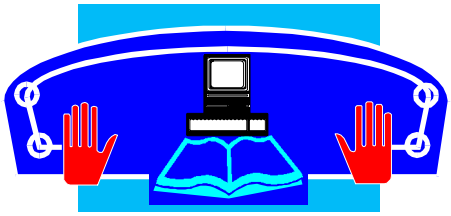

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# Aboriginal Tourism Development in the Western Arctic

## Research Report by Claudia Notzke

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## PREFACE AND ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

In July 1995 I spent three weeks in Inuvik, NWT, in order to explore aboriginal tourism development in the western Arctic. This research was made possible by financial assistance of the NOVA Corporation and the Government of the Northwest Territories, Department of Economic Development & Tourism, Inuvik Region. I want to express my heartfelt thanks to NOVA and to the Government of the Northwest Territories, particularly to Lloyd Binder, Regional Superintendent for the Inuvik Region, Economic Development& Tourism, for his ongoing support of and interest in my research.

My research techniques were participant observation, interviews and questionnaires distributed to tourists. I have numerous people to thank for the success of this project, and appreciate the kindness of many residents and travelers who enriched this experience but remain unnamed here. In the Inuvialuit Joint Secretariat the following individuals were extremely helpful: Norman Snow, Executive Director; Richard Binder, Bruce Hanbidge, and Linda Graf. A big thank you to Floyd Roland, chairman of the Inuvik Hunters' and Trappers' Committee. The Inuvik office of the Government of the NWT, Economic Development & Tourism, provided office support and hospitality; special thanks to Judith Venaas, Regional Tourism Manager, Daryl English, Parks and Interpretive Services Officer, and John Cournoyea, Regional Manager, Parks and Visitor Services. I appreciate the support of Peter Lamb, Manager for Co-operative Initiatives in the NWT for Parks Canada (formerly Superintendent, Western Arctic District) and Michael Tryon, General Manager, Western Arctic Tourism Association (WATA). Inuvik's two major tour companies, Arctic Tour Company and Arctic Nature Tours, showed me true northern hospitality throughout my stay. A very special thank you to Winnie Gruben, one of the majority owners of Arctic Tour Company, who personally introduced me to a summer community tour of Tuktoyaktuk (and saw to it that I did dip my toe into the Arctic Ocean) and Gina Tochor, also of Arctic Tour Company. I am very grateful to Darielle Talarico, Business Manager for Arctic Nature Tours, and Miki O'Kane, now at Arctic College, who was instrumental in founding Arctic Nature Tours, for spending much time sharing their thoughts about tourism in the western Arctic.

In Tuktoyaktuk I appreciate the hospitality (and superb kitchen!) of the Polar Continental Shelf Project; a big thank you to Director Bonni Hrycik. My visit to Tuk would not have been the same without meeting Maureen Pokiak and Randel Pokiak; the Pokiaks really show what aboriginal tourism in this region has to offer. Further thanks are due to Billy Jacobson, Guide and Outfitter for big game hunters in Tuktoyaktuk, and to Lloyd Gruben, Renewable Resource Officer for GNWT in Tuktoyaktuk.

Last but certainly not least I want to thank the 70 tourists who responded to my questionnaire survey. A response rate of 28 percent is certainly more than any researcher could have hoped for. Rather than just "ticking off' answers, travelers went to great length in responding to open-ended

questions and sharing their experiences and impressions. This effort and interest in itself bodes well for aboriginal tourism.

And finally, I want to express my appreciation to my “home away from home” for these three weeks in Inuvik, Hillside Bed & Breakfast; Joanne, Marie, Allison and Cinnamon the dog — you certainly represent northern hospitality at its best!

# ABORIGINAL TOURISM DEVELOPMENT IN THE WESTERN ARCTIC

## ABSTRACT

In the North more than anywhere else, aboriginal tourism is a resource-based industry, traditionally in the form of big game hunting, and in a more modem context, evolving into ecotourism and cultural or ethnic tourism, where the traveller's experience combines natural and cultural elements. In the Inuvialuit Settlement Region current developments in this field have grown out of new resource co-management regimes and revised conservation approaches.

Outwardly there appears to be a strong aboriginal representation in the tourism infrastructure in the western Arctic, but upon closer investigation a vast untapped potential remains. Some Inuvialuit are exploring imovative ways to harness the tourism industry to support the traditional elements of their mixed economy, rather than being consumed by the industry. The future holds many challenges for all involved: for the Inuvialuit to reconcile the communal character of renewable resource use and ownership with the private enterprise and competitive aspect of tourism; for the industry (as represented by tourism organizations) to match tourists' "southern images" of the North with northern realities; and for the tourists to be prepared to accept the consequences of "authenticity" by being open-minded and flexible.

# ABORIGINAL TOURISM DEVELOPMENT IN THE WESTERN ARCTIC

## 1. INTRODUCTION AND OVERVIEW

The area under investigation roughly coincides with the Western Arctic Tourism Zone and the claims settlement areas of the Inuvialuit and Gwich'in. It is an area of great scenic beauty and diversity, encompassing such diverse features as the immense delta of the Mackenzie River, the spectacular Richardson Mountains and endless tundra. It is home to virtually all species of marine and terrestrial arctic wildlife, for example the world's largest concentration of muskoxen on Banks Island, and the Porcupine and Bluenose caribou herds, as well as healthy populations of polar bear and tundra grizzly.

Nature and culture set the region apart from the central and eastern Arctic: It is one of the few areas on the continent which has remained unglaciated for over 100,000 years, resulting in unique landscapes and lifeforms. With the Mackenzie River, the treeline almost reaches the Arctic Ocean, giving rise to a unique cultural ecology, where two indigenous peoples, the Inuvialuit of the Arctic coast and the Gwich'in of the northern forests, have traditionally shared the resources and space of the Mackenzie Delta. The third element of today's cultural and ethnic mosaic, the Europeans, entered the stage in the 19th century with the establishment of the whaling industry along the coast and the fur trade inland, both of which have left their mark on the people and the land.

The western Arctic is also distinguished by the fact, that its northern part looks back on a decade of land claim settlement implementation, the Inuvialuit Final Agreement (IFA) of 1984, whereas the Gwich'in Comprehensive Land Claim Agreement was signed in 1992. The land is thus subject to innovative resource co-management regimes, which in the Inuvialuit case, has somewhat matured over a decade, whereas the Gwich'in regime is just being established. Not surprisingly, this has implications for the tourism industry.

The western Arctic is the only part of Canada's North that is accessible by road, namely the famous Dempster Highway. This is another factor giving rise to a somewhat different pattern of tourism than in other parts of the Canadian North. The town of Inuvik constitutes "the end of the Dempster" and serves as the major transportation hub and staging point for the entire western Arctic region. While the Gwich'in communities Tetl'it Zheh (Fort McPherson) and Tsiigehtchic (Arctic Red River) are located on the Dempster Highway, the tourism potential of the other five communities within the Inuvialuit Settlement Region, Aklavik, Tuktoyaktuk, Paulatuk, Holman and Sachs Harbour, is at least partially determined by their distance from and connection with Inuvik. A scheduled air service to Holman only runs from Yellowknife; charter service from Inuvik can be arranged, but the cost maybe prohibitive depending on the number of passengers. For the time being, Paulatuk, too, has only limited tourism interest, due to its distance from markets, underdeveloped tourism infrastructure and lack of tourism products. Of the remaining three communities,

Tuktoyaktuk, Aklavik, and Sachs Harbour, Tuktoyaktuk easily receives the lion's share of tourist visitation. The reasons shall be explored later.

According to the 1994 Northwest Territories Exit Survey over 6,300 people visited Inuvik from the beginning of July 1994 through to the end of September 1994, mostly via the Dempster Highway. This constitutes approximately 19 percent of visitors to the NWT, compared to almost 24,000 visitors or 70 percent to the South Mackenzie and over 3,500 travelers or 11 percent to the Eastern Arctic (Government of the NWT 1995: 19). In all three survey areas, domestic Canadian travelers accounted by far for the largest proportion of visitors — representing 76 percent and 88 percent in the South Mackenzie and Eastern Arctic respectively. However, in the Dempster/Inuvik Area, the proportion of Canadians was much lower, at 54 percent, with 25 percent originating from the United States and 21 percent from outside North America (ibid.: 5). The larger American proportion can no doubt by attributed to the proximity of Alaska. The 1992 Western Arctic Visitor Survey (Bufo Inc. 1992 a&b) tells us something about the travelers' primary interests: While wildlife viewing ranked first (as has been recorded in most of North America) with 99 percent of visitors choosing it as one of their main interests, "native culture" follows as a close second with 96 percent (Bufo Inc. 1992b:5). We may therefore conclude, that virtually all northern travelers would value an "aboriginal tourism experience".

## 2. Aboriginal Participation in the Regional Tourism Industry

The membership of the Western Arctic Tourism Association (WATA) reveals a considerable aboriginal presence in the western Arctic tourism industry. In July 1995, WATA counted 81 members, 50 of whom were from the western Arctic, and 36 of whom were aboriginal (only 3 from outside the western Arctic region). Seven of WATA's twelve directors are aboriginal; WATA'S board of directors has one member from each community (all aboriginal), and five members representing the industry at large, all from Inuvik. Inuvik's two major tour companies, Arctic Nature Tours and Arctic Tour Company, are majority aboriginal-owned. With the exception of Inuvik (where only East Branch Bed & Breakfast is aboriginal-owned) and Tuktoyaktuk (which has two non-native owned hotels) accommodation, too, is mostly in aboriginal hands: most communities have co-op hotels, inns or family-owned Bed & Breakfast establishments. Merely the retail tourism trade remains mostly under non-native control (Interview with Michael Tryon, Inuvik, July 25, 1995).

A strong aboriginal presence is also reflected in the design, contents and management of the Western Arctic Regional Visitor Centre. Its evolution and current management issues also illustrate the difficulties encountered in the attempt to give all stakeholders a voice and a share of control. These stakeholders are not only divided among the three major ethnic groups — the Inuvialuit, Gwich'in and Euro-Canadians (who incidentally also contribute roughly one-third each to Inuvik's population) — but furthermore, include Yukon, NWT and federal government agencies, the

communities and the regional tourism association. The idea for a Regional Visitor Centre (to replace the small downtown Tourist Information Office) was first identified in the 1986 Western Arctic Tourism Strategy, but prior to the early 1990s Inuvik lacked the necessary cohesiveness to embark on such venture. Five years elapsed between the formation of a steering committee in 1991 and the opening of the Western Arctic Regional Visitor Centre in June 1995. During this time input was solicited from all western Arctic communities, and the manufacture of cultural exhibits was subcontracted with regional aboriginal groups and individuals. Thus the project sought direction and approval from the community level, but final decision-making power was retained by the financial stakeholders, which included GNWT Economic Development& Tourism, Parks& Recreation of the Yukon Territorial Government, and Parks Canada. A southern architectural firm was hired to design the facility, which was patterned after a traditional Inuvialuit sodhouse. The Gwich'in-owned company Tetlit Zheh Construction Ltd. built the structure, with 50 percent Inuvialuit employees.

