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## **TOURISM INITIATIVES IN CANADA'S NORTHWEST TERRITORIES**

### **THE PANGNIRTUNG EXPERIENCE A PARTNERSHIP FOR SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT**

**Paper presented to the World Conference on  
Tourism Development and the Environment  
Canary Islands, Spain, October 12-15, 1989.**

**Conference Presentation by the Honourable  
Gordon Wray, Minister of Economic  
Development and Tourism, Government of the  
Northwest Territories and Sakiasie  
Sowdloopik, former Chairman of the  
Pangnirtung Tourism Committee.**



**Department of Economic Development and Tourism • Government of the Northwest Territories**

**Recycled Paper**

**TOURISM INITIATIVES IN CANADA'S NORTHWEST TERRITORIES:  
THE PANGNIRTUNG EXPERIENCE - A PARTNERSHIP  
FOR SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT**

**INTRODUCTION**

In developing regions and countries around the world, tourism is playing an increasingly important role in economic development. Tourism poses both opportunities and challenges in achieving the sustainable development of local and regional economies.

The Government of the Northwest Territories (GNWT), Canada, recognizes that through sustainable development it will be able to meet both its conservation and economic growth goals.

"Whatever we do to improve our economy, we must ensure that we protect and promote our basic values. Though these basic values may be expressed in different cultural terms, they all seem to come down to the same realities; economic independence, protection of the land and the environment, a sense of self-identity and control over our lives, meaningful work, the ability to live meaningful lifestyles, and a sense of community and personal worth."

Legislative Assembly Special  
Committee on the Northern  
Economy, 1989.

When managed in an environmentally and socially appropriate manner, tourism can make a substantial contribution to the sustainable development of a country's natural and cultural resources. The challenge all nations face when developing their tourist potential is finding the correct balance between protecting these resources and promoting their development.

In this regard, much can be learned from the international tourism experience. The GNWT and the Canadian Eastern Arctic community of Pangnirtung would like to contribute to this learning process by sharing with other developing regions and countries its tourism development experience over the last decade. The World Conference on Tourism Development and the Environment provides one such

forum to share information and exchange ideas on the future of tourism, and its role in contributing to sustainable development in Canada's North.

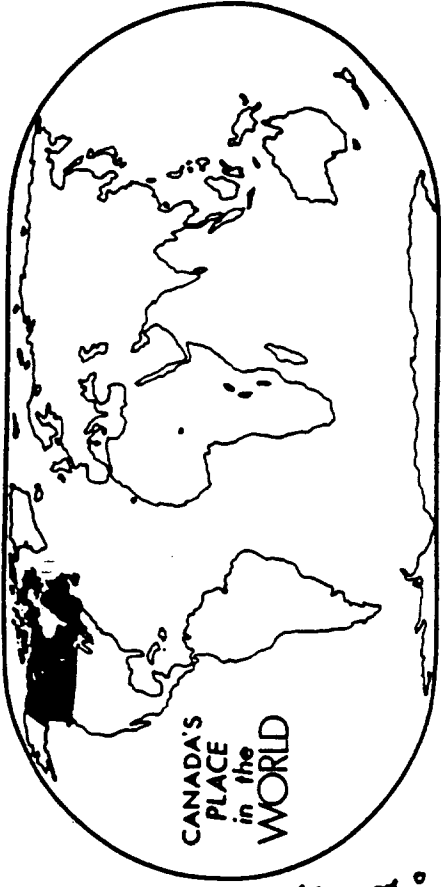
In this paper and at the 1989 World Conference on Tourism Development and the Environment, the GNWT and the community of Pangnirtung will discuss the accomplishments and challenges of its tourism program. Furthermore, and perhaps more importantly for the purposes of this conference, the paper and presentation will describe the development process the community went through in order to understand tourism on its terms, and in a manner whereby the community could set the pace and direction of such development. If any lessons are to be learned from the Pangnirtung experience, it is the notion that the community must take the time and go through this process of identifying its social, environmental, economic and cultural aspirations related to tourism. As tourism initiatives are undertaken, this process of examining and re-examining community aspirations continues, thereby ensuring the community's control over tourism, rather than by it. Failing to take such an approach will result in the lack of local support and involvement needed to develop a successful tourism program.

