplation at Petermann Island
Photo: Machiel Lamers

ecological, and social qualities. Tourism is a complex system of companies, governance bodies, organizations, and individuals, each with a different role and different interests in and perspectives on the development of the industry. Understanding these different stakeholder perspectives in the context of sustainable development is the aim of this chapter. Some recent work has been done before on the issue of stakeholder perspectives (Stewart *et al.* 2006; Haase *et al.* 2007), but never with a specific focus on sustainability. The main question this chapter seeks to answer is how the concept of sustainable development can be applied in the case of Antarctic tourism and how the development of tourism in this special part of the world can be steered towards sustainability. A series of interviews with a mix of Antarctic tourism experts forms the main material for answering this question.

In section 2, some methodological considerations are presented. Section 3 introduces the concepts of sustainable development and sustainable tourism from which an analysis framework is derived. Section 4 applies these concepts to the Antarctic tourism case by using interview material and literature. Based on the results, section 5 proposes and discusses ways to enlarge our understanding of sustainable tourism development in Antarctica and ways to steer in this direction. Section 6 concludes this chapter.

2. METHODOLOGY

A perspective-based assessment of the sustainability of Antarctic tourism requires in-depth knowledge about the tourism industry and its activities, as well as the regulatory context. It also requires a broad knowledge of the key stakeholders' perspectives. The academic Antarctic tourism literature and Antarctic Treaty System (ATS) documents provide a wealth of information, but they lack crucial insights, in particular on emerging strategic issues and subjective viewpoints. Complementary to the literature analysis, qualitative data were therefore obtained through semi-structured stakeholder interviews. A total of seventeen interviews were conducted with international stakeholders and experts in Europe, North America, and South America. During these interviews a semi-structured interview guideline was used reflecting emerging strategic issues in Antarctic tourism, such as the increasing scale of industry, new forms of tourism, compatibility with Antarctic values and other use groups, and options for future governance. Interviews were audio-recorded, transcribed, and sent back to the interviewees for revisions and consent. To maintain the confidentiality of the data, interviewees remain anonymous and a coding system will be used to refer to interview results (for details see Table 8.1).

TABLE 8.1 – **CATEGORIZATION AND CODING OF INTERVIEWEES**

Coding	Category	Profile	Date
O1	Organizer	Sales and marketing director of cruise company (<200) in the USA	16-06-2007
O2	Organizer	Executive director of industry association	07-06-2007
O3	Organizer	Expedition leader of cruise company (<200) in the Netherlands	27-11-2006
O4	Organizer	Expedition leader of cruise company (>500) in the USA	22-06-2007
O5	Organizer	Director of cruise company (<200) in Canada	12-06-2007
O6	Organizer	Director of Antarctica cruise agent company in Argentina	19-02-2008
M1	Monitor	Antarctic tourism researcher and penguin expert from the United Kingdom	06-06-2007
M2	Monitor	Antarctic tourism researcher and university lecturer in the United Kingdom	08-06-2007
M3	Monitor	Environmental officer for the National Antarctic Program (NAP) in the USA	14-06-2007
M4	Monitor	Logistical director for the NAP in the USA	14-06-2007
M5	Monitor	Environmental officer for the NAP in Argentina	18-02-2008
M6	Monitor	Antarctic legal expert from the Netherlands	18-02-2005
R1	Regulator	Antarctic policy maker in the USA	13-06-2007
R2	Regulator	Antarctic policy maker in Chile	15-01-2008
R3	Regulator	Policy maker at ATS secretariat in Argentina	19-02-2008
R4	Regulator	Policy maker and tourism expert at ATS secretariat in Argentina	19-02-2008
R5	Regulator	Antarctic policy maker in the United Kingdom	14-04-2005

3. TOURISM AND SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT

The concept of sustainable development was made popular by the famous report of the World Commission on Environment and Development, also known as the Brundtland Commission (World Commission on Environment and Development 1987). This report's definition of sustainable development is widely used: "Sustainable development is development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs." While this definition gives some general guidelines, it leaves many issues unresolved and does not provide much guidance for solving concrete dilemmas and making trade-offs. Several dozens, if not hundreds, of other definitions have been proposed, but the vagueness remains (Robinson 2004; Williams and Millington 2004). However, a number of common denominators of sustainable development can be derived from the literature, such as the implied balance of economic, ecological, and social developments, the achievement of human well-being (*i.e.* intragenerational equity), and the balance between current and future generations (*i.e.* intergenerational equity) (Huynen 2008).

Several broad philosophical communities can be discerned in the sustainability debate. On the one hand, there are those who regard sustainability as an objective biophysical or societal reality: there are certain real and absolute limits to the use we can make of the Earth or society's resources and sinks. On the other hand, some regard sustainability as a social construct: what we call sustainable is the result of a value judgment, a trade-off between priorities and interests. The former view of sustainable development is closely linked to the notion of (very) strong sustainability, in which natural capital cannot (or only in a very limited way) be replaced by human-made capital. The latter view is closely related to the notion of (very) weak sustainability, in which human-made capital (technology) can be a substitute for natural capital in many instances (Robinson 2004; Williams and Millington 2004).

The differences between both views may be partly explained by differences in spatial and temporal scale levels chosen for the focus of analysis. It is relatively easy to think of the Earth as a closed system, "only" exchanging (solar) radiation and heat with the universe. The lower the level of analysis, the more open the systems of concern become, and the more arbitrary their boundaries. As a result, much room is left for interpretation on how this can be achieved. In virtually all real-world applications, then, sustainable development is a concept that must be interpreted and defined by the stakeholders involved. The ambiguous balance between economic, ecological, and social goals, the complex interplay of processes on multiple spatial and temporal scales, and the involvement of multiple actors with varying interests, beliefs, and knowledge, make implementation a daunting task (Grosskurth and Rotmans 2005).

Tourism has made an early arrival in the sustainable development debate. The World Tourism Organization (WTO) launched the principle of sustainable tourism as early as 1988. "Sustainable tourism development meets the needs of present tourists and host regions while protecting and enhancing opportunities for the future. It is envisaged as leading to management of all resources in such a way that economic, social and aesthetic needs can be fulfilled while maintaining cultural integrity, essential ecological processes, biological diversity and life support systems" (WTO 1993). The notion of sustainable tourism has also not gone unnoticed in the tourism research community (*e.g.* Butler 1991; Hunter 1997; Sharpley 2000; Saarinen 2006). The positive economic impact of tourism, as well as the growing evidence of substantial negative impacts of tourism, has accelerated the introduction of sustainability concepts in tourism research.

Saarinen (2006) argues that similar to the sustainable development literature, research traditions of sustainable tourism range from understanding resource-based (*i.e.* based on biophysical carrying capacities) and

activity-based (*i.e.* based on operational capacities) limits to community-based tourism. A whole literature on an absolute measure of carrying capacity developed in the 1970s and 1980s, a concept which was later practically abandoned, largely because of difficulties in making it operational (Lindberg *et al.* 1997; McCool and Lime 2001). Activity-based limits to tourism development focus on the operational capacity of the tourism industry in a given destination resulting from business constraints (*e.g.* access, attraction, market, facilities). Operational capacity is more dynamic and relative; it can be expanded by investment in marketing and infrastructure, increasing the scale of tourism activity in a destination's life cycle (Butler 1980). Finally, the tradition of community-based tourism, or collectively negotiating trade-offs on the local level, has been proposed as a way to overcome difficulties of the previous two traditions with numerous case studies and implementations worldwide. It implies that a balance be struck between economic, ecological, and sociocultural objectives of development represented by stakeholders, which clearly involves relations of power and political decision-making (Saarinen 2006). The three research traditions of sustainable tourism serve as a theoretical context in this chapter and raise three major dilemmas that need further elaboration.

The first dilemma relates to the focus of sustainable tourism development. Should sustainable tourism be seen as tourism that sustains itself, that sustains local communities, or should tourism's role be one of sustaining larger global systems? In other words, should tourism be seen as an end or as a means in the context of sustainable development? Hunter (1997) and Sharpley (2000) claim that definitions such as the WTO's are tourism-centric, focusing on the question of how tourism can be developed as to maximize benefits and minimize (ecological, social, cultural) costs rather than how tourism can contribute to the sustainable development of a society. Hunter (1997) describes four interpretations of sustainable tourism which can be justifiably used by stakeholders, each focusing on different objectives. Applying this adaptive conceptualization allows for a more thorough understanding of different perspectives on sustainable tourism development:

- Sustainable development through a "tourism imperative" is heavily skewed towards the fostering and development of tourism: environmental and social concerns are much less pressing. Tourism could contribute to sustainable development in destinations where it could replace or pre-empt economic activities that are heavily degrading the environment and contributing little to the livelihood of local communities.

- Sustainable development through "product-led tourism" focuses on developing new and maintaining existing tourism products, where environmental and social concerns are important as long as they sustain these products. This approach is most easily justified in tourist destinations that have become heavily dependent on tourism income.

- Sustainable development through "environment-led tourism" prioritizes environmental concerns over marketing opportunities. The aim would be to promote types of tourism which specifically rely on the maintenance of a high-quality natural environment. Regulation and encouraging the greater use of waste-free technologies by tourism businesses are important.

- Sustainable development through "neotenous tourism" actively and continuously discourages the development of tourism on ecological grounds. In terms of the destination life cycle, the aim would be to keep tourism development to the exploration or involvement stages.

Second, the appropriate level of scale for analysing sustainable tourism is not self-evident. As focus of analysis moves from the local to the global and from the present to the future, relationships become more abstract and answers further out of reach. Important issues of both spatial and temporal scale have therefore been largely neglected in studies of sustainable tourism. Studies of sustainable tourism development have been elaborated much more for local destinations than for the world as a whole. Intergenerational equity is a common denominator of sustainable development, which clearly implies taking a long-term perspective on tourism activity. Delimitation in time and space, or choosing the appropriate scale for analysis, and relating the system of interest to the broader context are important elements in sustainability assessments (Weaver and Rotmans 2006).