In addition, the Centre features outdoor exhibits. One is the Bush Pilot Exhibit. While the Government of the NWT purchased the plane, a local aboriginal-owned airline contributed the assembly, colours and installation of the aircraft on site. Further elements of the exterior interpretation program are traditional camps of Inuvialuit and Gwich'in, each built and designed by the respective group. One-third of the property that the facility is occupying, is owned by the Gwich'in and leased to the project (Interview with John Coumoyea, Inuvik, July 24, 1995).

During its first summer of operation, the Visitor Centre was very well received by travelers to Inuvik, many of whom commented on it positively (questionnaire survey, see 2. 7). Local carvers demonstrated their skills on the Centre's outdoor deck, and there were plans to run cultural camps out of the Gwich'in and Inuvialuit camp exhibits, serving tea and bannock to visitors. During the summer of 1995 the Centre employed three people, all of them native.

Details of the Visitor Centre's future management remain to be worked out. The Centre is a Government of the NWT project which operates under a co-management concept. Inuvialuit and Gwich'in members sit on the hiring committee for Centre employees. Nevertheless, in the summer of 1995 rumours were circulating in aboriginal circles, that the Gwich'in and Inuvialuit were going to "take over" the Centre in the near future. There also is some dissatisfaction on WATA's part about the lack of recognition of its contributions. As John Coumoyea points out, Economic Development & Tourism is trying hard to be sensitive to cultural and political issues, and to involve the local aboriginal population. But on the other hand, there are budgetary constraints and the question of accountability. It must also be borne in mind that this is a regional centre whose mandate includes the representation of the non-aboriginal population (John Coumoyea ibid.). While it maybe assumed that the Western Arctic Regional Visitor Centre will continue to operate within a co-management framework, it may take some time to determine, which stakeholders will be involved, and in what capacity.

## 3. THE TOUR COMPANIES

Once travelers have been welcomed by the Western Arctic Regional Visitor Centre, their next stop is likely to be one or both of Inuvik's two major tour companies, Arctic Nature Tours and Arctic Tour Company. It is easy for tourists to check out both of them, since they are both located in downtown Inuvik, facing each other across the mainstreet.

Arctic Nature Tours has been operating in its current form for five seasons, but its origins reach back many more years. The company is owned by Fred Carmichael, a Metis from Aklavik. Fred is best known as a pioneer bush pilot, the first native-born resident of the NWT to earn his commercial pilot's licence, and part owner and general manager of Western Arctic Air Ltd. until 1990. Western Arctic Air was a connector airline serving the small northern communities around Inuvik. In 1985 Antler Tours was started as a sideline, a service Western Arctic Air provided in the summer for visitors (Wuttunee 1991:4). When Fred Carmichael sold (Western) Arctic Air to Inuvialuit-owned Aklak Air, Aklak Air immediately shut down the newly acquired company.

But this step left a market niche: In 1991 Fred's son Frank Carmichael founded Arctic Wings, and Fred Carmichael and Miki O'Kane (former assistant general manager of Arctic Air who had started Antler Tours) started Western Arctic Nature Tours, now called Arctic Nature Tours. The family connection with Arctic Wings is extremely beneficial for Arctic Nature Tours, since the importance of the flying component for tour companies can hardly be overemphasized in this part of the world.

In its tour program the company offers 22 tours. One is a local tour of Inuvik. Eight are focused on Tuktoyaktuk (one in combination with Aklavik); one goes to Aklavik; six take place on the Mackenzie River; two visit the Richardson Mountains, and four are flights to the Arctic Islands. Visits to the communities include community tours and in Tuktoyaktuk's case, some "cultural immersion" experiences for visitors. Mackenzie River boat tours visit an aboriginal fish camp, a whaling camp in the Delta, or take tourists on fishing or bird-watching tours. The Richardson Mountains flights emphasize wildlife watching. The Arctic Island Tours feature a flight to Herschel Island Territorial Park and flights to Banks Island with a community tour of Sachs Harbour, and Victoria Island with a community tour of Holman.

Attic Nature Tours hosts approximately 2,000 visitors per season. The vast majority of them, 1,500 or 75 percent, can be found on three of the company's Tuktoyaktuk tours. Of these 1,500, 90 percent usually take the tour that has been the company's most popular for a decade: It features the scenic flight to Tuktoyaktuk (and return), a two hour guided community tour and a certificate (attesting to the fact that the traveller has visited Tuk and daringly dipped a toe into the Arctic Ocean... .). The two Tuktoyaktuk trips next in popularity, taken by an average of 60 visitors each season, are variations of the original: the "Tuk extended" tour adds two free hours to the visitors' guided tour; the "Tuk Cultural Lunch" adds one hour with a local family and a "traditional

lunch". A negligible number of people take advantage of or have the opportunity to sample the company's other offerings on the mainland: a "Tuk Cultural Day" with a more extended cultural experience; a trip to Tuktoyaktuk by boat, with a program in the community and return by air; an overnight trip to Tuktoyaktuk; a flight to Aklavik with a one hour guided community tour; and a combined Aklavik-Tuktoyaktuk tour.

The remaining tour participants are almost evenly divided between Mackenzie River boat tours and visits to Herschel Island Territorial Park. Around 200 people seek to experience the mighty Mackenzie by boat. The majority, 60 per cent, go on a "Tea and Bannock Cruise", which includes a visit of an aboriginal fish camp. The "Mackenzie River Midnight Sun Champagne Barbecue Cruise" is the next popular boat trip, enjoyed by approximately 20 percent of boat tour participants, and also visits a fish camp. Much smaller numbers visit a whaling camp or go fishing or bird watching.

Approximately 200 people fly to Herschel Island, and in 1995,20 chose the combined Sachs Harbour/Holman tour. During that season no flights were booked to the Richardson Mountains.

The Arctic Nature Tours Office in Inuvik is run mostly but not exclusively by members of the Carmichael family. Finding suitable employees, particularly aboriginal employees, as office staff is a major problem. There is a lack of qualified and "outgoing" young people, who are not already otherwise employed. The office also features exhibits (such as a mounted muskox and caribou), a sitting area where visitors may watch videos, crafts for sale, and the artwork of well-known northern artists Lyle and Mary Trimble.

To conduct its tours throughout the region, Arctic Nature Tours contracts with approximately twelve tourist outfitters. In Tuktoyaktuk, for example, most tours for this company are conducted by James and Maureen Pokiak, who are in the process of establishing their own company, Ookpik Tours & Adventures. They in turn, employ other family and community members, as the need arises (see 2.6). Arctic Nature Tours has similar arrangements with two local operators in Sachs Harbour, one in Aklavik, two at Shingle Point and several in Inuvik. These relationships with ground operators have evolved over time gradually and informally. (Interviews with Darielle Talarico, Inuvik, July 27 and 29; Miki O'Kane, Inuvik, July 27 and 30)

Arctic Tour Company was originally founded and fully owned by Kimberley Staples, a non-aboriginal person. In 1994 Roger Gruben (former Chairman of the Inuvialuit Regional Corporation) and his wife Winnie (Gwich'in from Fort McPherson) bought 75 percent of the company's shares. Kimberley Staples retains 25 percent ownership and functions as Arctic Tour Company's general manager. She has increasingly withdrawn from the operational part of the business in Inuvik and is spending most of her time in Yellowknife, where she looks after most of the company's marketing, coordination and negotiation with regional and southern tour operators/whoiesalers. For example, NWT Air contracts with Arctic Tour Company to operate the Inuvik and Tuktoyaktuk portion of its Arctic Circle Tour. Similar arrangements exist for other tours departing from Edmonton or Yellowknife, for example taking in the Annual Great Northern Arts Festival in Inuvik, where Arctic

Tour Company acts as the local host. A large portion of Arctic Tour Company's revenue is derived from percentages of NWT Air packages (Interview with Gina Tochor, Inuvik, July 15, 1995).

Majority owners Roger and Winnie Gruben reside in Tuktoyaktuk, where Winnie conducts Cultural Community Tours and Roger runs "Boat to the Pingos" and Beluga Whale Watching Tours. The Grubens employ 6-7 local people on a casual basis, for example guiding tours when groups are unusually large, or preparing food for luncheons. During the summer season of 1995 Arctic Tour Company's booking office in Inuvik was managed by four employees (one of them Inuvialuk).

Tours offered by this tour company are fairly similar in character and selection to those listed by Arctic Nature Tours. Arctic Tour Company's brochure features 36 options; the larger number can be attributed to an extra listing of the NWT Air packages and some options in addition to those of Arctic Nature Tours: for example Winter and Spring Tours, Helicopter Tours, and Dempster Highway Sightseeing Tours.

When we look at the distribution of tourists embarking on these tours, we again find similarities with Arctic Nature Tours. The vast majority of visitors goes to Tuktoyaktuk. Between May 27 and July 18 Winnie Gruben had taken 768 people on tours of Tuktoyaktuk. Considering that the tourist season lasts approximately till the end of August, we can expect this number to double, bringing the number of Arctic Tour Company visitors to 1,500-1,600, the same as with Arctic Nature Tours. Arctic Tour Company uses Aklak Air (an Inuvialuit-owned carrier) and flies a small number of visitors to Aklavik (ca 20). The number of people on boat tours and Herschel Island flights, too, approximates the figures for Arctic Nature Tours.

Arctic Tour Company, too, uses local tourism operators in its various destinations, but uses a slightly different approach from Arctic Nature Tours. The latter contracts with local tourism operators and "lets them do their own thing" (Interview with Miki O'Kane, Inuvik, July 27, 1995), rather than training and employing them. Arctic Tour Company puts more emphasis on control and ownership of the product, which makes quality control somewhat easier.