## **BACKGROUND**

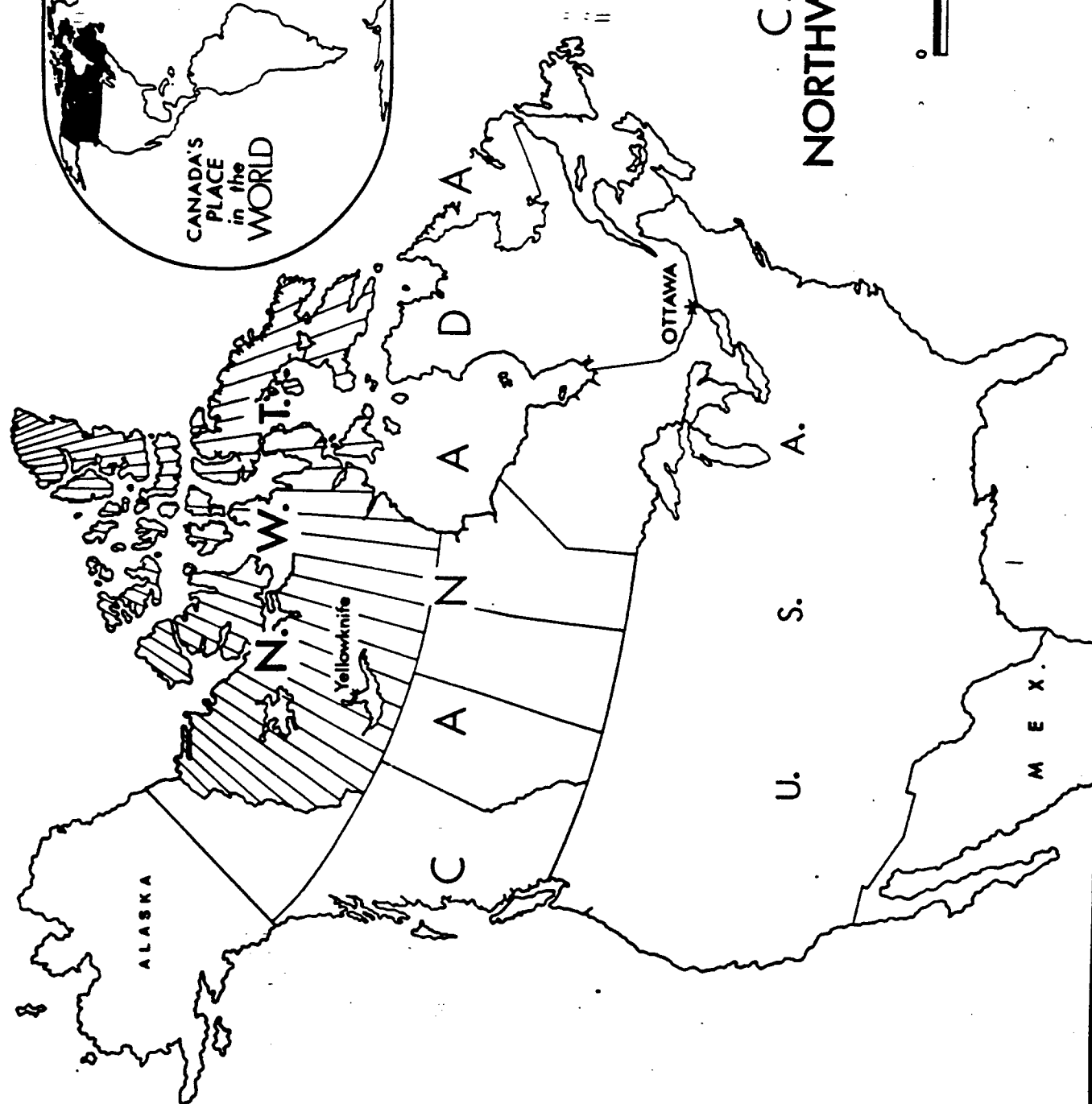
Canada's Northwest Territories (N.W.T.) is a vast and diverse region of approximately 3.2 million km<sup>2</sup>, comprising about a third of the Canadian land mass, and spanning four time zones (Map 1). Some 55,000 people of Inuit (Eskimo), Dene (Indian), Metis, and Euro-Canadian ancestry reside in 55 cities, towns, hamlets, and small hunting camps scattered across the Territories. The N.W.T. is blessed with a wide array of natural and cultural heritage resources which contribute significantly to the region's tourism potential. The N.W.T.'s natural features vary from desert-like high arctic islands, to lush barrenground tundra, to expansive boreal forests. Culturally, the North also has much to offer by way of interesting and unique lifestyles and traditions, as well as a rich aboriginal and Euro-Canadian history. Combined, the North's glaciers, wildlife, icebergs, people and other features distinguish it as a unique tourist destination, differing from other destinations around the world. The mystique and allure of the North, its landscape and culture have and continue to attract people seeking a once-in-a-lifetime experience.