Deciding on the goal and appropriate spatial and temporal scale includes decision-making, which forms the third dilemma of sustainable tourism. Management and planning are usually seen as the appropriate instruments to ensure a sustainable outcome, and public authorities are held responsible for their implementation. A recently emerging alternative perspective on tourism development is that it is predominantly driven by demand and entrepreneurship, not by authorities or regulation. According to this view, it becomes increasingly clear that tourism development is very complex and cannot be easily controlled or planned (McKercher 1999; Russell and Faulkner 1999, 2004). As the influence of authorities and their capacity to control developments diminish throughout the world, however, pressure is mounting on the business community to adopt part of this agenda (Keijzers 2002). A large share of the corporate sustainability literature is dedicated to the quest for reconciliation of the objectives of making

a profit and of meeting societal requirements (Dyllick and Hockerts 2002). Governance for sustainable tourism therefore implies a joint responsibility of all stakeholders involved (Van Zeijl-Rozema *et al.* 2009). In the following section these three major dilemmas will be analysed for the case of Antarctic tourism development.

4. APPLYING SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT TO THE ANTARCTIC TOURISM CASE

4.1. Sustaining What?

In the Antarctic, the question of establishing the main objective of sustainable development is ever more pertinent as an indigenous human population is absent. This is not to say that host and recipient communities do not exist for Antarctic tourism. Communities living in the Antarctic gateway cities (particularly those in South America), the scientific and logistic communities of National Antarctic Programs present on Antarctic research stations, people working at non-governmental organizations looking after Antarctic biodiversity or heritage sites, the community of tour operators, and those employed by these companies do benefit from the development of tourism. It does mean that other objectives than providing sustainable livelihoods for local communities prevail.

The main aim of the 1959 Antarctic Treaty is to ensure peace and to facilitate international cooperation for scientific research (Antarctic Treaty System 1959). Articles 2 and 3 of the 1991 Protocol on Environmental Protection list the "values" fundamental to Antarctica that need protection, such as environmental quality (*e.g.* air, soil, water, ice, flora, and fauna), scientific values (*e.g.* the laboratory function of the ice sheet), and other values (*e.g.* aesthetic, wilderness, and existence values) (Antarctic Treaty System 1991). In addition, historic values are mentioned in Annex V of the Protocol. It should be stressed that these values are strongly interrelated. For instance, if the environmental quality decreases due to human activities (*e.g.* oil pollution), aesthetic and scientific values are likely to be affected as well. The above-mentioned values are affected by current tourism activities in different ways and will continue to be influenced as tourism continues to grow and diversify.

Environmental quality is renowned and accepted without exception by the interviewees as the leading principle for future tourism activities.

> *My concern would be that Antarctic tourism was not sufficiently managed to ensure that it had a minimal impact on the environment, that safety of passengers would be guaranteed, and that it runs no risk of putting demand on national programs* (R1, 2007).

The same goes for human safety, which is generally recognized as a fundamental condition or concern regarding the conduct of human activities in Antarctica, especially in the interviews conducted after the recent sinking of the *M/S Explorer*. The other less tangible Antarctic values receive less attention in the interviews (R1, 2007; M2, 2007; M6, 2005). Assessments have revealed little evidence of environmental impacts caused by tourism (Stonehouse and Crosbie 1995; Hofman and Jatko 2000; Naveen *et al.* 2000; Stewart *et al.* 2005; Snyder and Stonehouse 2007), although there are a few exceptions (Pfeiffer and Peter 2004). However, there may be lacunas in our knowledge due to a limited research effort (M2, 2007); in particular, the fast increase of Antarctic tourism in combination with other factors, such as climate change, results in major uncertainties about potential future impacts, including cumulative impacts (M4, 2007). Some interviewees stress the contribution of tourism to environmental protection (R3, 2008), for example through the creation of ambassadorship, generating donations (O6, 2008), and the "watchdog" role (O5, 2007).

> *The ideal state in 25 years … is for tourism to be the most important thing going on in the Antarctic, along with science of course. For tourism to be the only industry there. That the continent is kept for peace and science. Do you want to ensure peace? Bring more tourists* (O5, 2007).

It is feared by some of the interviewees that increased tourist visits to scientific research stations may interfere with research activities, while it is believed that science should be prioritized over tourism because of the larger societal relevance (R1, 2007). On the other hand, national programs also benefit from tourism visitation, through the sales of souvenirs, logistical services, or even accommodation (see Figure 8.2). Some are even dependent on these mutual services (O2, 2007).

> *We live in a world of science budget cuts … There are many countries that cannot afford science. So if there is a way that tourism and science can work together, and it's not going to affect the integrity of Antarctica, the wildlife, and there is a way to cooperate, it is fine* (O2, 2007).

Also, as groups of tourists increasingly visit areas where scientific research is conducted and new unexplored parts of the Antarctic, the scientific value (laboratory function) of these places diminishes (M2, 2007), unless one wants to measure the impact of tourism. On the other hand, it is argued that the impact of the current practice of tourism is by any means much less than other activities, such as the running of scientific stations or conducting scientific research (O2, 2007; O6, 2008). Tourism activities impinging on wilderness and existence values are recognized by a number of interviewees (O3, 2006; O5, 2007; M6, 2005; M1, 2007; M2, 2007).

FIGURE 8.2

I think that my top concern would be that the intrinsic scientific value of the Antarctic would be compromised with Antarctic tourism that is not managed properly. To really look at what Antarctica has to offer to mankind … The value of having this place in the world without human activity is at the risk of being lost (M2, 2007).

It is argued that these intangible or immeasurable values should be considered in the authorization of activities or the setting of norms and standards (M6, 2005). For example, land-based tourism infrastructures and facilities, air links, and certain types of adventure sports have been mentioned as developments that would not be compatible with these Antarctic values (O3, 2006; O4, 2007; O5, 2007; M2, 2007; M6, 2005).

In addition to these core values, in recent years the issue of human safety has received much attention, especially after the sinking of the *M/S Explorer* in November 2007. Safety risks are inherent to human activities in remote polar regions (O3, 2006; O5, 2007). Sufficient preparation, insurance, and contingency planning, but also quality equipment, information, and experience, are generally seen as crucial factors in minimizing these risks (Murray and Jabour 2004; Lamers *et al.* 2007). Still, certain activities may be more likely to cause danger for tourists or for the activities of other parties in the area. Support staff of national programs have been called in on the rescue of expedition cruise ships (Stewart and Draper

2008) and one-off (or independent) expeditions (*e.g.* aviators, yachtsmen, and cross-continent skiers; Lamers *et al.* 2007). Large-scale operations (*e.g.* cruises with large ships) are a cause of concern for stakeholders, because of the lack of sufficient capacity in the region to respond in case of an incident, the environmental damage, and the pressure it may cause for the Antarctic Treaty System (R1, 2007; R2, 2008; R3, 2008). Others argue that companies operating larger ships are much safer because of better technology and higher safety standards (O2, 2007; O6, 2008).

The analysis demonstrates that perspectives on what it is that needs to be sustained diverge considerably among stakeholders. Despite the absence of an indigenous population, all four of Hunter's sustainable tourism interpretations can be found in the analysis. Interviewees perceiving tourism as a relative innocent industry, a watchdog, and a creator of ambassadors for protecting the Antarctic environment against other more destructive industries fit in the category of sustainable development through a tourism imperative. This perspective was expressed by some of the operators. Perspectives on the compatibility with, or even dependency of science on, tourism would fall under the category of sustainable development through product-led tourism. Opinions on the relationships between science and tourism largely differed between operators on the one hand and regulators and monitors on the other. Ideas of minimizing impacts and maintaining high environmental standards in tourism operations fit in the category of sustainable development through environment-led tourism. The concept of environment-led tourism is shared widely among interviewees. Finally, advocates of the precautionary approach based on scientific uncertainty and intangible values will find themselves mostly aligned with the concept of sustainable development through neotenous tourism. This perspective is expressed mainly by monitors.

4.2. Delimitation in Space and Time

Antarctica, as a tourism destination, poses a major question with regard to the appropriate spatial and temporal focus of analysis. When focusing on Antarctica as a whole, many interviewees claim that tourism volumes remain modest compared to the size of the continent (R3, 2008; O2, 2007; O5, 2007). Activities are strongly concentrated in space and time. Arrivals are clustered in the short Antarctic summer season of about four months, coinciding with the science activities of the National Antarctic Programs (NAPs) and the breeding season of most animal species, which is of concern to some interviewees (M5, 2007). Most tour operations take place in the Antarctic Peninsula area, because of its geographical proximity to South America and the absence of sea ice (Stonehouse and Crosbie 1995). Biodiversity is relatively high in this area, in particular around the ice-free

landing sites used by tourists. Within this area, a limited number of suitable landing spots exist, as many coastal zones are covered with snow and ice or inaccessible. It has been argued that within the Peninsula there are differences between regions in terms of tourist activities and visitation flows (Argentina 2006).

Contrary to the continent or Peninsula-wide scale, popular tourist spots, such as the Lemaire Channel (see Figure 8.3) or Deception Island, have already been reported as congested in the peak season (O4, 2007). Many interviewees are particularly concerned with the growing number of sites used by tourism (R4, 2008; M2, 2007) and the ecological integrity of frequently visited landing sites (O3, 2006; M1, 2007; M4, 2007; O1, 2007; O2, 2007; O6, 2008). Through the development of site-specific guidelines for several frequently visited tourist landing sites (Bastmeijer and Roura 2004), the Antarctic Treaty System, together with the tourism industry, is trying to tackle this issue. Some interviewees indicate that it is not clear whether landing sites are the most probable area of impact for monitoring and further research (M1, 1007; M2, 2007; M4, 2007). In academia, most impact assessments have been limited to local effects. In their review of polar tourism research, Stewart *et al.* (2005) have identified a lack of studies focused on polar tourism in relation to global environment change. A recent study has broadened the scope to global impacts by estimating the greenhouse gas emissions produced by Antarctic tourism (Amelung and Lamers 2007). Another recent example of extending the scope is the work done by Bertram *et al.* (2007) on the role and interests of gateway cities in the development of tourism.