In their booking information both companies point out, that minimum numbers of participants are required for some tours, and that schedules are subject to weather conditions. But these statements in fine print do not always prepare southern visitors for the vagaries of northern life and the realities of a tourism industry that still operates on a comparatively small scale. The requirement of minimum numbers for practically all tours to make them feasible and affordable seriously limits the de facto selection of tours in both companies. This is particularly problematic in view of the relatively short time that most visitors reserve for Inuvik (see 2.7). Most tours rely for their success on the availability and performance of local aboriginal tourism operators. It must be borne in mind, however, that even for licensed tourist operators the tourism industry is but one aspect of their overall livelihood, and that they do not necessarily consider themselves as "tourism professionals". Many aboriginal people involved in the industry tend to engage in tourism as it fits into their lives, and they do not structure their lives in order to accommodate visitors. The short summer season is a busy time

for everybody, and most people are out on the land. Holidays such as July 1st, when bookings peak, are a time of celebration for local people, who are, therefore, unavailable for visitors. In the (western) Arctic visitors and aboriginal Northerners are still going through a period of mutual adjustment. Depending on the visitor's point of view and "northern education", the very authenticity of the aboriginal tourism product may constitute both: an asset as well as a liability.

## 4. THE ABORIGINAL PERSPECTIVE ON PROTECTED AREAS AND HERITAGE SITES[1]

Very soon the Inuvialuit Settlement Region will contain within its boundaries three national parks: Ivvavik (formerly Northern Yukon National Park), established by the Inuvialuit Final Agreement in 1984, Aulavik on Banks Island, created by an establishment agreement in 1992, and Tuktut Nogait National Park near Paulatuk, where land has been withdrawn and negotiations for its establishment are imminent.

These national parks are managed under two pieces of legislation: the National Parks Act and the Inuvialuit Final Agreement, which differ in their emphasis, but are compatible. The National Parks Act dedicates national parks "to the people of Canada for their benefit, education and enjoyment" and goes onto state that "the National Parks shall be maintained and made use of so as to leave them unimpaired for future generations. " (National Parks Act Section 4) The Inuvialuit Final Agreement stipulates that the dominant purpose for management of the Yukon North Slope (where Ivvavik is located) is "the conservation of wildlife, habitat and traditional native use." (IFA Section 12[2]) Ivvavik's explicit objective under the IFA is the protection of "the wilderness characteristics of the area, maintaining its present undeveloped state to the greatest extent possible" and the protection and management of "the wildlife populations and the wildlife habitat within the area. " The three national parks within the Inuvialuit Settlement Region are distinctly different in origin, management, tourism potential and relationship to aboriginal settlements.

Ivvavik National Park was a direct result of the Inuvialuit Final Agreement of 1984. An Inuvialuit role in the management and administration of the park is firmly entrenched in the IFA. In addition to the role which Inuvialuit co-management bodies play in the management of land and resources in the Inuvialuit Settlement Region in general, several sections of the IFA pertain specifically to rights and privileges for Inuvialuit beneficiaries inside the park. These provisions include harvesting rights, employment preference in the operation and management of the park, preferred rights to economic opportunities arising from the park etc. The Inuvialuit also played a key role in the preparation and final approval of the Park Management Plan.

Ivvavik means "a place for giving birth, a nursery", in recognition of the park's role as the calving ground for the Porcupine caribou herd, which in turn, has been the subsistence base for the

[1] See Notzke 1994:251-256 for northern national parks and Ivvavik's earlier years.

Inuvialuit and other peoples of the North Slope region since time immemorial. A shared vision for Ivvavik has guided the cooperative national park planning effort and still epitomizes the principle of current park co-management:

> The land will support the people who protect the land. (Government of Canada 1994:7)

This statement may be interpreted to apply equally to traditional users and visitors, who will be supplied with successful harvests, good camping areas, clean water and enriching experiences, as long as they act as responsible custodians of the land.

Due to its distance from communities, economic benefits from Ivvavik are limited. So are conflicts arising from subsistence use, since there is little community use of the park, and such as there is, occurs on the coast. Due to its remoteness and wilderness character, visitation of Ivvavik has remained limited, ranging from under 100 in 1988 to over 350 in 1992. Most visitor use is concentrated on the Firth River corridor; rafting, kayaking and hiking are the primary activities, reflecting the non-motorized wilderness character of the park. Visitors are expected to heed the hallmarks of wilderness recreation, self-sufficiency, self-reliance, and no-trace user techniques. There may be more visitation potential than the park can sustain, especially in view of the fact that visits are largely confined to a short season, namely between late June and mid-August, and are concentrated along a single corridor. Management action is called for to prevent negative impacts on resources and experiences (ibid.: 15).

There are four licensed outfitters operating in Ivvavik National Park, all concentrating on river rafting: two based in British Columbia and two working out of Whitehorse, Yukon. Currently there are no Inuvialuit or local outfitters operating in the park, but in June 1994 a three year Memorandum of Understanding was signed by the Inuvialuit Regional Corporation, the Aklavik Community Corporation and Parks Canada, to regulate and manage commercial rafting on the Firth River in Ivvavik National Park. This Memorandum also serves the implementation of the IFA clauses 12(43) and 12(44) stipulating that opportunities for economic activities provided for by the management regime of the park, "should be provided to the Inuvialuit on a preferred basis", and that "the Inuvialuit shall have the right of first refusal with respect to any activities in the nature of guiding related to wildlife within the Yukon North Slope. "

Based on current assumptions about the social and environmental carrying capacity of the Firth River, Parks Canada has determined a total allocation of 40 private and commercial river trips each year. The maximum group size is 15 people, and no more than one trip is permitted to depart every 48 hours. This allocation is to be reviewed by Parks Canada in consultation with the Inuvialuit Regional Corporation and the Aklavik Community Corporation after the expiration of the MOU on March 31, 1998. The total quota of rafting trips in a given year is equally divided between private

and commercial opportunities. This quota makes available 20 trips for the general public and 20 trips for commercial operators each year. In practice, 30-40 percent of the rafters are private parties (Interview with Peter Lamb, Inuvik, July 13, 1995). The MOU provides for two categories of licences:

> a) reserved licences which are held exclusively for allocation to Inuvialuit businesses with an assigned total quota of 50 percent or 10 trips of all commercial trips available;
> b) non-reserved licences for Inuvialuit and non-Inuvialuit business owners awarded by an application process with a quota of 50 percent or 10 trips of all commercial trips.

The quota of reserved licences is to be assigned to the Aklavik Community Corporation and suballocated to Inuvialuit businesses according to certain criteria. These criteria, like those for non-reserved licences, favour businesses which maximize economic benefits for Inuvialuit. Licences cannot be sold, but reserved licences held by Inuvialuit which are not used for exclusively Inuvialuit-operated trips may be used by these businesses for joint ventures with non-Inuvialuit operators (MOU:3). Non-reserved licences are acquired through a public competitive application process. The bid evaluation criteria used primarily consider economic benefits, training benefits or joint venturing opportunities for Inuvialuit.

To date the Inuvialuit have not engaged in commercial rafting, although an Aklavik corporation (not identical with the Aklavik Community Corporation) has been set up for this purpose. Thus the framework exists, and with it the opportunity for the Inuvialuit to joint venture with other tour companies and learn the trade. There is an interested individual in Aklavik, and a tourist operator from Tuktoyaktuk was completing his certification process as a whitewater rafting guide during the summer of 1995. He gained work experience with Ecosummer Yukon Expeditions, a Whitehorse-based company, and also received training from Parks Canada (Interview with Maureen Pokiak, Tuktoyaktuk, July 18, 1995). More than 50 percent of Ivvavik Park staff are Inuvialuit beneficiaries.

Aulavik National Park on northern Banks Island was created by means of an Establishment Agreement in 1992, signed by representatives of the Inuvialuit Regional Corporation and the federal and territorial governments. The Agreement states explicitly "that the establishment of the Park according to this Agreement conforms with the cultural, economic and environmental goals expressed by the Inuvialuit in the IFA." (Section 2.02) Accordingly, the Agreement contains numerous sections stipulating measures to further anomie opportunities for Inuvialuit. One provision (7.06) is for the preparation of a Tourism Development Plan for Sachs Harbour, within two years of the signing of the Agreement. Consequently, the Sachs Harbour - Banksland Tourism Strategy 1993-1996 was prepared in 1993 by Lutra Associates Ltd. This study gauged community attitudes, market trends

and tourism infrastructure and products. In 1995 it had not resulted in any concerted initiatives or developments.

Aulavik National Park is centred on the Thomsen River area and features spectacular concentrations of muskoxen. It may be seen as a naturalist-oriented wilderness park, where the relatively shallow and gentle river encourages canoeing or rafting, and where hikers can explore badlands, canyons and lakes (Government of Canada 1988:8; see also Lynch 1995). Aulavik National Park, however, will attract even fewer visitors than Ivvavik. Like the latter, it can only be reached by chartered aircraft, and the cost of this procedure is rather prohibitive (ea. $18,000 for drop-off and pick-up compared to $2,200 in Ivvavik). There is some potential in the cruise ship market, where cruise ships may be attracted to stop at Banks Island's northern shore for a glimpse of Aulavik as well as in the community of Sachs Harbour in the island's southwest. This, however, would depend on the availability of community-based events and attractions, and pre-selling a short-duration community package to the tour companies (Stephen, Glaholt and Little 1993:28). It must also be considered, however, that the impact of such great numbers of visitors descending all at once on Sachs Harbour/Ikaahuk with a population of 133 could be simply overwhelming, and this calls for very careful consideration.

The year 1994 was essentially the park's first year of operation, with three local people being hired at Sachs Harbour. Interim Management Guidelines are being implemented, and work has begun on the preparation of a natural and cultural resource inventory of the park. Similar to Ivvavik, there is no formal (co-) management board for Aulavik; the management procedure is "co-operative", management actions are "issue-specific" with a foundation in the IFA (Interview with Peter Lamb, Inuvik, July 13, 1995).

Negotiations for the establishment of Tuktut Nogait National Park were to begin in the fall of 1995. The idea for the establishment of a national park to protect the Bluenose caribou herd's calving grounds originated with the Paulatuk Community Conservation Plan in 1990 (The Community of Paulatuk and the Wildlife Management Advisory Council [NWT] 1990). This proposal is complicated since it is not confined to the Inuvialuit Settlement Region, but extends into the claims areas of the Tungavik Federation of Nunavut and the Sahtu. Since the voluntary relinquishment of prospecting permits within the proposed park by Darnley Bay Resources Ltd. in 1994, all Crown lands within the proposed park are free of third party interests, and negotiations with the Inuvialuit over the largest part of the park can go ahead. In 1995 an Order in Council effected a withdrawal of the entire 28,000 square kilometres under the Territorial Lands Act (New Parks North, March 1995, Newsletter 4, p. 12).