In the early 1980's, the GNWT through, the Department of Economic Development and Tourism, undertook a program to initiate a community-based tourism development strategy. This strategy was developed in recognition of the N.W.T.'s vast tourism potential as well as the need to proceed with development prudently. The strategy focused on the need to have Northerners at the community level set the pace and direction of tourism development in a manner consistent with their aspirations, lifestyles, and traditions.

-The wisdom and practicality of this strategy had to be tested. Could this approach assure both local control and benefits related to tourism? Would small, relatively remote communities respond well, or at all, to this type of process for tourism development? A pilot project was required, and in 1981, with the support of the Baffin Island Regional Council and community, Pangnirtung was selected as the case study. As the pilot, the GNWT wanted to evaluate not only how communities could participate in tourism planning and development, but also how they could economically and socially benefit from such an initiative. After eight years, the project still continues today to grow and flourish.



# CANADA'S NORTHWEST TERRITORIES



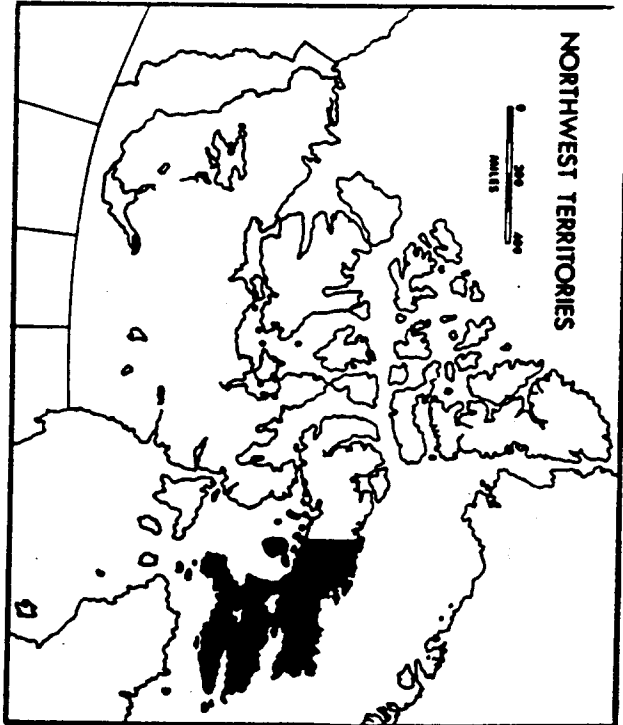
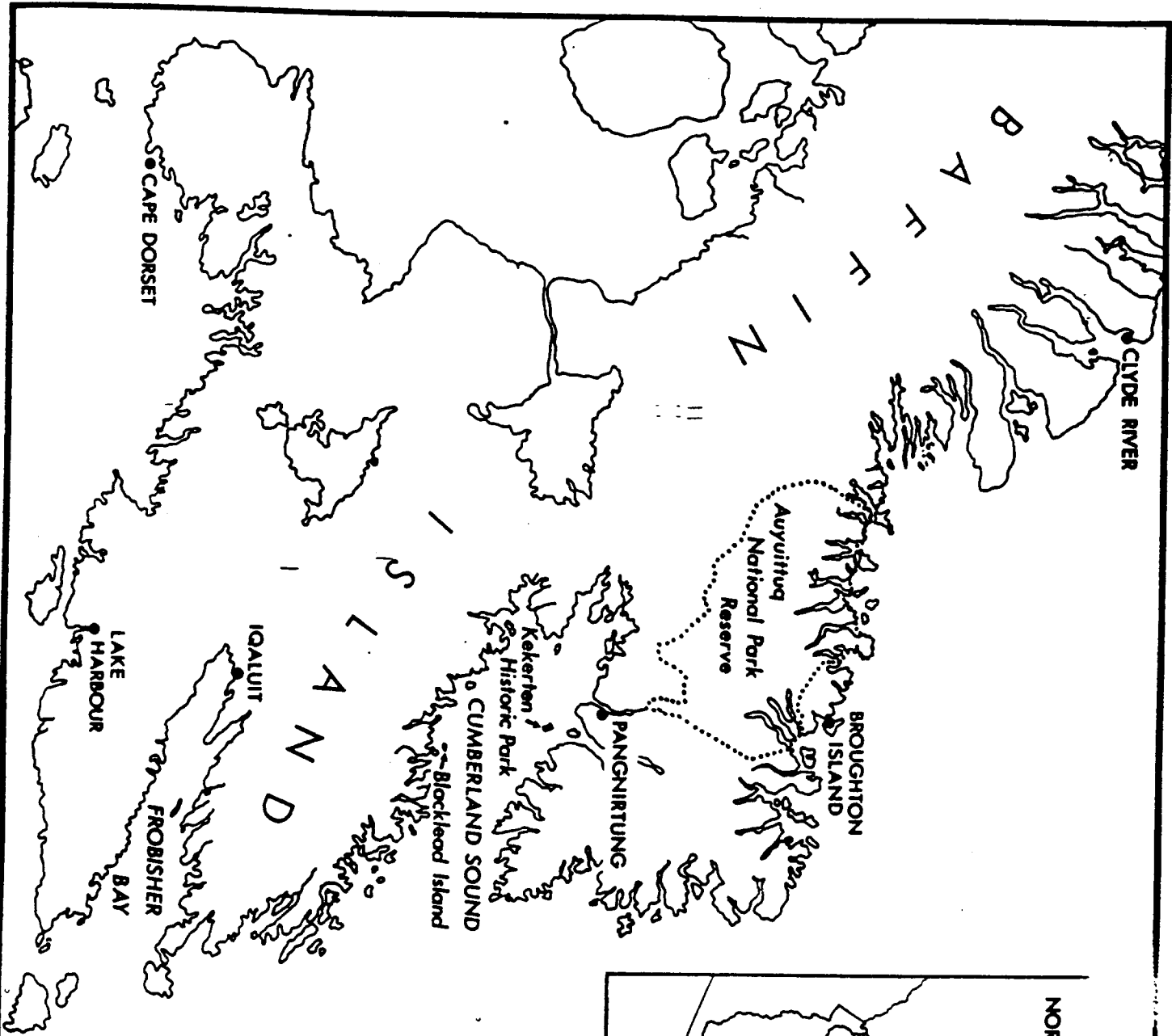
## THE PANGNIRTUNG EXPERIENCE WITH TOURISM

### Pangnirtung: A Community with a Rich Natural and Cultural Heritage

Pangnirtung is a small Eastern Arctic community of about 1000 Inuit, located on the shore of Pangnirtung Fiord, Cumberland Sound, southeastern Baffin Island. Situated just below the Arctic Circle, this picturesque and attractive community is surrounded by magnificent fiord cliffs and mountainsides (Map 2). To many international tour operators familiar with this spectacular region, it is known as the "Switzerland of the Arctic".