The same can be argued for the appropriate temporal scale used in addressing Antarctic tourism. Globally, Antarctic tourism studies are undertaken on an ad hoc basis, *i.e.* scattered across the globe, for short periods of just a number of years, without a common research agenda. Monitoring programs have been developed (Naveen *et al.* 2000, 2001), on a voluntary basis however, which makes them far from comprehensive (M1, 2007). Tourism studies have predominantly taken a historical approach looking back to past developments. Future-oriented and explorative studies are not available (Bauer 1994; Snyder 1997; Amelung and Lamers 2006), but they do have additional value. Time is of the essence, because developments in tourism are often cumulative in nature and difficult to reverse. A proactive or precautionary approach is advocated, especially in the case of developments that might occur in the future and entail negative consequences, such as permanent land-based tourism infrastructure and facilities and commercial air links, despite the fact that opinions on the likelihood of the development of such facilities in the near-to-distant future differ greatly, ranging from those believing that this is a logical next step (O3, 2006; O6, 2008) to those who think that this will never

FIGURE 8.3

develop (O2, 2007; O5, 2007). Through the development of scenarios or a long-term vision on Antarctic tourism a number of strategic issues can be discussed relating to the state of the industry in the future, creating awareness and clarity (M6, 2005; Amelung and Lamers 2006).

4.3. Governance and Control

The level of control one can exercise on different forms and volumes of tourism activity in parts of the Antarctic provides a vital component of sustainable tourism development. Tourism is largely regulated by the Protocol on Environmental Protection to the Antarctic Treaty (the Protocol), which governs all human activities in the Antarctic Treaty area. Antarctic tourism regulation by the ATCPs has been considered weak. The decision-making and implementation process is slow (Bastmeijer and Roura 2004). Many regulations specifically applying to Antarctic tourism are not legally binding. Implementation in domestic legislation of individual ATCPs leaves much room for translation and interpretation (Kriwoken and Rootes 2000; Bastmeijer 2003). In addition, rules cannot be policed and enforced effectively in the field (Tracey 2001; Molenaar 2005) and do not apply to operators from Third Party states. Through the Association of Antarctica Tour Operators (IAATO), the tourism sector has been quite successful in coordinating tourist traffic in the Antarctic Peninsula and minimizing impacts and the significance of self-regulation for sustainable tourism is widely acknowledged (Haase *et al.* 2009). For an

in-depth treatise of the legal and regulatory peculiarities, the reader is referred to Bastmeijer (2003), Bastmeijer and Roura (2004), Hemmings and Roura (2003), Molenaar (2005), and Richardson (2000).

Perspectives on what constitutes appropriate regulation of tourism in the Antarctic diverge largely among stakeholders. Many interviewees express a wish for stricter regulations, but also point to the inability of the ATS to reach consensus, implement, and enforce restrictive policies (M1, 2007; M5, 2008; R3, 2008; R4, 2008). Some of interviewees argue for limits on the annual number of tourists visiting the Antarctic continent (M1, 2007; R4, 2008) or on the size of the ships used (R3, 2008). Most of the interviewees that raise this issue immediately add that setting a tourist cap would be difficult because of political will and the difficulties of enforcing it (M5, 2008; R4, 2008). Operators generally argue that a cap is not necessary as the boundaries of entry are high, providing sufficient limits to the industry (O2, 2007; O5, 2007; O6, 2008). Some also believe that the tourism industry is already adequately managed, making additional ATS influence unnecessary (O2, 2007; O5, 2007). At the same time it is recognized by almost all interviewees that the collective and voluntary nature of an association with so much responsibility over an increasingly complex industry also makes it vulnerable. Some of the interviewees claim that the ATS should take its responsibility in tourism regulation by collecting statistics; engaging in monitoring and observer schemes and setting the standards for operations should also be the responsibility of the ATS (M1, 2007; M2, 2007; M5, 2008; R1, 2008; R2, 2008). Knowledge and experience of tourism operations is believed to be lacking with policy makers partaking in the ATCM tourism discussions, which hampers decision-making (M2, 2007). It becomes clear that both the formal and informal relations between the ATS and self-regulatory regimes such as IAATO are an important vehicle for robust governance and are in need of improvement (O2, 2007).

5. TOWARDS SUSTAINABLE ANTARCTIC TOURISM?

The analysis has shown that perspectives on different dilemmas of tourism and sustainable development in Antarctica are quite diverse. On the other hand, suggestions can be derived for ways to embark in the right direction.

Ideas on what the main objective of tourism is in Antarctica diverge among interviewees as widely as from prioritizing tourism as the main commercial activity to restricting tourism development for the sake of protecting wilderness values. The question is how these views are reconcilable in the development of a shared vision. In our view, such a long-term strategic vision on tourism is required for steering towards sustainable

development. The development of a range of plausible future scenarios could play an important role in this (Amelung and Lamers 2006), if they find their way to the relevant policy makers and other stakeholders. Using scenarios in policy development allows stakeholders to identify uncertainties and common threats that might occur in the future. Stakeholders with different short-term interests may find that on the longer term their interests are not as diverse and that embarking on a joint approach is wise. So far, tourism policies have typically been ad hoc and reactive, targeting individual expeditions per season rather than clusters of activities for a number of years and often responding to concrete incidents and plans (Kriwoken and Rootes 2000; Hemmings and Roura 2003; Bastmeijer and Roura 2004). The concept of strategic environmental assessments has been introduced by the Antarctic Southern Ocean Coalition (ASOC) during the Antarctic Treaty Consultative Meetings but has not led to changes (ASOC 2001). A shared strategic vision would increase the capacity of the ATS to respond to any emerging crisis in a swift, structured, and effective way.

Antarctic tourism has increased both in terms of the operational scale (*e.g.* size of ships) and the level of activity at different spatial scales: continent-wide, regional (Antarctic Peninsula), sub-regional (Gerlache Strait), and individual sites. So far, there has not been much attention for this. Non-binding site guidelines have been developed for minimizing environmental impacts on frequently visited landing sites, and zoning instruments may be established by the ATCM to fence off or manage tourist activity near research stations and particularly vulnerable sites. However, currently no zoning instruments or limits are available on larger spatial scales (*e.g.* sub-regional, regional level, or even continent-wide). As congestion, safety risks, interference with scientific activities, and environmental impacts are likely to increase with volume, some interviewees argue that the precautionary spirit of the Antarctic Treaty may require limits of some kind. It can be argued whether sustainable tourism in Antarctica can ever be achieved if larger-scale controls cannot be installed at some point, for example related to a maximum number of visitor days or visits on land. This can be done through either using existing instruments (Antarctic Specially Protected Area and Antarctic Specially Managed Area) on larger spatial scales or developing innovative new approaches (*e.g.* a "cap-and-trade" approach currently explored by Amelung).

The ATS has taken a proactive approach in the context of commercial activities, such as fisheries and mineral resource extraction, to make sure that a comprehensive regulatory system was in place before activities commenced (Scott 2001; Molenaar 2005). Some have argued that similar regulatory efforts should be made for tourism (*e.g.* Hall 1992; Davis 1999), for example based on the system developed for fisheries (M1, 2007). We argue that the ATS should actively search for ways to improve control,

although the dynamic nature of the tourism industry indicates that the instruments might not be straightforward. However, control may be increased by safeguarding the quality and experience of organizers, staff, and crew, thereby improving supervision and enforcement in the field. An important strategic issue is how to deal with potentially increasing non-IAATO members or tour operators, one-off expeditions, and activities from non-Party states (Molenaar, 2005). A high level of knowledge regarding what goes on in the field is essential, which requires the improvement of monitoring and observation programs, for example, in cooperation with the national programs. Further, there is the question on the relationship between the ATCM and IAATO. The value of IAATO's work in coordination and environmental management underlines the importance of a continuing co-operation between the ATS and IAATO. However, as has been stressed by some of the interviewees, the Consultative Parties have a clear responsibility under the ATS and, for various reasons, sustainability issues may not be adequately addressed by self-regulation alone. Existing self-regulatory practices may need to be "backed up" by ATS measures, for instance, in response to a possible increase of non-IAATO operators (Haase *et al.* 2009). Furthermore, if restrictive measures in respect of future tourism developments are considered necessary, IAATO may not be able to agree on such measures.

6. CONCLUSION

Applying the concept of sustainable development to Antarctic tourism has proven to be an interesting case. The issue was approached by analysing stakeholder perspectives on three underlying dilemmas that were derived from the sustainable development and sustainable tourism literature: what is the main objective of sustainable tourism; what is the appropriate spatial and temporal scale for addressing sustainable tourism; and how can we control tourism development to steer towards sustainable development? In the absence of a local population and economy, it is not clear what should be the main aim of sustainable tourism development in Antarctica. Antarctica is an international common, which puts the issue of the appropriate assessment scale right on top of the agenda. In addition, tourism is organized by complex networks of actors operating at different spatial levels, which raises questions about the proper allocation of responsibilities. Finally, the absence of a sovereign state triggers experimentation with new forms of governance and public-private cooperation. Based on our analysis, a number of recommendations were formulated towards the development of a broadly supported longer-term policy for tourism in Antarctica.

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POLAR TOURIST EXPERIENCES
Challenges and Possibilities for Transmodern Tourism

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1. INTRODUCTION

In western society, polar regions are conceptualized as the last great terrestrial wilderness, symbolizing remoteness, extreme conditions, and environmental vulnerability. This image has attracted not only explorers and natural scientists but also an increasing number of special-interest tourists. Polar tourism has its origin in the same time frame as the development of modern tourism in the early 1800s (Maher and Stewart 2007) but has always been an area for an exclusive few. However, during the last two decades, polar tourism, especially in Antarctica, has increased drastically (Snyder 2007). In the Arctic region, tourists outnumber host populations in many popular destinations and Arctic communities are increasingly gearing towards tourism. In Antarctica, tourism development has been even more drastic over the last decades, when the

numbers of ship-borne tourists have increased by 430% in 14 years and land-based tourists by 757% in 10 years (IAATO 2007). Still the actual number of tourists in polar regions is limited in comparison to global tourism, consisting of only 45 000 tourists in Antarctica (IAATO 2008). The drastic increase in polar tourism and its future predicted increase have evoked concerns among many stakeholders and academic researchers about negative environmental impacts by the tourism industry *per se* and the tourists' behaviour in these fragile environments. There also exists a fear for the development from the present small numbers of special-interest tourists into a mass tourism enterprise and Disneyfication of the polar regions. This could imply the establishment of tourist hotels in Antarctica and entertainment constructions such as ICEHOTEL (Gelter 2008a) in pristine natural settings. This potential development has called for long-term tourism policies as well as research in polar tourism to understand its nature and develop tools for its management and regulation (Stewart *et al.* 2005). Although many important texts have been published about polar tourism since 1990, little research has been focused on the area (Maher 2008).