This park will be characterized by the most formal co-management structure, since a co-management board specifically for Tuktut Nogait is to be created (Interview with Peter Lamb, Inuvik, July 13, 1995). Contrasting with the remote location of Ivvavik and Aulavik, this new park will be only ca. 50 kilometres from Paulatuk, and thus accessible from the community. This fact may

facilitate potential benefits for the community to be derived from the park. Paulatuk is accessible by scheduled flights, and it is imaginable that a relationship may develop between Paulatuk and Tuktut Nogait which is similar to that between Pangnirtung and Auyuittuq National Park Reserve on Baffin Island. Pangnirtung is the gateway to Auyuittuq, and local outfitters have a monopoly on transporting hikers on a 30 kilometre boat ride up Pangnirtung Fjord to Auyuittuq's trailhead at Overlord. The presence of the Park Reserve has greatly enhanced Pangnirtung's potential for community-based tourism, a potential which has been partially realized. Tuktut Nogait could do the same for Paulatuk, since park visitors would pass through Paulatuk, and local outfitters could take them to the park by boat or all-terrain vehicle. The prospective park contains some unique features such as petrified wood, pingos, spectacular gorges and waterfalls, not to mention the calving grounds of the 100,000 strong Bluenose caribou herd, and will be less expensive to access than both Ivvavik and Aulavik.

Other heritage sites within the Inuvialuit Settlement Region are Herschel Island Territorial Park and the Pingo Canadian Landmark. The former constitutes an important destination for tourists, attracting approximately 300 visitors annually. Herschel Island/Qikiqtaruk became the Yukon's first territorial park in 1987; like Ivvavik, its creation was stipulated in the Inuvialuit Final Agreement. Herschel preserves a unique natural and cultural heritage, constituted by an exceptional fauna and flora, prehistoric Thule and Inuvialuit sites, and remnants of the 19th and early 20th century commercial whaling period. The park is co-managed by the Government of the Yukon and the Inuvialuit and employs several Inuvialuit wardens. A new Herschel Island Interpretive Plan is being implemented, which draws extensively on oral history research earned out between 1989 and 1993 among Inuvialuit elders from Aklavik, Inuvik and Tuktoyaktuk. This interpretive work is to benefit tourists as well as local communities; the oral history information completed a mobile traveling display used to bring the story of Qikiqtaruk to communities and schools (New Parks North, Newsletter 4, March 1995, p. 11).

The Pingo Canadian Landmark is another natural history site, whose protection resulted from the Inuvialuit Final Agreement. Located immediately to the west of Tuktoyaktuk community lands, the area is managed under the National Parks Act in a joint management regime in consultation with the Inuvialuit Land Administration and the people of Tuktoyaktuk (IFA Section 7[73]). The Pingo Canadian Landmark is a site of international significance. The Tuktoyaktuk peninsula represents the world's largest concentration of pingos, and includes the second highest pingo (Ilyuk Pingo) in the world (Pingo Canadian Landmark, National Historic Landmark, Newsletter # 1, February 1992, p.6). The pingos are an important destination attraction for Tuktoyaktuk, and local operators conduct "Boat to the Pingos" tours for visitors to the community.

To the south, the Gwich'in Comprehensive Land Claim Agreement also provides for Gwich'in harvesting rights, participation in planning and management, and economic benefits in the event of the establishment of protected areas (Sections 15 and 16). Section 16.3 (Government of Canada

1992:78) mentions a Memorandum of Agreement between the Government of the NWT and the Gwich'in Tribal Council with respect to a proposed territorial park at Campbell Hills/Lake. The 1991 Memorandum states explicitly that Gwich'in land claim beneficiaries will have first opportunity to benefit economically from the park, and that the park will be developed and operated by the Gwich'in Tribal Council under contract to the Government of the NWT (Gwich'in Geographies Ltd. 1995:1). Gwich'in Territorial Park is in the process of being established immediately to the southeast of Inuvik, between the Dempster Highway and the east shore of Campbell Lake. The idea to establish a park in the Campbell Hills area goes back as far as the 1970s, due in large part to a sizeable population of nesting peregrine falcons at this location. No action was taken, however, because of the pending land claim. When the land claim was settled in 1992, the major portion of the Campbell Hills between Campbell Lake (west shore) and the East Channel of the Mackenzie River was turned over to the Gwich'in in their land selection process (Interview with Daryl English, Inuvik, July 13, 1995).

Nevertheless, the land claim agreement included a mandate to establish a territorial park along the east shore of Campbell Lake. The Campbell Hills are still represented in the southernmost part of the park. Gwich'in Territorial Park will be developed as a filly serviced Outdoor Recreation Park, but will also serve as a Community Park for Inuvik residents, and will include some Wayside Park facilities for highway travelers (ibid. :2). The Park Masterplan anticipates numerous economic opportunities for business suppliers in the region as well as employment benefits to individuals in the tourism industry such as naturalist and interpretive guides, boat operators, cooks, maintenance personnel, local retailers and others (ibid. :3). There also is the opportunity for the Gwich'in, to capitalize on the presence of the Territorial Park and its infrastructure, and initiate tourism developments of their own on Gwich'in-owned land on the west side of the lake, for example an eco-lodge, hiking trails etc. It must be borne in mind, however, that the Campbell Hills are ecologically rather sensitive. Altogether, this new territorial park, in conjunction with adjacent Gwich'in lands, offers an excellent opportunity to present local natural history to visitors, to interpret Gwich'in culture, and to provide quality recreational opportunities to residents and visitors, the primary goal of Gwich'in Territorial Park (ibid. :7).

Further tourism development opportunities for the Gwich'in may arise from the designation of the Arctic Red River as a Canadian Heritage River. The entire watershed is located within the Gwich'in Land Claim Settlement Area. While designation as a heritage river does not result in immediate tangible benefits for adjacent communities, it does bring recognition and status, and with it the option of marketing and showcasing the river. The Canadian Heritage Rivers System Management Plan for the Arctic Red River (Arctic Red River Heritage River Planning Office 1993) acknowledges as its guidelines the terms of the Gwich'in Comprehensive Land Claim Agreement as well as the vision of the future of the river as expressed by the community of Arctic Red River (Tsiigehtchic).

(Tsiigehtchic's) view of the future that is reflected in this management plan is one in which traditional use will continue to dominate river use. The development of limited recreational opportunities will be integrated into the traditional use of the river by the community of Arctic Red River and reflects the aspirations of this community. (ibid.:11)

Implementation of the management plan is primarily the responsibility of the boards established under the Gwich'in Land Claim Agreement, most importantly the Land Use Planning Board and the Land and Water Board. These boards are just beginning to function, and the later 1990s will tell, what tourism benefits Tsiigehtchic will be able to derive from its river's Heritage status.

## 5. Big Game Hunting

Aboriginal tourism development in the Arctic and Subarctic cannot be discussed without a closer look at the variety of tourism, which has the longest tradition in the North: big game hunting. Trophy hunters are by far the highest per capita spenders of all visitors, and thus, even in small numbers, may have a considerable impact on community economies. For the Northwest Territories as a whole, approximately 9,708 visitors engage in hunting or fishing, compared to 12,555 people auto touring and 8,286 being drawn to the North by outdoor adventure (Derek Murray Consulting Associates 1994: 7). At present, fishing and hunting is the NWT's single largest tourism product in terms of annual revenue at $14.1 million (compared to $ 10.7 million for auto touring and $ 12.8 million for outdoor adventure). Of the estimated 9,708 fishing/hunting visitors, 8,902 are associated with fishing, and 806 with hunting. If the revenue figures were broken down further, they would more than likely reveal a disproportionately large contribution by hunting clients.

In the western Arctic there is sport hunting for polar bear, muskox, tundra grizzly and caribou. Sport hunting is not a "growth industry", and there are various trends in the market, depending on species. Polar bear hunts are considered the "top hunt" in the North, and probably have the best chance of "holding their own" or even increasing the number of bookings, particularly in view of recent changes to the Marine Mammal Protection Act in the United States (Stephen et al. 1993:6). This changed legislation will make it easier in the future to import polar bear trophies into the United States. The northern market potential must also be viewed against the background of a worldwide overall decline in opportunities for big game hunting, which puts the continued access to high quality resources in the NWT in a particularly favorable light. On the other hand, the emerging attitude of the 1990s is one of resource conservation, which may negatively impact on consumptive outdoor activities. The most important market for trophy hunting is the United States and Europe, particularly

Germany, Spain and Italy. Annually, there are approximately 60 polar bear hunts sold and fulfilled by outfitters in the NWT, and around 100 muskox hunts (ibid. :7).

Within the Inuvialuit Settlement Region, the most active sport hunting communities are Sachs Harbour (with the longest sport hunting tradition), Holman, and to a lesser degree, Paulatuk and Tuktoyaktuk. One of the major issues facing aboriginal people involved in the industry, is the reconciliation of the communal character of customary renewable resource use with the private enterprise and competitive aspect of big game sport hunting (Interview with Bruce Hanbidge, Inuvik, July 12, 1995). The Renewable Resources Committees established by the IFA play an important part in this industry by determining the quota of "limited species" such as polar bear, grizzly and muskox. The communal aspect of the hunt is maintained by the fact, that the community Hunters' and Trappers' Committees (HTCs) function as the licensed outfitters, who are allocated quotas for big game species by the Department of Renewable Resources through the co-management process. For financial management reasons, most HTCS have incorporated their sport hunt business: for example Banks Island Big Game Hunts (Sachs Harbour HTC), Beaufort Outfitting and Guiding Services (Tuktoyaktuk HTC), and Holman Sport Hunts (Ulukhaktomiut HTC). The Hunters' and Trappers' Committees sub-allocate tags to individual hunters/guides and outfitters. These corporations do some of their own booking but also use booking agents in eastern Canada and the United States.

Prior to 1990 sport hunts were booked through Guided Arctic, a corporation owned by the Game Council, who also determined its course of action by policy directives. Its philosophy was to commercialize wildlife to the maximum degree permissible by conservation limits. Guided Arctic had only one full time employee, a manager based in Inuvik, who was responsible for marketing and liaison, and also made arrangements for clients as they arrived in Inuvik. Contact with the communities was maintained through the Game Council and the HTCS who chose the guide or outfitter. When Guided Arctic ran into cash flow problems, it was replaced by a more decentralized system, dominated by the HTCS, as it is in operation today (Interview with Norman Snow, Inuvik, July 24, 1995).

The operation of this community-based system varies slightly from community to community. Like Guided Arctic, the communities' sport hunting corporations occasionally assist guides and outfitters with technology and equipment. The system is essentially self-regulating, since problems such as insufficient service to a client, lack of expertise, abuse of a dogteam or waste of any kind may easily result in a community (rather than an individual) being blacklisted. Sport hunters are well connected through local or regional clubs and associations; a satisfied customer can be an outfitter's best marketing agent. Naturally, this can also work against the outfitter. A system of "tribal justice" is meted out on an abuser of the system; punishment may go as far as barring an individual from guiding for life. Obviously, the system is also open to abuse "from the top", due to politics entering into it. The allocation of tags and clients to individual guides or outfitters may be highly

discretionary. As it unfortunately happens in so many aboriginal immunities unaccustomed to social and economic stratification, success breeds envy, which in turn, may result in political repercussions.

However, problems thus created for individual outfitters, may find creative solutions. A highly successful guide and outfitter in Tuktoyaktuk found himself "starved of tags" in his own community, even though the allocation of clients to individual guides supposedly took place on a rotational basis. He responded by negotiating a "partnership" with the HTC of the neighboring community, Paulatuk, whereby he is allowed to hunt on Paulatuk community lands, provided he hires a Paulatuk guide. Whenever he chooses to hunt on Paulatuk lands (within the framework of the quota system), where he maintains an outpost camp, he is not dependent on a tag allocation by a panel like in Tuktoyaktuk, but has the option of independent marketing and booking his own clients. This individual has many repeat clients, word of mouth being his most important marketing tool (Interview with Billy Jacobson, Tuktoyaktuk, July 18, 1995, and Norman Snow, Inuvik, July 24, 1995).

Even though their numbers may be relatively small, sport hunters are making a substantial contribution to community economies, and there is potential for even greater contributions. A polar bear hunt costs approximately $23,000 Can., a tundra grizzly $5,200, a muskox $3,800, and two caribou $3,000. This money goes directly to the community corporations, outfitters and guides. Considering the more active communities, there are 15 licensed guides in Tuktoyaktuk, for polar bear, muskox, grizzly and caribou (Interview with Lloyd Gruben, Tuktoyaktuk, July 19, 1995) and 23 licensed Class C big game sport hunting guides in Sachs Harbour (Stephen et al. 1993: 13). The Tuktoyaktuk quota for polar bears is 26, a maximum of 50 percent of which may be taken by sport hunters. Furthermore, 12 grizzly bears were set aside for sport hunters, with some geographical limitations, 25 muskoxen, and 175 commercial caribou tags were issued (i.e. the meat maybe sold). In the case of caribou, sport hunters are only allowed to shoot bulls, and the "no wastage rule" is strictly enforced. Polar bear hunts may only be conducted with a dogteam. Muskox hunts may take place in the spring and fall, from boat or snowmobile, but the last 1.5 kilometre stalk must be done on foot. Throughout the NWT, only Hunters' and Trappers' Committees/Associations may act as outfitters for polar bear, muskox and barren ground grizzly. In Sachs Harbour, in 1993, the HTC allocated 16 polar bear tags and 500 muskox tags for sport hunting; 14 muskox hunters and one polar bear hunter were actually booked. During the winter of 1994/1995 7 of 9 sport hunters in Holman got their polar bears; there were numerous muskox sport hunts as well (Tusaayaksat 11 [29], July 28, 1995). According to Lloyd Gruben, GNWT Renewable Resources Officer for Tuktoyaktuk, there is much interest in big game guiding on the part of younger people, and there are numerous guides in their early twenties (ibid.).

It may thus be concluded, that big game sport hunting is the variety of tourism with the deepest roots and longest history in northern communities. Hunters are the largest per capita spenders in the tourism industry, demand less of a tourism infrastructure than many other tourists,

and do not on ideological grounds object to a northern land-based harvesting way of life. All this makes them very attractive clients for aboriginal communities. On the other hand it must be acknowledged, that trophy hunting is, at best, a stable industry, whereas growth potential lies with ecotourism and adventure tourism, in short with non-consumptive outdoor activities. What is the relationship between these two important subsectors of the tourism industry? Not surprisingly, there are different opinions on this subject.

Peter Lamb of Parks Canada (Interview in Inuvik, July 13, 1995) feels that the long history of and extensive participation in big game outfitting on the part of many communities is one of the reasons, why ecotourism will only be able to evolve over a longer period of time in the North. While both activities are resource-based, they require profoundly different "people skills" from the aboriginal operator.

Aboriginal operators themselves express less ambivalence about combining the two (Interviews with Maureen Pokiak, Tuktoyaktuk, July 18, 1995, and Randel Pokiak, Tuktoyaktuk, July 19, 1995), as long as common sense rules are followed such as cleaning up the hunting camp and keeping the operations separate. Aboriginal people do not necessarily perceive a contrast between the various ways in which the land and its resources sustain them: be it by harvesting, guiding sport hunters, or catering to ecotourists. James Pokiak of Tuktoyaktuk, who pursues all three activities, expresses it best when he says: "There is a time to harvest the animals, and there is a time to just sit back and enjoy them . ..." (Video "Our Children's Legacy" 1995).

## 6. Tourism and the Land and Resource Management Regime

Our examination of the sport hunting industry in the Inuvialuit Settlement Region has shown that participants in the industry operate within a management environment that is unique to this region. It combines "regular" government measures that all Canadians are accustomed to with a system of checks and balances that is peculiar to Inuvialuit society, as modified through the claim negotiation process. For example, for an Inuvialuk to obtain his/her licence as a hunting guide from the Government of the NWT Department of Renewable Resources, he/she not only needs a hunting licence, must be 18 years of age, have at least five years of hunting experience and no offences under the Wildlife Act, and have taken the Level 1 and 2 guiding courses, but also needs a letter from the local HTC confirming that they will employ the person in question as a guide. The political dynamics that occasionally affect the allocation of tags, are another example.

Other areas of the tourism industry also show evidence, of how the political and administrative framework created by the claim process may empower and constrain at the same time. Judith Venaas, Regional Tourism Manager for Economic Development& Tourism, GNWT, feels, that for many prospective tourism entrepreneurs or outfitters the licence application and consultation process has become a major roadblock. In land claim settlement regions, not only must government

regulations be satisfied — an onerous task at the best of times — but there are (in the western Arctic) also numerous Inuvialuit and Gwich'in boards, committees and community organizations, which must be satisfied through this process. The Inuvialuit, with the maturing of their management regime after a decade of claim settlement implementation, have come to adopt a slightly more relaxed attitude and seek to streamline some of their procedures. The Gwich'in, on the other hand, are just in the process of establishing their management regime, and, understandably, are exercising their management and decision-making power more assiduously.

While big game hunting, and guiding and outfitting activities associated with it, fall under the authority of the GNWT Renewable Resources Department, other sub-sectors of the tourism industry are the jurisdictional responsibility of the Department of Economic Development & Tourism (and, where applicable, Parks Canada). The most important piece of legislation in this context is the Travel and Tourism Act, with its Regulations for Outfitters and Tourist Establishments. A need to revise this allegedly outdated piece of legislation is often expressed by the industry, but, to date, no action has been undertaken.

The Inuvik office of GNWT Economic Development & Tourism provides prospective applicants for a Tourist Outfitter's licence with an information package on the application process. An "outfitter" is defined in the Travel and Tourism Act as follows:

> Outfitter means any individual or corporate body who provides equipment to be used in connection with an outdoor recreational activity or provides guides or guiding services or both.

Part of the package is a licensing check-list of authorities, that need to be consulted. It reads as follows:

Consultation Process (Land Use)

Town, Hamlet or Settlement Council
Gwich'in Tribal Council
Renewable Resource Council (Gwich'in Land)
Inuvialuit Land Administration
Hunters' and Trappers' Committee (Inuvialuit Land)
Community Corporation
Environmental Impact Screening Committee
Band Council
Metis Association

Government Agencies

Department of Fisheries and Oceans
(lake fish/bednight capacity)
Canadian Coast Guard
(proposed operation on coastal and inland waters)
Department of Renewable Resources
(advise on new developments)
Canadian Wildlife Service, Yellowknife
(permits to enter migratory bird sanctuaries)

Other Licensing Requirements

Registration with Corporate Registries, Department of Justice
Registration with Workers' Compensation Board of the NWT
Public Liability Insurance ($ 1,000,000 coverage)

The top part of the list largely contains institutions created by the claim process. Most outfitters will be concerned either with the Inuvialuit Settlement Region or with Gwich'in lands, but there are land use overlaps, and some operators may want to travel in both areas. Tourism proposals — be it river travel, dogsledding, a camp or lodge — within the Inuvialuit Settlement Region, including the parks, are all considered "developments" by the Environmental Impact Screening Committee. A tourism proposal will therefore be screened by the committee to determine any potential environmental impact the proposed activity may have. Since the screening process involves consultation with local community organizations, it takes several weeks or even months. Upon completion it is referred to the licensing agencies (Economic Development & Tourism or Renewable Resources) for their approval, or sent for further environmental review and public hearings. Depending upon the complexity of the proposal, the latter process may again take several months. New applications must be submitted by licence holders, if there is even a slight change in their proceedings, such as a new stopping point on the river or a new campsite. Until recently, even established tour operators with a track record in Ivvavik National Park needed to go through the approval process on an annual basis, in order to run their Firth River rafting trips, which has caused them serious problems. Only lately this procedure has been replaced by a multi-year approval process. New applications by these operators include an expansion into the shoulder seasons with dogsledding trips (Interview with Linda Graf, Inuvik, July 12, 1995).

For aspiring Inuvialuit entrepreneurs in the tourism sector the application and approval process in individual cases may take in excess of one year, and a positive outcome is by no means

guaranteed. Inuvialuit, who have worked "on the inside" of the system, do not perceive the process as excessively onerous but concede that an "in-house educational process" may be useful (Interview with Richard Binder, Inuvik, July 24, 1995). Candidates who are less familiar with the requirements, may be deterred by the multiplicity of agencies, but also by the possibility of being turned down by their own communities.

A problem that local aboriginal people find hard to deal with, is the "personal nature" of their denial or approval within their community or claim area. It contrasts with the anonymous nature of government dealings and is much harder to accept and to cope with. A negative experience with non-native or external tourism operators may prompt a community to deny an opportunity to one of their own (Interview with Floyd Roland, Inuvik, July21, 1995). It goes without saying, that politics enter into the decision-making process.

On the other hand, it must be acknowledged, that community decision-makers maybe faced with very difficult choices. One of the most sensitive issues concerns the admission of visitors into hunting and whaling camps. During the late 1980s and early 1990s there were Inuvialuit individuals who firmly believed in the educational potential of "cultural immersion" tourism, in educating visitors about the realities of a land-based way of life. But in the wake of the 1980s' demise of the sealing industry and the trapping controversy, the communities were extremely concerned about the "Greenpeace syndrome" and reluctant to make harvesting activities publicly accessible. But this concern also fostered a constructive reaction, namely the development of Tourism Guidelines for beluga-related tourism activities.