In their review of polar tourism research, Stewart *et al.* (2005) identified four emerging research areas: tourism pattern, tourist impacts, tourism policy and management, and tourism development. Much effort in polar tourism research has been allocated to define polar tourism as part of tourism research's generic struggle to define itself as a legitimate area of scholarly inquiry (*ibid.*). These authors conclude that despite emerging polar tourism research we still know very little about the phenomenon of polar tourism. They also conclude that most of polar tourism research has focused on patterns of tourism, tourist demands, and tourist behaviour such as the number of tourists, their motivation, demographics, routes, destinations, activities, attitudes, knowledge, and skills, and the composition of the travel groups. Since the creation of the International Association of Antarctica Tour Operators (IAATO) in 1991, there has been a reliable recording of tourist data in Antarctica. In the Arctic, with a longer tourism history and more diversified destinations and attractions (Hall and Johnston 1995), such systematic data sampling is much more problematic (Stewart *et al.* 2005). Stewart *et al.* (2005) also agree with Mason and Legg (1999) that little information is available on the quality of polar tourist experiences and suggest that the next new research area should concentrate on tourist experiences. This includes the nature and quality of the tourist experience, the tourist expectations, knowledge (pre- and post-visit), on-site experience, and overall satisfaction. These authors point out the particular interest of a field of inquiry such as the effect of polar travel on the tourists' post-visit ambassadorial activities (see also Maher *et al.* 2003; Maher 2007a). They also suggest a second new research area

focusing on global climate change and its large-scale influences on polar tourism. Here they propose investigations of costs and benefits to polar travel associated with changing global climate patterns, as well as the resulting adaptations required from the travel industry.

The aim of this chapter is to contribute to the suggested new polar tourism research area, the polar tourist's experience, by conceptually discussing different approaches to study tourist experiences. These frameworks will then be integrated with the emerging concept of transmodern tourism and its implications for the polar travel industry and future empirical research on polar tourism. The aim of this chapter is not to give a full review on tourism experience, but rather to outline steps towards a deeper understanding of the study of polar experience for future research.

2. ANALYSIS OF POLAR EXPERIENCES

There have been many attempts in different fields such as psychology, philosophy, education, anthropology, sociology, marketing, tourism, outdoor education, medical research, ICT, etc. to grasp the qualities of the human experience. Each approach makes certain implicit and explicit biological and sociocultural assumptions about human nature and uses different theoretical constructs, applies different methodologies, and uses different conceptual factors assumed to affect the experience. As human experiences are personal subjective qualities, it is a fascinating scientific challenge to attempt to understand the concept of subjective experiences and its context, and so far no integrated framework has been developed for the analysis of the personal experience. Just to mention a few, Lash (2006) recently analysed experiences from a philosophical and pedagogic view, dividing them into ontological and epistemological experiences, with interesting bearings on the understanding of experiential learning (Gelter 2009a). Borrie and Birzell (2001) summarized the dimensionality of recreational and tourism experiences and Gelter (2000, 2009b) has analysed experiences within the outdoor concept of "Friluftsliv" and from the transformational tourism perspective (Gelter 2009a). A recent special issue of the *Scandinavian Journal of Hospitality and Tourism* addresses research on tourism experiences (Larsen and Mossberg 2007). In the polar tourism context, Maher (2007a) has summarized research on experiences from many perspectives.

Research approaches on tourism experiences can be classified in many ways (Borrie and Birzell 2001; Stewart *et al.* 2005; Maher 2007; and others). I will use five major approaches here: a production approach, the *meta-experiential approach*; a satisfaction approach, the *pseudo-experiential*

approach; an experience product approach, the *product-experiential approach*; a personal experience approach, the *individual-experiential approach*; and an experience outcome approach, the *learning-experiential approach*.

2.1. The Meta-Experiential Approach

In the *meta-experiential approach* to the tourist experience I include approaches using a holistic view on the experience, without actually addressing the experience *per se*. Here we find theoretical frameworks of experience production within the experience economy such as Toffler's (1970) early "experience design," Pine and Gilmore's (1999) 4E model of experience realms and their staging experiences model, the experiencescape (O'Dell and Billing 2005), the Experience Triangle (Tarssanen and Kylänen 2005), the Total Experience Management model (Gelter 2006, 2009b), the "experience design-wheel" model (Ek *et al.* 2008), and the "experience creation" model (Sundbo and Darmer 2008). Within service and marketing we have the Servicescapes (Bitner 1992), the Servuntion model (Bateson 1995), marketing management (Kotler 1994), the managing service marketing approach (Bateson 1995), the experience marketing approach (O'Sullivan and Spangler 1998), and customer experience management (Schmitt 2003). To obtain a "holistic" overview of experience production a four-step model vas constructed (Gelter 2006, 2008b, 2009b; Figure 9.1), that compares experience production with education.

All these meta-experiential approaches have in common that they have an organizer's full perspective of management and production. They are important background concepts for understanding personal experiences, but they do not contribute directly to the understanding of the subjective personal experience.

A holistic four-step model of experience production in comparison with the education model
Source: Gelter (2006, 2008b, 2009b).

EXPERIENCE PRODUCTION   **EDUCATION**

Experience producer   1   Teacher

Experience production   2   Pedagogic method

Experience product   3   Lesson, class

Tourist experience   4   **Student experience**
Erlebnis   *Erlebnis*

Pre-experience   Post-experience   Pre-understanding   Learning
Erfahrung 1.0   *Erfahrung 2.0*   *Erfahrung 1.0*   *Erfahrung 2.0*
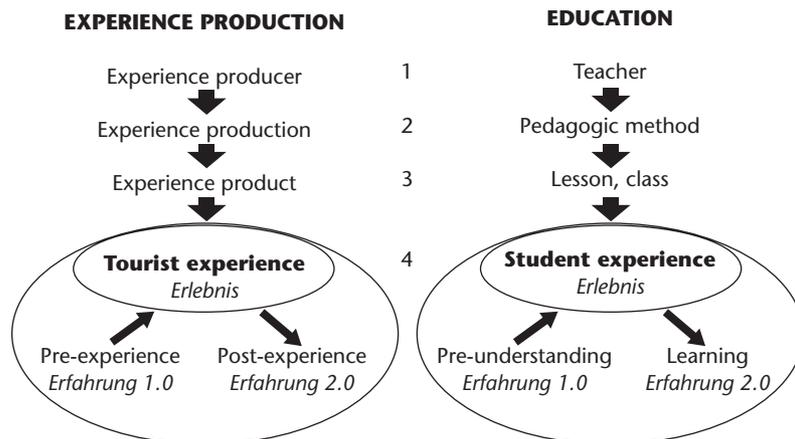
2.2. The Pseudo-Experiential Approach

Several approaches have been developed to measure personal opinions about the experience. I call these pseudo-experiential approaches as they use indirect or single components to approximate the subjective experience. The most common approaches have been *need-satisfaction* and *expectation-satisfaction* analyses borrowed from consumption and marketing research. Here the assumption is that the quality of the experience is based on the product/service's capability to fullfill both the customer's needs and the expectations generated by the purchase (Bergman and Klevfsjö 2003). The perception of the product/service's quality is assumed to determine the satisfaction level, which assumably can be measured. The attempt is to identify needs and expectations and then measure customer satisfaction with the aim of improving the quality of products/services and as tools for managing tourist behaviour. The research perspective is still the providers who need to understand the consumer.

Techniques such as Total Quality Management (TQM) (Grönroos 1990; Dale 1998) have been applied to improve tourist experiences (Witt and Muhlemann 1994). To illustrate the problems associated with identifying needs and expectations, Kano (2001) developed the *Kano model* to understand customer needs. He proposed that needs consisted of the following:

- *Basic needs* are so basic to customers that they are unaware of them and you cannot inquire about them. If these needs do not get satisfied the customers will not get pleased, but by only satisfying these basic needs we only satisfy "must-be needs."

- *Expected needs* are identifiable by asking the customer. They respond to what the customer expects to get and also to what is experienced as important to him/her. If these expectations are fulfilled the customer gets satisfied, otherwise the customer will be dissatisfied. By satisfying expected needs we create "expected quality."

- *Excitement needs* also are unknown to the customer and cannot be identified by simple inquiry. By identifying and satisfying these needs, the customer will obtain something unexpected from the product, an added value, creating an "attractive quality."

A more psychological and dynamic approach to human needs was presented by Maslow (1954) in his "Hierarchy of Needs" that has been applied within tourism (Pearce 1988, 1991; Andersson 1999). Maslow (1954) classified human needs into five basic needs of *physiological*, *safety*, *belongingness and love*, *esteem*, and *self-actualization* needs. Pearce (1988) adapted the model into the "Travel Career Ladder" with five "career steps" affecting tourist preferences. This ladder scheme consists of *biological*, *safety and security*, *relationship development and extension*, *special interest and*

self-development, and *fulfilment* or *deep involvement* needs (formally defined as self-actualization; Pearce 1996: 13). In this model Pearce suggests that as tourists gain experience, they increasingly seek the satisfaction of higher needs (Ryan 1988; Pearce 1991). Maslow's model was also simplified by Scitovsky (1985), who limited it to the categories of *human satisfaction*, *personal comfort*, *social comfort*, and *stimulation*. In a study of two charter tours to the Antarctic, Andersson (1999) tested this model by measuring need, satisfaction, and travel experience. He modified Scitovsky's categories into the three *physiological*, *social*, and *intellectual* needs as general causes of satisfaction, but could not confirm this simplified model with his data.