## 7. TOURISM AND THE LAND-BASED ECONOMY

Most of the measures to regulate and control tourism (and other activities) are designed to protect the natural resource base of the Inuvialuit Settlement Region and the integrity of Inuvialuit harvesting activities. It is the Inuvialuit vision, that what the land provides, will always remain central to Inuvialuit life, modem economic aspirations notwithstanding. For this reason it is very important to examine the relationship between the Inuvialuit land-based economy and the tourism industry. In this context, for the Inuvialuit in embracing tourism the challenge is twofold:

a) to protect the integrity of their land-based economy and way of life from trespass and interference of the tourism industry;
b) to engage in tourism industry activities in a way which enables tourism to fit into, nurture and benefit community mixed economies to an optimum degree.

The Inuvialuit have responded to challenge (a) in a constructive way by their development of Tourism Guidelines for beluga-related tourism activities. Considering aboriginal people's experience

with the animal rights movement, the Inuvialuit have every reason to be extremely wary of granting the public access to harvesting activities. During the summer tourist season whaling is the harvesting activity, and consequently the Communities' greatest concern. The Tourism Guidelines are designed to prevent physical interference with whaling as well as misrepresentation of the activity. The Beaufort Sea Beluga Management Plan of 1991 points out that whale hunting and tourism are not necessarily compatible activities (Fisheries Joint Management Committee 199 1:16); any encounter between the two requires sensitive management. The Guidelines provide the Hunters' and Trappers' Committees of the harvesting communities (mostly Inuvik, Aklavik and Tuktoyaktuk) with the authority to strictly control access and other activities in the harvesting zones, camps and vicinity thereof, and they clearly stipulate that subsistence hunting takes priority over any tourism activities.

The HTCs will designate areas that maybe used for the purpose of whale watching within the Inuvialuit Settlement Region, but retain the right to impose every kind of limitations on these activities. As a condition for their licence, tour operators visiting camps need written Agreements with the HTCS and camp owners in question. No one is allowed to take photographs or video footage of harvesting or related activities without the explicit written consent of the relevant HTC(s), the camp owner and hunters involved in the hunt, or the Inuvialuit Game Council. Media involvement is even more strictly controlled. These are only some of the provisions that pertain to harvesters' concerns in particular; others address marine mammal harassment, artifact removal, garbage disposal and aircraft restrictions.

The summer of 1995 was the first season the Guidelines were in operation. There was only one operator who occasionally took visitors to his family's whaling camp, but his trips were irregular and difficult to schedule. The implementation of the Beluga Tourism Guidelines is likely to put people more at ease, since they specifically address harvesters' concerns and give them an element of control. The number of hunters welcoming tourists into their camps will likely remain small, but among the Inuvialuit there are numerous strong believers in the educational function of tourism. These individuals feel, that wherever there is a willing host, tourism can go a long way in changing outsiders' views of harvesting activities. An element of risk remains, though: "How do YOU control information, once you have given it?" (Interview with Richard Binder, Inuvik, July 24, 1995). But with an increasing measure of control on the part of the harvesters and improving education of tourists, more aboriginal hosts may be willing to take this leap of faith. Another topic that many Inuvialuit feel, tourists should be educated about, is the claims process.

Conversations with Inuvialuit hosts and southern guests leave little doubt, that an "aboriginal tourism experience" is a very effective teacher about the northern way of life and everything it entails. The future of tourism, however, will at least in part be determined by how well it can be made to fit into this way of life. This is challenge (b). Some of the people who are making the richest contribution to a visitor's northern experience are enabled to do so by the fact that they are not full-time tourism professionals, but are firmly rooted in a way of life that ties them to the land. The

tourism part of their mixed economy provides the cash to supply households with consumer goods, and underwrites the cost of their domestic production.[2] The local operators for Arctic Nature Tours in Tuktoyaktuk, James and Maureen Pokiak, are an excellent example, of how this can be accomplished.

The Pokiaks not only combine a land-based way of life with tourism; they also pursue both, ecotourism and guiding and outfitting sport hunters. James has been involved in tourism for approximately seven years. During the summer of 1995 he was completing his certification process as a whitewater rafting guide. He gained his experience on the river by working as a guide for Ecosummer Yukon Expeditions, a Whitehorse-based company. Maureen made an interesting comment, when she remarked that James really "had his eyes opened" by working for Ecosummer, as to "no trace camping", a practice they have also adopted privately and which they are passing on to their children. The learning process goes both ways. The Pokiaks are in the process of setting up their own tourism company, Ookpik Tours and Adventures, which is to combine adventure and ecotourism with big game hunt outfitting and guiding. Currently the Pokiaks' seasonal cycle proceeds as follows:

September: sport hunt for caribou, fishing for subsistence and dogs;
Late October - December: trapping
Christmas break
January - February: trapping, preparation for polar bear hunt;
March - April: sport hunt for polar bear, muskox and barren ground grizzly;
May: traditional spring hunt for geese (subsistence only) and icefishing at Husky Lakes. James and Maureen plan to attract "spring tourists" for the Beluga Jamboree (April), with dogteam rides and visits to the pingos.
June: tourists start arriving;
June 20- July 23 (appr.): river rafting trips;
June - August: whaling, community tours.

Presently all their non-sport hunting tourism is booked through Arctic Nature Tours; sport hunting clients are allocated by Beaufort Outfitting and Guiding Services, a community corporation. As Maureen points out, in this manner they are able to spend almost ten months out on the land. The Pokiaks come across as genuinely enjoying what they are doing, and tourists respond to this attitude. They also report considerable interest in land-based tourism on the part of younger people, whenever they are looking for employees (Interview with Maureen Pokiak, Tuktoyaktuk, July 18, 1995).

[2] For an excellent discussion of the functioning of northern mixed economies see Elias 1995

Another member of the Pokiak family, Randel (Boogie) Pokiak, must be credited with starting tourism in Tuktoyaktuk as early as 1982. He was initially motivated by witnessing "tourists wandering around the community with no one to educate them about Inuvialuit culture. " A chance encounter alerted him to the educational potential of tourism and awakened his idea of a "cultural immersion tour". For almost a decade, and after considerable trailbreaking, Boogie offered a tourism product, which is currently unavailable: He took people out on the land, for trapping, caribou hunting, and whaling. Boogie feels that the visitors to his camp underwent a true educational experience, which in many cases changed their outlook on the hunting culture of the Inuvialuit. Due to a combination of factors he saw himself compelled to shut down his business in 1992, but is still involved in tourism by working with James and Maureen Pokiak (Interview with Boogie Pokiak, Tuktoyaktuk, July 19, 1995).

The tourism industry in this region is at a stage where it still is very "personality-dependent". The large volume of visitors to Tuktoyaktuk — 3,500 in 1994 — is not primarily a result of Tuktoyaktuk's relative proximity to Inuvik. Aklavik is even closer and receives under 100 visitors. It is conditioned by ground-operators like the Pokiaks, and by the residence of the majority owners of Arctic Tour Company, Roger and Winnie Gruben, in the community. The latter are equally active in conducting local tours in Tuktoyaktuk, and are planning an expansion into the shoulder seasons, driving the iceroad, building igloos, etc.

Despite the large volume of visitation, the community (with a population of approximately 1,000) has remained tolerant of tourism. But in some areas there are signs of strain. As Winnie Gruben points out, visitors are particularly interested in sampling native food, which is something that could certainly be capitalized upon. On the other hand, sharing traditional country food with tourists sometimes institutes a severe strain on scarce resources, such as berries, and tour companies have experienced difficulty securing such food in sufficient quantities (Interview with Winnie Gruben, Tuktoyaktuk, July 19, 1995).

Other Inuvialuit communities experience far fewer visitors, usually under 100 per year. In their 1993 study of Banks Island, Bob Stephen et al. (1993:23) estimate the number of annual pleasure visitors at 25-35 in the early 1990s, and anticipate a slow rise due to a gradual increase in the non-consumptive travelers and a stable big game hunting market. These researchers report a positive attitude towards tourism among Sachs Harbour's residents (population 133), who feel that they could comfortably handle about 200 tourists per year. While there are two licensed tourism outfitters in Sachs Harbour, no recent progress has been made in terms of product development and tourism organization at the community level. Economic Development & Tourism of the GNWT is currently focusing its attention on Aklavik, where it perceives an increased community interest in tourism (Interview with Judith Venaas, Inuvik, July21, 1995).

Throughout the early 1990s, Tetl'it Zhe (Fort McPherson), with a population of 900 the largest Gwich'in community in the NWT, expressed a growing interest in becoming involved in

tourism. This prompted the Government of the NWT in 1992 to fund a "Tourism Business Opportunity Study" for the community (Mike Freeland & Associates 1992). This study was carried out under less than ideal conditions, during Gwich'in Land Claim preparations, resulting in limited community participation and conflicting workshops (ibid. :5). One document provided a community overview, a second set of documents included five business plans for opportunities that appeared to have good potential and were acceptable to the community: arts and crafts production with an active sales outlet; Peel River boat tours; dried meat and fish sales; a Gwich'in cultural camp; and Bed & Breakfast service. Furthermore, several "Tourism Enhancement Support Projects" were recommended in the areas of tourist information, signage, interpretive centre etc.

By 1995, some progress had been made. A small visitor centre is now in operation, which exhibits and sells crafts on consignment, and Ch'ii Adventures, a family business, was founded. Ch'ii Adventures offers community tours with some "cultural immersion", i.e. traditional lunch, jet boat river trips on the Peel, and Dempster Highway trips. In the years to come, much energy and considerable resources will be dedicated to the important task of implementing the Gwich'in Land Claim Agreement, which may detract from actual tourism development projects. In the long term, however, the claim settlement will provide the solid base necessary to proceed with economic development of any kind.

## 8. Aboriginal Tourism: The Visitor's Perspective

In terms of demographics and general socio-economic characteristics the 1995 sample of 70 visitors to the western Arctic[3] shares many features that have previously been reported by other studies conducted by or on behalf of the Government of the NWT, such as the 1994 NWT Exit Survey (Government of the NWT 1995) or the 1992 Western Arctic Visitor Survey (Bufo Incorporated 1992a&b). As is typical for northern travelers, a relatively large proportion, namely 36 percent, was over 60 years old. Although other surveys also characterize travelers to this region as well-educated, this sample appears slightly skewed towards high educational achievement, since an amazing 41 percent report a graduate degree, and a further 28 percent post-secondary education. This can most likely be explained by a stronger interest in and more "sympathetic" disposition towards university-based research (a letter attached to the questionnaires identified this project as such) by those voluntary respondents who have had more exposure to it. Commensurate with other studies, most travelers sampled here, appeared to be well off, with 24 percent reporting an annual income between $41,000 and $60,000, and 17 percent earning between $61,000 and 80,000. The majority, over 60 percent, were Canadians; almost 25 percent Americans, and 15 percent came from other countries, such as Australia, Germany, Mexico, Japan and Poland.