To measure customers' opinion about perceived service quality, *i.e.* to measure the experience of quality, Parasuraman *et al.* (1988) constructed the SERVQUAL (SERVice QUALity) framework, a measurement consisting of a scale with nine dimensions of service (*tangibles*, *reliability*, *responsiveness*, *competence*, *courtesy*, *credibility*, *security*, *access*, *communication*), later (Parasuraman *et al.* 1991) reduced to five dimensions of *reliability*, *responsiveness*, *assurance*, *empathy*, and *tangibles* measured on a five-grade scale. In the similar SERVPERF (SERVice PERFormance) framework presented by Cronin and Taylor (1992), only customer experience is measured, not the expectations as in SERVQUAL. The SERVQUAL has only been applied to a limited degree in tourism research (summarized in Kvist 2005) and there is some dispute about the validity of the SERVQUAL instrument based on cultural background, difficulties in measuring differences between expectations and perceptions, and the comprehensiveness of the instrument (*ibid.*). Other problems with these satisfaction approaches are the fact that customers are not necessarily aware of exactly what they require (Witt and Muhlemann 1994) and the recent "critical turn" in tourism research (Franklin and Crang 2001), where the tourist is now regarded as a creative interactive and co-creator of the experience rather then a passive receiver of a product with its qualities (Richards and Wilson 2006; Boswijk *et al.* 2007).

Despite the limitations of this pseudo-experiential approach, most studies of polar tourism experiences focus on expectations and satisfaction aspects of the polar experiences (see Maher 2007a for a review). This can be illustrated by a recent study on the expectations of 282 Antarctic visitors based on a before- and after-the-trip survey (Vereda 2008). A very high degree of satisfaction for the polar experience was found, where 84% of the respondents felt the experience surpassed their expectations. Among the cognitive factors contributing to the satisfaction of expectations was the ability to see wildlife in its natural habitats (53%), scenery (52%), location and remoteness at "world end" (20%), while history and the remains of the "heroic era" contributed to satisfaction to 6% and service on board to 17% of the guests. Vereda (2008) concluded that the high satisfaction depended on the ability to fullfill the expectations about the

experience, which are built on the basis of perceived images or mental representations of the destination. Vereda (2008) identified the affective component as particularly important to expectations prior to the travel as these predispose visitors to the experience.

More interesting regarding the polar experience were other factors such as the learning process as gaining awareness (mentioned by 20%), highlighting the important component of environmental education for the Antarctic visitor. Guests expressed that the experience made them change their minds about aspects of conservation and their will to raise other people's awareness of Antarctica. Many agreed that lectures had largely contributed to their personal enrichment and understanding about environmental issues. Through direct experiences and the specific knowledge obtained, a deeper state of mind about the meaning of Antarctic environment has been gained. In addition, 11% mentioned the mystique of the place in the form of awaking their spirituality and making them think of abstract matters such as religion. Other affective components were uniqueness (11%), expressing the idea of Antarctica as "untouched," quietness and "peaceful environment" (11%), while only 16% mentioned it as a "once-in-a-lifetime experience." Vereda (2008) concludes that emotions appear to be an irreplaceable component of the Antarctic experience that had not been anticipated in the expectations. Another conclusion was that the feelings and sensations that the visitors experienced on this trip were unique and incomparable. From this study we may conclude that satisfaction measurements adress the cognitive confirmation of perceived destination images rather than the on-site polar experience. In contrast, as Vereda (2008) shows, the unanticipated emotional and affective dimension describes the polar experience better.

An interesting improvement from the SERVQUAL approach, which basically measures "Quality of Service" (QoS), would be to borrow the idea from the ICT industry to attempt to measure the "Quality of Experience" (QoE; Cabral 2007). As in tourism, QoS and consumer satisfaction are widely used by the ICT sector in surveys and questionnaires, but recent white papers from Nokia, Ericsson, and others express the expectation that QoE will replace both utility functions and QoS and better contribute to innovative development within ICT. But so far, none has been able to successfully address the issues of how to measure QoE (*ibid.*). Can quantitative surveys capture qualitative and subjective aspects of products and services? This has been addressed in the health sector by measuring patients' quality of experience with the medical service. The Borg Scale© (Borg 1970, 2004) attempts to quantitatively measure patients' subjective experiences to be able to compare experiences between patients. The ten-step CR10 Borg Scale has been adapted by Regis (in preparation) to the

QoE measurement with a view to better measure subjective experiences than the SERVQUAL five- or seven-step scale. But what exactly in the experience is to be measured still remains a puzzle in the QoE approach.

2.3. The Product-Experiential Approach

Another way to approach the polar experience is to identify why people go to polar areas and what attracts them there. Many factors affect the motive for a tourist to buy a tourist product such as a polar tour. One paradigm to understand tourism motivation for travel is Dann's (1981) push-pull model, where the push factors motivate people to leave their home environment and the pull factors attract people to certain destinations. Push factors can be individual and social and pull factors can be the destination's positive associations and images as well as the benefits of a visit. In this approach, motivations and benefits to visit destinations are identified instead of needs and expectations. Among pull factors, the concept of the "tourist gaze" (Urry 2002) has been very influential in approaching the tourist experience in a visual context, suggesting that people travel to destinations that are striking visually.

Benefit-based approaches such as used by McIntosh (1999) or Booth *et al*. (2002) search for benefit outcomes of visiting special places. These benefits may be personal, societal, and economic (Kelly 1981) and thus constitute pull factors to a destination. Within recreation research many such studies are based on "hierarchical models" using concepts such as the Recreation Opportunity Spectrum (Prentice *et al*. 1998) and the Recreational Experience Preferences Scales (Yuan and McEwans 1989). According to Maher (2007a), hierarchical models of experiences offer a potential for benefit segmentation of tourists, as an alternative to sociodemographic segmentation, to understand the benefits to different groups of experiencing a destination.

Beach and Ragheb (1983), based on the work of Maslow (1954), developed their Leisure Motivation Scale consisting of four types of pull motivations; the *intellectual component*, engaging in mental activities such as learning, exploring, discovery, thought, or imagery; the *social component*, involving the two basic needs of friendship and interpersonal relationships and the need for the esteem of others; the *competence-mastery component*, involving usually physical activities with the aim to achieve, master, challenge, and compete; the *stimulus-avoidance component*, involving the desire to escape and get away from over-stimulating life situations, a need to avoid social contact, to seek solitude and calm conditions.

Another way to understand push and pull factors to polar destinations is to use a typological approach with a segmentation of individuals based on their motivations for visiting destinations. Snyder (2007) divided polar tourism into five distinct markets that attract specific visitors, resulting in distinct different visitor experiences affecting their motivation, expectations, on-site behaviour, and resource use. These are:

1. the *mass market*, composed of tourists primarily attracted to sightseeing with pleasurable surroundings and comfortable transports and accommodations;

2. the *sport fishing and hunting market*, with tourists seeking unique fishing and game species within wilderness settings;

3. the *ecotourism market*, consisting of tourists who seek to observe wildlife species in their natural habitats and experience the beauty and solitude of the remote natural areas;

4. the *adventure tourism market*, providing a sense of personal achievement and exhilaration from meeting challenges and potential perils of outdoor sport activities; and

5. the *cultural and heritage tourism market*, consisting of tourists who want to experience personal interaction with the lives and traditions of native people, to learn more about a historical topic that interests them, or to personally experience historic places and artefacts.

To this list we may add a sixth market, which probably will have an important pull effect to polar areas in the future – the *climate tourism market*. It consists of tourists who want to see and experience vanishing polar icon species and environments affected by global warming, such as the polar bear, melting glaciers, and vanishing ice sheets. Although many of these tourists belong to the ecotourism market, they may not (in surveys) admit this ethically doubtful travel motivation. Snyder concludes that although this kind of market classification may help research approach the tourist experience, tourists themselves are not constrained by such classifications and may participate in many types of activities or have several motivations to visit polar areas, limiting the use of such classifications.

In a similar vein, a typological approach has been used as regards the visiting tourist *per se*, in order to analyse visitors' experiences. Viken (1995) categorized visitors to Svalbard into three groups: *conquerors*, who seek recognition for their achievements in their experience; *naturalists*, who seek nature and beauty in their experience; and *scientists*, who seek experiences with education and learning. Similarly, Kaltenborn (1991, 1992, 1996) obtained five typologies of polar tourists: the traditionalist, who looks for an experience of untamed wilderness; the *wildernist*, who

seeks aesthetic and romantic experiences; the *expeditionist*, in search of remote experiences; the *contradictionist*, who wants a little of everything; and the *pragmatist*, who is average in his/her desire of experiences. Grenier (2000) used nine types of polar tourists: *conquerors* looking for remote destinations; *birdwatchers* looking for wildlife; *photographers* looking for perfect pictures; *naturalists* knowledgeable about nature; *experts of science* seeking academic merits; *history lovers* interested not in the nature but rather in historical experiences; *lonely travellers* escaping apparent solitude; *romance seekers* seeking social interactions; and *cocooners*, elderly passengers looking for an adventurous image. These typologies (summarized in Table 9.1) may be interesting in many aspects and may contribute to the understanding of motivations and pull effects of visiting polar areas, but they have a limited use in understanding the polar experience *per se* (Maher 2007a).

McCool *et al.* (2007) use a management approach to understand visitors' recreational experiences in the Arctic Auyuittuq National Park. They investigated the dimensionality of the experiences among 84 visitors to the national park and identified eleven dimensions: *adventure/challenge*, *Arctic setting*, *culture*, *freedom*, *humility/spirituality*, *learning*, *naturalness*, *remoteness*, *risk/safety*, *scenery,* and *wilderness*. They concluded that the recreational experience in the polar national park under study was triggered

TABLE 9.1 –   **TYPOLOGIES OF TOURISTS AND MARKETS WITH THE AIM OF UNDERSTANDING THE POLAR EXPERIENCES**

Viken	Kaltenborn	Grenier	Snyder	Tourist types
Scientists		Experts of science		*Scientists*
Conquerors	Expeditionists	Conquerors	Adventure tourism	*Adventurous*
Naturalists	Wildernists	Birdwatchers	Ecotourism	*Naturalists*
	Traditionalists	Naturalists		
	Contradictionists	Cocooners	Sightseeing (mass tourism)	*Leisure*
	Pragmatists	Lonely travellers		
		Romance seekers		
		History lovers	Cultural and heritage	*Culture*
		Photographers		*Documentary*
			Fishing and hunting	*Game*
				Climate

Source: Based on Viken (1995), Kaltenborn (1991, 1992, 1996), Grenier (2000), and Snyder (2007).

by its unique, spectacular, and remote landscapes, but also characterized by adventure, freedom, naturalness, and wildness – dimensions often identified by visitors studied in other wilderness research. All these dimensions are associated with the external settings of the "Arctic experience," usually identified by similar destination-oriented studies. Thus product-experiential approaches in identifying external factors (destination qualities, images, etc.) contribute indirectly to the personal experience through the motivations and benefits of experiencing the destination. In their summary of research on recreational experiences, Borrie and Birzell (2001) found four distinctive research approaches: satisfaction-based approaches (addressed above), benefits-based approaches (addressed here), experience-based approaches, and meaning-based approaches, indicating that the pseudo-experiential and product-experiential approaches by themselves do not identify the core qualities of the tourist experience.