[3] See Appendix for a copy of the questionnaire with a partial listing of the results.

The majority of the travelers, namely 60 percent, had visited the Canadian North before, but only 11 percent knew Inuvik from a previous visit. The largest percentage, 44 percent, identified their travel as "autotouring" (although 56 percent had arrived in Inuvik by vehicle); 27 percent had come for "outdoor adventure"; 25 percent were visiting family, fiends, or their travel was partly work-related; and 4 percent wanted to go fishing. Most of the visitors, 79 percent, were traveling independently. Except for those who were visiting fiends or family, most travelers spent very little time in Inuvik, most commonly between one and four days.

Of all respondents, 79 percent had visited Tuktoyaktuk, 4 percent had flown to Aklavik, and 4 percent to Sachs Harbour. While all 56 percent who arrived in Inuvik by motor vehicle, pass the Gwich'in communities Tsiigehtchic (Arctic Red River) and Fort McPherson, only21 percent reported visiting the former and 39 percent the latter.

Statistics sometimes fail to do justice to the variety of the human element. There was

. . . the "stay at home Mom" from Alberta;
. . . the physical therapist from California, leading a Sierra Club trip;
. . . the college student from Calgary visiting her Inuvialuk boyfriend;
. . . two retired teachers from Virginia and New York State, having the time of their life;
. . . the professor from Poland;
. . . the German writer, driving his red van from Alaska to Tierra del Fuego;
. . . another professor from Japan, and
. . . the graduate student from Illinois, who was "loathe" to identify himself as a "tourist".

What united all these people, was their great interest in aboriginal northerners and their lifestyle. Seventy-one percent of the respondents claimed to be very interested in native people, 28 percent were interested, and only one respondent said that he was not particularly interested. For 16 percent of the travelers an encounter with northern native people constituted the most important part of their trip. Asked, what they were particularly interested in regarding aboriginal people, by far the largest percentage, 77 percent, named people's everyday life; arts and crafts were mentioned by 69 percent; traditional land-based activities by 50 percent; learning from native people about the environment by 47 percent, and country food by 44 percent (people could name multiple items).

Almost all of the travelers reported an encounter with aboriginal people (94 percent), many of them encounters of an informal or privately arranged nature, but the majority took advantage of the two Inuvik tour companies. People reported a high degree of satisfaction: Ninety-four percent claim to have enjoyed their experience very much, whereas the remainder found it "OK". Seventeen percent had their expectations surpassed; 67 percent felt that their expectations had been fulfilled; and

only 9 percent were disappointed (In 7 percent of the cases this question did not apply). Asked about the highlight of their experience, 54 percent considered it to be their "personal encounter with native people"; the next frequent response with 29 percent refers to their "native guide's performance", and 20 percent particularly enjoyed the country food.

The strong emphasis placed by visitors on their personal encounter with aboriginal people and on their native guide's ability to communicate his/her culture to the traveller, is an extremely important point to take notice of. It corresponds closely with the response given by most tourists, when asked, what they were particularly interested in: Seventy-seven percent wanted to find out more about people's everyday life. Learning about people's daily lives from the people themselves seems to constitute an important measure of the quality of a visitor's aboriginal tourism experience.[4] This sounds very simple, but is anything but simple. Putting on a paid performance for a visiting public is much easier than sharing one's life in a genuine manner. Many (though not all) tourists in the western Arctic may be given credit to be able to tell the difference. Among those, who (in the questionnaire) claim to have enjoyed themselves "very much", there actually is a wide spectrum of satisfaction, illustrating once again the importance of personalities and individuals at this stage of tourism development in the region. Depending on their community guide, people may proclaim that they had "the experience of a lifetime", or that "it was nice. " Taking into account the importance of "word of mouth" advertising, this is not to be taken lightly. The following is just one example of a comment.

> I enjoyed spending time with Maureen and James in their home, partaking of "lunch" with them. They shared their food, lifestyle and culture with us. We learnt about the wonderful way they live on the land, preserving food, making clothing and yet live in town.

Having established that people report a high degree of satisfaction with their aboriginal tourism experience, it is equally important to investigate potential areas of complaint. Among the 70 respondents, 14 put forward complaints or suggestions for improvement, Six of those concern the two tour companies. Among the points raised were false advertising, inefficiency, disorganization and poor salesmanship.

> Tour companies should be more honest in their advertising.
> Tour companies could try harder to fill tours.

---

[4] The fact that travellers are particularly intrigued by an opportunity to share and leans about aboriginal people's daily lives has also been documented for northern Australia (Moscardo and Pearce 1989). Here researchers found that such interest is often not appreciated by tour operators who presume that it takes spectacular clan-or fanciful costumes to satisfy their clients.

> Both tour companies in Inuvik have advertising that misrepresents them. Although many tours are listed for both companies, they in fact only have 4 or5 readily available when you arrive -and then you never know till the last minute if it will leave. If they had better management they could prosper. The bookers are very "unsalesmanlike" and don't seem really informed or to care about booking more then one trip per person. These tours should be set up to rotate days so people could do 3 or 4 trips. They do too many to same site — dumb.
>
> . ...1 found both of these tour companies very inefficient in doing their bookings. Could not arrange boat travel down the Mackenzie nor fishing trip with either tour company. Both tour companies are very disorganized! !

These comments reflect two things:

a) a very real sense of frustration on the part of many tourists with what they perceive as the difference between myth and reality of advertising. Considering that the majority of visitors are in Inuvik for less than four days, it must be acknowledged that only a handful of the tours are available on a daily basis (or every other day), and that many tours are conducted only occasionally or every other season, unless an individual or couple is prepared to pay a group charter price (which is unrealistic). This differentiation is not reflected in the advertising of either tour company.

b) a lack of education of the visitors about the conditions, that northern tour companies have to contend with. Most northern visitors come to their destination for an authentic northern experience. It will not do them any harm to experience first hand the factors that control northern tourism: the weather, indigenous northern culture, and the role of tourism within northern mixed economies. Travelers must be made to understand, that in the North these factors do not just exist on paper (in fine print....), but are very real indeed. This, in itself, maybe turned into a "tourism experience". Honesty is at a premium.

The issue of educating the traveller appears to be a recurrent theme. Some of the most motivated and successful aboriginal tourism operators are driven by a desire to educate visitors about the realities of northern land-based economies. Educating the tourist is also part and parcel of honest advertising. It is encouraging to note, that this lesson is not lost on northern travelers. An amazing 70 percent of questionnaire respondents replied to the question "Did this experience teach you anything about aboriginal people?" in the affirmative, by sharing some of their lessons.

> Hunting and whaling are necessary for their survival.
>
> Our guide was very knowledgeable about the political and social situation of aboriginal peoples, which I found very interesting.
>
> They have a great sense of humour, are so friendly and helpful. The children just stole our hearts.

More industrious, better educated, with less alcohol problems, well adapted to benefit from both old and new cultures — moving with the times, and still living off the land. Apparently better success than more southerly natives.

Completely different world in respect to social norms.

We southerners need to let them make the decisions for their lives, their lands — these are people who know how to live here and know how to live with nature. I admire their hardiness and their sense of humour and gentleness.

There is a common thread among us as to how we live on earth. While the environment dictates how we live and work, we are very much alike.

They have wonderful family connections and closeness that white people do not have.

They are very accepting of and welcoming to visitors in the informal setting — more so than white people.

. . . how government has impacted their lives and culture. However, no solutions come to mind.

A great discussion over tea with Roger (Gruben) re. land claims, modem life, self-govemment.

How every contact with "white people" tends to change the lifestyle of natives, thus traditions and forms of living are lost forever, how difficult it is for the natives to adapt completely to the "white man's life", the life seems torn apart, nothing whole, not Indian, not "white".

For example, an Inuk told me that he was down south once. He found it interesting, but "There were a thousand people there, but none would talk to me. " I think that shows a stronger sense of community than we have.

What life used to be like for them (living off the land), and the poor quality of life today for the "typical" Aboriginal.

Taught us to understand them better — their hopes and dreams, etc. — just like us!

The relationship between the native people and nature — especially the animals — is more realistic than in Germany.

I learnt that the Inuit concept of time is very different from us "southerners", who are always rushing around looking at our watches!

I have been traveling in the last 10 years in the high Arctic . ...1 met native people on all trips and thoroughly enjoyed the contacts, but also see many problems.

This selection reflects a wide spectrum of experiences and perceptions. Whether one agrees with them or not, for the most part they do not appear reflective of clichés or pre-conceived ideas. The same is true for a variety of comments volunteered by 47 percent of survey respondents. To the

degree that northern aboriginal hosts are interested in getting their point across to southern or foreign guests, by and large, they are meeting with a receptive audience.

## 9. OUTLOOK

In the western Arctic all stakeholders in the tourism industry appear to recognize either implicitly or explicitly, that aboriginal people are very important, if not the most important partners in the industry. As far as government is concerned, the completion of the claims process for the Inuvialuit and Gwich'in guarantees an equitable role for both groups in determining the course of events.