2.4. The Individual-Experiential Approach

Individual-experiential or experience-based approaches address the fundamental question of what constitutes an experience. Approaching these questions has led to techniques such as the Experiences Sampling Method (Larson and Csikszentmihalyi 1983) and a rudimental taxonomy of experiences, as no comprehensive nomenclature or taxonomy for different experiences has yet been developed.

The word "experience" has its origin in the Latin word *experentia*, meaning "knowledge gained by repeated trials," and is also related to *experiri*, "to try, test" (Gelter 2006). This meaning is expressed in the German word *Erfahrung*, which corresponds to the English "having experience," meaning the skills, practices, familiarity, know-how. This corresponds to the *epistemological experience* according to Lash (2006) – our accumulated skills, familiarity to places, artefacts, and methods – and constitutes our entire empirical knowledge. The second meaning of experience, commonly applied in tourism, is expressed in the German word *Erlebnis*, the English "to experience" as an incident, encounter, event, happening, etc. as well as the English verb "I experience," as feelings, emotions, what we come in contact with, what we face, are subject to, and/or come across. This is, according to Lash (2006), our *ontological experience* – a cognitive happening restricted in space and time resulting in a physical or physiological stimulation of the brain – our phenomenological interaction with the world. These two conceptualizations of experience that build up our "Life World" and "Lived Experience" (Gadamer 1976) are closely interlinked and mutually interdependent and correspond to the two ways we experience the world with our two brain hemispheres: as a right-brained phenomenological comprehension (*Erlebnis*) and a

left-hemisphere analytical apprehension (*Erfahrung*) (Kolb 1984; Damasio 1994; Gelter 2006; Pink 2007). This dual phenomenological approach to experience is uncommon in tourism research, as experience in tourism mostly is associated with extraordinary events (*Erlebnis*), events that have high significance and will be remembered, such as travelling to an exotic place. Such experiences have been labelled "extraordinary experiences" by Arnould and Price (1993) who, in the context of whitewater rafting experience, defined the *extraordinary experiences* as consisting of an active dynamic and context-dependent process, with strong social dimensions creating meaning and feelings of enjoyment, resulting in absorption and personal control, having some uncertainty and novelty, and contributing to life satisfaction. The more generic concept of *extraordinary experiences* has now become a popular expression for staged experience offerings within the experience economy and is most often used with no definition whatsoever. In a similar way, "meaningful experiences" (Boswijk *et al*. 2007), with an unclear definition, has become a buzzword in the experience industry.

A more meaningful taxonomy of experiences is presented by slow experiences (Gelter 2006, 2009a), flow experiences (Csikszentimihalyi 1991), Naess' deep experiences (Sessions 1995) and peak experiences (Maslow 1962). *Slow experiences* are associated with the Slow Movement, attempting to escape modern fast-living *Kronos* time and reaching out for *Kairos* quality time (Gelter 2009a), while *flow experiences* similarly "stop time and erase space" by becoming totally involved with an activity, creating a holistic sensation where self evaporates (Csikszentimihalyi 1991). Maslow's (1962) original *peak experience* describes similarly a rare state of mind where in some brief moments, from seconds to minutes, one feels the highest levels of happiness, harmony, and possibly temporary moments of self-actualization. It is primarily an emotional experience with spiritual dimensions, but in the postmodern society it has evolved from its original meaning towards a more adrenalined, action-oriented, sportified meaning (Gelter 2009a). This spiritual feeling of interconnectedness to the landscape in the peak experience is probably the *deep experience* that Arne Naess described in his philosophy of *Deep Ecology* (Sessions 1995). Naess, himself a mountaineer and outdoor person, proposes that a deep experience of nature creates deep feelings that lead to deep questions and result in a deep commitment for nature.

An interesting approach not yet applied in polar tourism but gaining strong interest in marketing is the attention approach to the experience (Davenport and Beck 2002). Using findings from eco-psychology regarding mechanisms of our attention and their contribution to our experiences (Kaplan and Kaplan 1989), we may gain insights in how and why our surrounding world attracts our attention and contributes to our

momentary experiences (*Erlebnis*). All these psychological approaches attempt to describe qualities and outcomes of specific experiences (*Erlebnis*) and may function as a base for a typology of personal experiences such as QoE. The lack of a more elaborate taxonomy underscores the difficulties in scientifically conceptualizing the subjective experience.

Many studies of the leisure and tourism experience have argued that the experience should not be considered as one-dimensional, but rather as a multi-phase entity. Traditionally this has been conceptualized as the experience "on site" interacting with many pre-visit (anticipation) and post-visit (recollection) factors (Maher 2007a, 2007b). This one-dimensional input ⇒ behaviour-on-site ⇒ outcome time dimension of the experiences conceptualized as before, during, and after phases of the experience is a common concept in research areas such as marketing, learning theory, experience production, etc. But from a phenomenological standpoint, even a well-defined experience in time and space (*Erlebnis*) should be regarded as being part of a continuum of *lived experiences* like "strings of pearls" of the accumulated *life experience* (*Erfahrung*) (Gelter, 2006, 2009b), instead of being conceptualized as separate "extraordinary experiences" as described by Arnould and Price (1993) and others. Every *Erlebnis* is constructed and interpreted in relation to all other previous experiences (*Erfahrung*), thus the multidimensionality of experiences is much more complex than what was traditionally understood, such as in the multi-phase models.

I therefore would propose at least five basic dimensions in conceptualizing personal experiences. The first is the *time dimension* – the experience as a process as discussed in the multi-phase experience models (Figure 9.2A) with the basic phases of before, during and after the experience, which then can be extended in any number of experience phases and sub-phases, such as Clawson and Knetch's (1966) five sequence phases of *anticipation*, *travel to site*, *on-site activity*, *return travel home*, *recollection*; or others (Arnould and Price 1993; Bauer 2001; Grenier 2004). When applying a system theory approach to this dimension (Figure 9.2B), we can attempt to identify the many factors influencing the different states and processes in the experience system.

In a polar experience context this may include all the push factors that influence the pre-state to the decision to purchase a polar experience and the anticipation before and during travel. In the on-site phase, the black box of the *Erlebnis*, we can identify the how, why, when factors of the actual polar experience and, in the post-experience phase, all factors that influence the "bringing-home," rememberance, and use of the polar experience.

A one-dimensional-phase approach to analysing the experience (A) and a system theory approach on the same experience system (B)

A

Input factors	In-experience factors	Output factors
Pre-experience phase	During experience phase	Post-experience phase

→ Time

B

Push factors   Pull factors   Push factors

Factors   Factors

Factors   Factors

Pre-state → Input → "Black Box" → Output → Post-state

Pre-experience   Experience   Post-experience
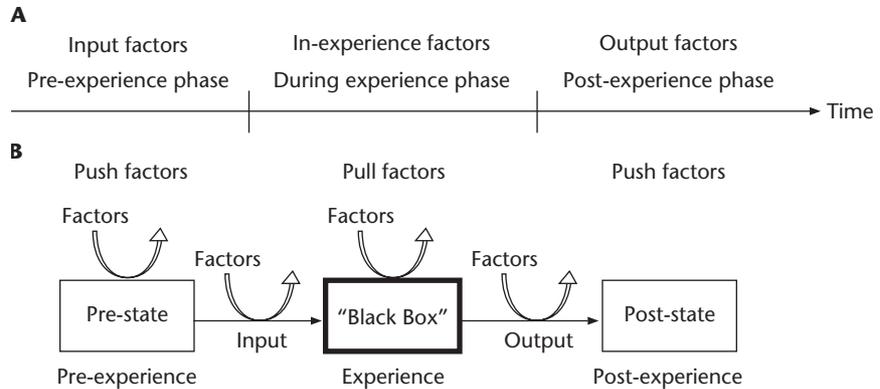
The second dimension is the *spatial dimension* as an experience takes place in a physical setting – the experiencescape (Gelter 2009b). In tourism contexts, this means being away from home, moving from the ordinary to the non-ordinary life situation, the *Erlebnis* as escapism. This dimension involves interconnectedness with the landscape, transforming destination images into living experiences and the absorption and immersion into the physical setting of the experience. Here we need to identify all the tangible (physical) factors and their interactions during the experience and analyse them beyond the "tourist gaze" approach.

The third dimension of the experience is the *relational dimension* – the guest's relations and interactions with all material and immaterial aspects of the experience. This includes the physical setting of the place (environment), artefacts, other guests, memorabilia (souvenirs), locals and local community, tourism personnel, marketing, other tourism facilitators (books, media, tourism agencies, etc.), as well as immaterial aspects of the experience such as images, expectations, feelings, sensations, activities, memories, *Erfahrungen*, etc. and their interaction with each other and the experience (Figure 9.3). This approach includes mapping these factors, identifying their interactions, and, in the best case, measuring their contribution to the quality of the experience.