When it comes to industry, we are confronted with a state of flux and an uncertain organizational future (as, to some degree, is the rest of the country). In the NWT the regional tourism associations — like the Western Arctic Tourism Association (WATA) — are being replaced by two new associations, one in Nunavut, and one in the West. WATA's future — possibly tied more closely to a reorganized Inuvik Chamber of Commerce (Interview with Michael Tryon, Inuvik, July 25, 1995) — was uncertain as of summer 1995. The organization takes the position, that, since regional tourism activities mostly relate to the western Arctic's people and natural environment, aboriginal people should have an important say in the industry. This prompted a proposal for "tourism co-management. "

> At our 1995-96 Annual General Meeting, WATA's membership passed the following motion:
>
> "That the Western Arctic Tourism Association support the development of a Western Arctic Tourism Co-Management Board. This Board will consist of equal representation from the Gwich'in Tribal Council, the Inuvialuit Regional Corporation, tourism industry operators and the Government of the Northwest Territories. Its function will be to promote and coordinate regional tourism activities. "
>
> This motion's goal is to ensure that the Land Claim Settlements, the tourism industry operators and the GNWT are all working together to continue the development and marketing of the Western Arctic from within our region. We all realize and accept that our regional tourism activities primarily relate to the people and the environment of the Western Arctic which is under the jurisdiction of the Gwich'in and Inuvialuit peoples. (Excerpt of a letter by the Board of Directors of WATA to Adam Inuktalik, Chairman, Holman Community Corporation, dated July 10, 1995)

Northern tourism confronts all stakeholders with enormous challenges. Some of the most important challenges facing the Inuvialuit, the Gwich'in and other northern native peoples relate to aboriginal people's land-based way of life, to questions of how this way of life can be protected from tourism, and how tourism can be shaped to fit into this way of life. Both of these challenges have been successfully tackled by the Inuvialuit. Nevertheless, a more widespread recognition on the part of community leadership and the public, that tourism (i properly controlled and realistically assessed) can really benefit communities, and a more sophisticated understanding, of how these benefits can occur, are slow in coming, even in Tuktoyaktuk. The next challenge will involve an "image change" of tourism as something worthwhile engaging in for young people.

Most people currently involved in the tourism industry in the western Arctic look to the future with confidence, but also with some uncertainty, The future of tourism in this region, as visitors now encounter it, is inexorably bound to the evolution of northern mixed economies. The "authenticity" and "real life character" of the current tourism experience sometimes also makes it very difficult to manage. It is well-nigh impossible to predict, where the next generation is headed. As Darielle Talarico, Business Manager of Arctic Nature Tours, muses, more tourists and more "professionalism" will make the industry easier to manage, but what will be lost in the process? (Interview in Inuvik, July 29, 1995) For the time being, it seems important to educate tourists about their role in northern aboriginal people's lives, and to show them, that their role is appreciated. They must be made to understand, that, for however fleeting a moment, they are not just witnessing, but participating in a lifestyle, that deserves to live on, for the people's sake, and for the land's sake.

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# APPENDIX

The University of Lethbridge

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FACULTY OF MANAGEMENT
THE BUSINESS ENTERPRISES AND SELF-GOVERNING SYSTEMS OF INDIAN, INUIT AND METIS PEOPLES

July 1995

RESEARCH PROJECT "ABORIGINAL TOURISM IN THE WESTERN **ARCTIC"**

Dear Traveller:

I am a researcher based at the University of Lethbridge, in southern Alberta, and currently working on a book entitled Aboriginal Tourism: Canadian and International Perspectives. Tourism development by Native people is a "hot item" and a very complex and dynamic field. In Canada and worldwide there are countless initiatives by Aboriginal people in the tourism field, but at the same time there is a lack of data, and the communication lines are still underdeveloped.

This is where you come in. You can greatly assist in this research project by filling out the attached questionnaire and thereby sharing your impressions of your Native tourism experience. There have been a lot of Native tourism developments in this region, and those of you who have been here before, will have noticed the difference over the last couple of years.

This is an exciting project, and your involvement and assistance is very much appreciated. If you are interested in a copy of the final draft report, please indicate so by filling in your address at the end of the questionnaire.

You can return the questionnaire using the self-addressed envelope, or, where applicable, leave the questionnaire at your hotel reception, campground office or with your tour operator.

Thanks again for your participation.

C. Notzke

Claudia Notzke, Ph.D.
Visiting Assistant Professor
University of Lethbridge

QUESTIONNAIRE: ABORIGINAL TOURISM DEVELOPMENT IN THE WESTERN ARCTIC

Please tick off the best answer(s) and/or answer
on the dotted line.

General Background

1. Gender: Male Female

2. Age:

| | |
|---|---|
| >18 | 2% (2) |
| 18-30 years | 1770 (12) |
| 31-45 | 28% (20) |
| 46-60 | 17% (12) |
| over 60 | 36% (25) |

3. Education:

| | |
|---|---|
| in school | (2) |
| primary/secondary school completed | (11) |
| post-secondary education completed | 28% (20) |
| graduate education completed | 41% (29) |
| other training completed | (4) |
| | no info (4) |

4. Occupation: .....

5. Income:

| | |
|---|---|
| under $ 20,000/a | 13 |
| $21,000-$ 40,000/a | 19 |
| $41,000-$ 60,000/a | 24% (17) |
| $61,000-$ 80,000/a | 17% (12) |
| over $ 80,000/a | 4% (3) |
| | 2 n.a. |
| | 4 no info |

6. Residence: Canada 61% (43); US 24% (17); Mexico 1; Australia 4; Germany 3; Japan 1; Poland 1; total overseas 10= 15%

## Travel Information

7. Have you travelled to the Canadian North (Yukon, NWT, Labrador, northern Quebec, Hudson Bay) before?

Yes **60%** (42) No (28)

8. Have you visited Inuvik before?

Yes **11% (8)** No **(62)**

9. **How would you define your vacation experience?**

| | |
|---|---|
| **Auto Touring (including RV)** | **44% (31)** |
| **Fishing/Hunting** | *4% (3)* |
| Outdoor Adventure | **27%** (19) |
| Other (please specify) | 25% (17) |

10. Are you traveling independently or with a tour group? 79% (55) (11) (4) **n.a.**

11. How did you arrive in Inuvik?

| | |
|---|---|
| By plane | 43% **(30)** |
| By motor vehicle | 56% (39) |
| By boat | (1) |

12. Where are you staying while in Inuvik?

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Hotel | **(19)** | |
| **Bed & Breakfast** | **(7)** | |
| Friends or Family | (11) | |
| Campground | **44%** (31) | RV (18) Tent (13) |
| Other | (2) | |

13. Length of stay in Inuvik .....
Length of your travel in the NWT .....
Length of the entire trip .....

14. Will you visit/did you visit any other Western Arctic communities?

Yes No

If yes, please specify: Tuktoyaktuk **79%** (55)
Aklavik **4 %** ( 3 )
Paulatuk
Sachs Harbour 4% (3)
Holman
Arctic Red River **21%** (15)
Fort McPherson **39%** (27)

15. what is the approximate cost ofyournorthem vacation? .....
How much of this amount did you spend:
- in the South (f.i. booking with a tour operator) .....
-travelling through the NWT .....
- in Inuvik .....
- in other communities you visited, departing from Inuvik (f.e. Tuktoyaktuk), please specify: .....

16. How did you prepare yourself for your northern trip?

Used "Explorers' Guide" (19)
Received information material from tour company
Did my own research

## Aboriginal Tourism Experience

17. Interest in northern Native people and lifestyles:

| | |
|---|---|
| Very interested | **71% (50)** |
| Interested | 28% (19) |
| Not particularly interested | (1) |

8. Is an encounter with northern Native people an important part of your trip?

| | |
|---|---|
| The most important part | **16%** (11) |
| Very important | **44%** (31) |
| Just one element of many | 40% (30) (some overlap) |
| Unimportant | |

19. What are you particularly interested in?

| | |
|---|---|
| Arts and crafts | 69% (48) |
| Country food | 44% (31) |
| Traditional land-based activities | **50%** (35) |
| Learning from Native people about the environment | **47%** (33) |
| People's everyday life | 77% (54) |
| Other (please specify) | spirituality, festivals, **history** |

20. Did your trip include an encounter with Native people?

Yes 94% (66) No (4)

If yes, please specify:

Informal/privately arranged

Booked through Arctic Tour Company, please name tour: .....

Booked through Western Arctic Nature Tours, please name tour: .....

Other (please specify) .....

21. Overall enjoyment:

| | |
|---|---|
| I enjoyed this experience very much. | 94% (66) |
| It was OK. | (4) |
| I did not enjoy myself. | |

22. What was the highlight of this experience?
(name more than one, if you wish)

| | |
|---|---|
| Traveling in the bush/on the water | |
| The stay in camp | |
| Personal encounter with Native people | 54% (38) |
| Country food | 20% (14) |
| Legends and stories | |
| Your Native guide's performance | 29% (20) |
| Watching wildlife | |
| Other (please specify)..... | |

23. Was there anything you did not enjoy?

Yes No

If yes, what should be changed, improved or added?
14 criticisms, 6 concerning tour companies

24. What were your expectations of an "Aboriginal tourism experience"?

| | |
|---|---|
| Personal contact | |
| Learning more about people's lives | |
| Learning from Native people about the environment | |
| Sampling country food | |
| Buying arts and crafts | |
| Other (please specify)..... | |

25. Were your expectations fulfilled 67% (47)
surpassed 17% (12)
not fulfilled? 9% (6)
n.a. 7% (5)

26. Did this experience teach you anything about Aboriginal people?

Yes 49 comments **(70%)** No

If yes, please explain briefly.

.....
.....
.....

27. Would you recommend this tour to others?

Yes No

28. How did you learn about this tour?

.....

29. Would you have been interested in visiting an Inuvialuit/Gwich'in Cultural Centre, if there had been one?

Yes No

30. Comments **33 comments (47%)**

.....
.....
.....
.....
.....
.....
.....
.....

Your address, if you are interested in receiving a copy of the draft report on Aboriginal Tourism in the Western Arctic.

37 requests **(53%)**

.....
.....

# ABORIGINAL TOURISM COMMUNITY WORKSHOP

conducted by

**Dr. Claudia Notzke**

---

Claudia Notzke is an Assistant Professor in the BESS-Program (Business Enterprises and Self-Governing Systems of Indian, Inuit and Metis Peoples) at the University of Lethbridge, Alberta. She teaches courses in Aboriginal Tourism Development and Aboriginal Natural Resource Management and is the author of "*Aboriginal* Peeples *and Natural Resources in* Canada", and currently working on a new book entitled *"Aboriginal Tourism Development: Canadian and International Perspectives".*

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**The 2 day workshop will be customized according to community, treaty or claims area, and tourism environment.**

**Among the questions to be addressed, are the following:**

- **What is tourism, and what are tourists looking for?**
- **How can tourism benefit our community?**
- **What possibilities does our community offer for tourism development?**
- **What tourism developments are happening in our region?**
- **What does that mean for our community?**
- **How can we protect culture, community and lands from negative impacts of tourism?**
- **How can tourism be made to fit into our lives?**

**Who should attend this workshop?**

- **Chief and Council**
- **Individuals involved in the implementation of comprehensive claims**
- **Economic Development Officers**
- **People interested in becoming involved in tourism**
- **People possessing skills that might be an asset for tourism**
- **People concerned about the potential impact of tourism on their lives or communities**

**This workshop will be available in Spring 1996.**

Cost: $2,000 **plus expenses**

**Duration: 2 days plus an optional 3rd day for consultation.**

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