The fourth dimension of experience is the *epistemological dimension* – the consequences and outcome of the experiences, where the experience events, *Erlebnis*, contribute to the accumulated life experience, *Erfahrung*, and lived-life world (Gelter 2009b). It can be conceptualized as the Life Experience Ladder, where each *Erlebnis* contributes to the growth of the personal *Erfahrung* and life experience (Figure 9.4). In a polar experience context, this approach means identifying the learning aspects of the
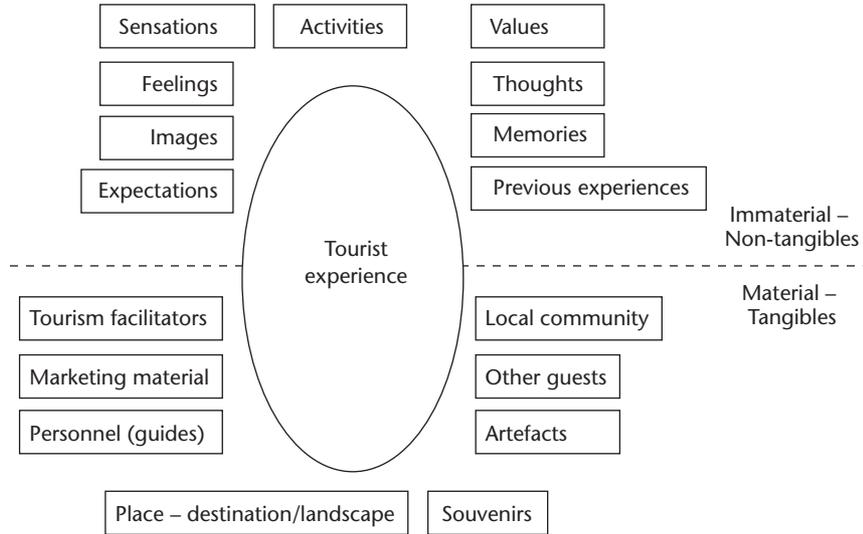
FIGURE 9.3

The interactive dimension of the experience consisting of both material and immaterial factors interacting with each other and the tourist experience

Sensations	Activities	Values
Feelings		Thoughts
Images		Memories
Expectations		Previous experiences

Tourist experience

Immaterial – Non-tangibles

Material – Tangibles

Tourism facilitators		Local community
Marketing material		Other guests
Personnel (guides)		Artefacts

| Place – destination/landscape | Souvenirs |
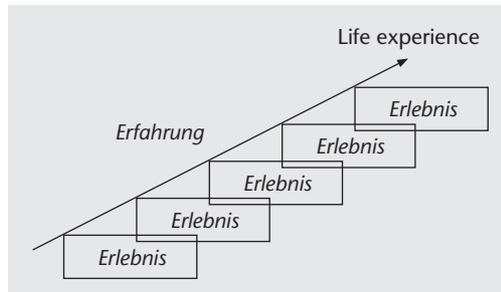
FIGURE 9.4

Illustration of the epistemological dimension of the experience where the individual events, Erlebnis*, build up the cumulative* Erfahrung *and life experience*

Source: Adapted from Gelter (2009b).

different experience components, *Erlebnis*, during the polar trip and relating them to previous experiences (*Erlebnis*), the accumulated experience and knowledge (*Erfahrung*), and how it contributes to the new life experience (*Erfahrung* 2.0), a challenging but most interesting pedagogic approach to tourism experiences.

The fifth dimension is the *experience-typological-dimension*, which includes cognitive-psychological dimensions of the experience as expressed in typologies such as *slow*, *flow*, *peak*, and *deep* experiences. As this field has attracted limited research attention, the typologies of experiences are still limited.

2.5. The Learning-Experiential Approach

Most reviews of tourist experiences omit or just briefly touch on the importance of learning in understanding experiences. As I have shown, *Erfahrung*, the accumulated life experiences, is the outcome of uncountable learning processes and any experience event, *Erlebnis*, without learning will not be remembered (Gelter 2006, 2009b). This is because memory is a consequence of a learning experience. It is therefore a bit surprising that the pedagogics of tourism is an unexciting research field. However, the study of learning processes based on experiences is a well-explored field dating back to the earliest pedagogic prophets such as Comenius, Dewey, and others. Such a learning experiential approach involves areas such as experiential education (Warren *et al.* 1995), experiential learning (Kolb 1984), outdoor-based environmental education (Palmer and Neal 1994; Jicklings 2006), and Tildenian interpretation (Beck and Cable 1998; Gelter 2007, 2008b), as well as transformative experiences (Gelter, 2009b). All these aim, in a normative way, to change people (students, tourists) through the experience. For polar tourism, this has interesting applications regarding the issues of ambassadorship – tourists as messengers for anthropomorphic induced processes in the polar region. This concept has been adopted by many tour operators as the benefit to bring tourists to these remote areas. As expressed by tourism pioneer Lars-Eric Lindblad, "you can't protect what you don't know" (Landau 2002: 35; see also Maher 2007a, 2007b). Tourists seem not to see themselves as ambassadors, but tour operators rather like this label to justify their actions in bringing tourists to these areas (Maher 2007a). Some preliminary studies of ambassadorship have been initiated (*ibid.*), but this field needs deeper explorations in regard to the pedagogics and educational programs used by tour operators, guide pedagogics, and learning outcomes of the tourist experience.

Another issue in the same line is the concept of "normative tourism" as applied in Tildenian interpretation, which specifically aims at transforming the guest according to cognitive, emotional, and behavioural goals. Such transformative tourism (Gelter 2009b) has been suggested as a tool for transforming society into transmodernity (Gelter 2008b, 2009b). The concept of transmodern tourism was introduced by Marc Luyckx Ghisi (2006). His core idea was that the emerging transmodernity could reorient the techno-scientific machinery towards the survival of humanity. Luyckx Ghisi argued that tourism has to shift towards transmodernity and could thereby have an important impact in assisting societies and the citizens in this transition. It involves a sociocultural shift in value and global ecological awareness and concern towards environmental sustainability and a desire to live more sustainably. According to Luyckx Ghisi, the essence of transmodernity is being for something, *i.e.*, taking active

action towards sustainability and interconnectedness. Transmodern tourism could be the theoretical concept many polar tour operators need in their arguments for tourists as ambassadors. This line of experiential learning in polar environment for sustainability values and transmodernity thus needs further studies. In the same line is the work of the "Student-on-Ice" (SOI) concept of bringing students to polar areas to make them aware of climate change and other sustainability issues, transforming them into *Generation G*, according to Jeoff Green (personal communication), founder of SOI. SOI offers a rich resource for further studies of experiential learning with normative goals (see Figure 9.5).

3. CONCLUSIONS

Why should we analyse the polar tourist experience? The George Mallory approach towards climbing Everest – "because it's there" – could also apply to this question. Should we really dig deep into unique personal experiences such as the polar experience? Probably, as many stakeholders have interests in the tourists' polar experiences. These may be tourism managers, tourist companies, educational programs, and various scientific interests. I have presented some of the approaches that have been or could be used to grasp the polar experience, summarized in Figure 9.5. I have shown the many approaches and the complexity of the issue.

There may be several more unexplored approaches such as using the concept of Howard Gardner's nine intelligences to approach the quality of the experience. Research is struggling between a quantitative approach, to obtain generic results that can be applied for management and experience production, and qualitative approaches, to understand the specific qualities at the personal phenomenological level. We may never reach the full understanding of personal experiences, but maybe, at least, we could obtain conceptual maps, taxonomies, and typologies and identify dimensions and factors affecting the experience. To illustrate the beauty of a personal polar experience, I will use the image of a student from SOI University Antarctica expedition 2009 interacting with a chinstrap penguin (Figure 9.6).

This girl met a solitary chinstrap penguin on the beach and sat down. The penguin approached her and then they sat together for about 25 minutes looking at each other. What is her experience, its outcome, its meaning, and how has it affected her? In a interview the girl expressed great surprise over the experience: "*I was like wow, this is…, this is amazing, I can't believe this is happening.*" She expressed her feeling about the episode as: "*I don't even think awe and wonder would begin to explain it, it was just… curious,*
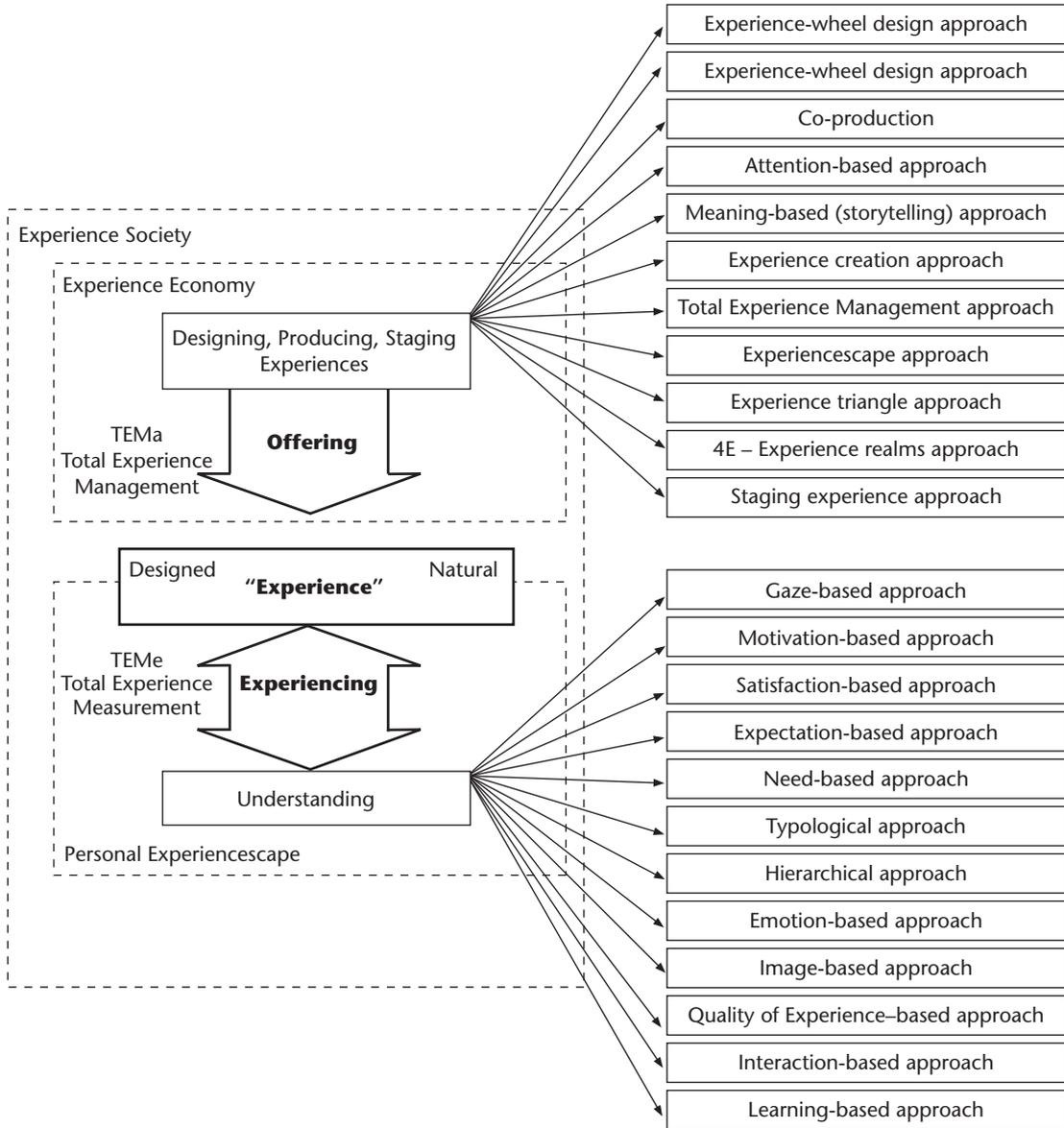
FIGURE 9.5 *Different theoretical research approaches (described in the text) for the study of experiences and experience production in the experience economy resulting in two major research approaches; the TEMa – Total Experience Management and the TEMe – Total Experience Measurement approach*

but at the same time I felt like probably one of the luckiest people ever, because you don't get to interact with wildlife like that, that *close… so I felt really, really lucky."* The experience was overwhelming: *"I was actually about to cry, I couldn't believe… he was… right there… staring at me, then he felt so comfortable he felt asleep, he fell asleep and then he*['d] *wake up and do like ooohhh, hey you, then he got back to sleep, ok, hahaha* [laughter], *so totally cool."* Students like her with similar experiences expressed they experienced awe, extreme exclusivity, and a connection with both the animal and the polar nature, and several spoke of becoming motivated and energized to share the experience and engage in the quest of making other people more aware of what is happening in the polar regions with global change. They transformed into Generation G!

FIGURE 9.6

An unexpected Antarctic experience in Whalers Bay, Deception Island: a student from the Student-on-Ice University Antarctica Expedition 2009 interacting with a chinstrap penguin

I conclude that the polar experience is much more than what was traditionally concluded as the scenery, wildlife, remoteness, and history, and more than confirming perceived images of polar icon species and icon features as measured by satisfaction studies. In my opinion it is more akin to Arne Naess' concept of deep experiences – getting deeply involved, deeply connected, and deeply affected. How can we measure this?

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CONCLUSION
Polar Tourism for Regional Development?

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Tourism in peripheral areas, which include the sub-polar and polar areas of the globe, is often promoted as a response to economic downturn in other industries and as a way of promoting endogenous growth (Jenkins *et al.* 1998). Although tourism development has shown advancement even within the polar regions, there are certainly challenges for a successful development. These may not be exclusive to polar regions, but the locations on high latitudes implying a strong seasonality, polar winter conditions, and fragile environments are often accompanied by relatively low population figures, sparse settlement patterns, and a lack of power and influence in relation to political and economic centres, contributing to the situation of being a periphery within countries that usually may be considered part of the

world's economic and political core. Antarctica, owing to its lack of permanent population and the governance of the Antarctic Treaty signed in 1959, already has a special position.

Although considered for a long time as exotic places to be conquered and utilized (Malmberg *et al.* 1995; Stonehouse and Snyder, 2010), global change has once again put the polar regions into the centre of global interest (Hall and Saarinen 2010b; Stonehouse and Snyder 2010). In particular, climate change and the anticipated significant changes, not least in the Arctic, have bundled economic interests focusing resource exploitation, new transport options, and environmental concern, in an attempt to preserve a last "wilderness." This renewed interest can also be noticed in an increasing number of publications addressing polar issues and polar tourism in particular (Hall and Saarinen 2010a; Lück *et al.* 2010; Stonehouse and Snyder 2010; Maher *et al.* 2011). It is also manifest in the establishment of the International Polar Tourism Research Network (IPTRN) in 2006.

As this volume has demonstrated, tourism is at the nexus of polar developments. On the one hand, tourism is promoted as an important way of contributing to sustaining polar environments and communities. Having seen pristine polar environments as well as local outcomes of climate change is expected to transform tourists into ambassadors of the polar regions (Gelter, chapter 9). The "last chance" to see and experience the polar regions is thus uplifted from being just an individual project of seeking pleasure into a common responsibility for the global environment. No matter whether this is just another way of making money or calming the tourist's conscience for yet another long-haul trip, it has to be acknowledged as an important trend in conceptualizing polar travel. Moreover, tourism is expected to create new livelihoods for the inhabitants of the Arctic, particularly in cases where climate change challenges traditional practices and sources of income.

On the other hand, tourism is also sometimes seen as a major environmental threat. It is expected that climate change contributes to an increasing accessibility to the Arctic but also to altering the polar attractions (Johnston 2006). For example, Dawson *et al.* (2010) argue that a declining polar bear population is likely to increase the tourist demand for viewing them, which will contribute to an amplification of emissions. Besides a growing environmental footprint owing to airborne transportation to the regions, increasing visitation to Antarctica and the Arctic creates numerous other risks. Safety and rescue management related to cruises in the polar regions is an increasing field of concern, not least after the sinking of the *MS Explorer* (Jabour 2007). Other concerns are related to cultural dimensions. Although tourism development often seems to be desired, local populations see limitations when culture is disrespected and threatened (Stewart *et al.* 2011).

Regardless of whether Polar tourism is about "sustaining the ego," as Wheeller (1993) once claimed with regards to nature-based tourism, or about serious concern for the region, it is narrated and promoted as a way of providing alternative livelihood to local and sometimes indigenous communities and as a tourism form that respects the limitations of the destination. However, tourism development is not always initiated locally, but often dependent on outside operators and markets. Thus, the imagination of outside stakeholders may influence the success of a tourism enterprise. In fact tourist expectations may conflict with local traditions, as in the case of whaling (Parsons and Rawles, 2003).

Still, tourism development sometimes appears as the last straw in remote communities, particularly in cases where resource-based economies suffered from shrinking employment opportunities and declining economic revenues. Although positive examples for tourism development give hope, there does not seem to be any guarantee for success (Müller and Jansson 2007). In part, a stereotypic homogenization of Arctic communities fails to acknowledge differences in preconditions; moreover, a loose integration into the local cultural fabric hinders tourism to become an industry to be taken seriously. An important question is therefore how tourism can be developed in a way that realizes its potential to revitalize local businesses and to renegotiate an indigenous identity (Kapashesit *et al.*, chapter 6; Viken, chapter 7). It can function as a cultural asset for local populations, too (d'Amours, chapter 4).

However, to answer this question is not an easy task. Enzenbacher (chapter 1) argues that there is a need for cooperation. Often, however, tourism businesses in peripheral areas operate in isolation. This is due partly to the lifestyle motives of their owners and partly to long distances to potential partners and, of course, demand markets. Hall and Boyd (2005) also point out numerous other reasons hindering a successful tourism development in peripheries, including a lack of political power and influence (see also Müller, chapter 5).

Thus communities will not be able to overcome these and other constraints related to the peripheral location on their own in order to achieve a positive tourism development. Governments need to realize the importance of providing infrastructure, favourable regulations, and other forms of support to assist northern communities in developing tourism. This, however, has to be done in cooperation with the communities in order to avoid a development that is perceived as unsustainable and unwanted. Moreover, local participation and leadership have to be seen in the wider context of development aiming at the empowerment of local and especially Aboriginal communities (Kapashesit *et al.,* chapter 6).

However, Müller (chapter 5) argues that governmental support for tourism development sometimes appears to be lip service rather than a serious attempt to create structures facilitating a positive tourism development. Earlier, rather negative experiences with tourism development projects often have created mistrust and limited hopes among northern communities. Accordingly, government often sees tourism only as an option in cases where other development opportunities in mining or forestry are exhausted. Whether this strategy is fruitful can be questioned. Seldom is tourism able to substitute employment and salaries lost in these basic industries. Saarinen (2007) thus argues that "tourism first" approaches to regional development often fail to achieve the desired development. Instead, since linkages to other local or regional industries are usually weak, the potential indirect and induced impacts of tourism development on local economies remain weak and limited. Schmallegger and Carson (2010) even point at the risk that a purely tourism-based development just creates another mono-structure that is vulnerable to market changes and thus hardly is a means to sustain communities in the long run.

Therefore, it appears mandatory to seize tourism as an integrated part of a diversification strategy of local economy and labour markets (see also Kapashesit *et al.,* chapter 6). Only if leakage is limited and linkages to other sectors of the local economy are developed will tourism be able to become an industry that creates benefits not only to a few but to local communities. This, however, should be stimulated before decline has occurred.

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INDEX

The creation of the Nunavik is a major step forward, both for the Province of Québec and its Inuit population. Not only does it underline the recognition of the Inuit people and their identity but it also stresses the importance of discussing some fundamental issues regarding the emancipation of the Inuit, their empowerment, the development and management of the northern resources of Québec, and the protection and conservation of the fragile Nordic ecosystems. Rich in culture and scenery, Nunavik has identified tourism as one of the main and best suited avenue for economic development. But before Nunavik can truly enjoy the benefits of a well established tourism "industry", many challenges need to be met. The development of tourism in a new destination is not only challenging but it requires human efforts, political and economic will over a large amount of time without much guaranties as to what will work or not.

It is in this context that in August 2008, the members of the newly created International Polar Tourism Research Network (IPTRN), including researchers from around the world, came to Kangiqsujuaq, Nunavik – the northernmost part of Québec, to discuss how tourism can play a role in regional development. The collection of articles presented here is the result of the coming together of these polar tourism researchers. Such a book does not claim to address all issues facing the polar destinations. It is nevertheless a base for reflection.

Like Nunavik, many of the new emerging regions of the circumpolar world are experimenting with new powers and responsibilities. For scientists, this is an excellent time to assist with the experiences that have been well documented from other Northern, Arctic and polar regions. For the tourism industry, including officials, this book is meant to offer a range of perspectives on how challenges can be met and how solutions can be implemented for the benefit of all local interests.

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