Prior to and after European contact in the 1600's, pre-Inuit and Inuit cultures relied heavily on the natural bounty of Cumberland Sound's productive waters, including primarily marine mammals such as seal, walrus, beluga and the bowhead whale. Known by the Inuit as "Tinikjauvik" or "place of the big running out" (in reference to the high tides), Cumberland Sound by the 1840's was a popular gathering area for Scottish and American whalers. The Inuit of the region adjusted their social and economic traditions to participate in the annual bowhead whale hunt which occurred from three primary shore bases located at Kekerten Island, Blacklead Island, and a place called "Nuvujen" (Map 2). These bases continued to operate until about 1910, when the whaling industry started to decline due to the depletion of bowhead whale stocks.

About ten years later, in the 1920's, the Hudson Bay trading company, the Anglican Church, and the Royal Canadian Mounted Police established themselves at the current site of Pangnirtung. After the decline of the whaling economy, people continued to rely on a mixture of subsistence hunting and gathering and fur trading. Drastic changes occurred in the 1950's with the decline of the fur prices, rise in the cost of store bought food and supplies, and a reduction in game due to a number of harsh winters. Starvation and death occurred in many Inuit camps, and the Canadian government began an emergency relief program, administered from Pangnirtung. In the early 1960's, when a sled dog epidemic swept the region and the Inuit had no means of winter transportation, most families moved from their



**CANADA'S  
EASTERN ARCTIC**





summer and winter camps on the land into the community. Government programs were further expanded in the 1960's to include health, social, housing, and education services. Today the Inuit still rely heavily on the resources of the sea and land. Many people are involved in a dual cash/subsistence economy whereby the "earnings" of one sector support the other. In addition to their economic significance, the water and land resources and Inuit traditions continue to be central to the social and cultural well being and fabric of the community.

Prior to the 1981 commencement of the Pangnirtung tourism pilot program, the community had some limited experience with tourism, comparatively more than other Baffin Island communities. A sport fishing camp and local hotel were developed in the early 1970's by local non-native interests, and Auyuittuq National Park Reserve was established in 1972. Located some 30 km north of the community, the 21,500 km<sup>2</sup> park provides world class mountaineering, hiking, photography and nature watching opportunities annually to some 600 visitors. During the 1970's, most local involvement with tourism was incidental through the selling of carvings, prints, skins, and tapestries. Occasional guiding and outfitting was locally provided but limited to primarily boat or snowmobile taxi services for visitors to the park. Tourism was occurring in an unstructured manner with no local control and very few benefits being captured by the community.

### **Community Concerns: Setting the Direction and Pace of Tourism**

As a new and evolving process, the community had to first develop an understanding of what tourism meant as a concept, and then appreciate its consequence before knowing whether to support it as a means for social and economic growth. This process of identifying community concerns and developing approaches or solutions to addressing them took much time and persistence, particularly on the part of the Tourism Committee. This committee, established by the Pangnirtung Hamlet Council and consisting of those involved in guiding and outfitting, as well as others involved in tourism, took the lead role in directing this community discussion. Many long meetings occurred at the outset to address these broad questions. The

meetings involved community members and organizations as well as government agencies responsible for tourism development. The Department of Economic Development and Tourism took the government initiative in this growth and learning process. This long and, at times, seemingly unproductive process of reflecting on its concerns and aspirations was absolutely necessary to build the community consensus necessary to proceed with a successful tourism development program. In many respects, this process of self-examination continues today when new issues or plans are considered.

At public meetings, even before people expressed their concerns, a common language had to be developed in order to capture the essence of what "tourism" meant in the terms of Inuit culture. The concepts such as "fee for service", "pleasure travel" and "sport fishing" in the context of tourism had to be explained and understood by many who had no exposure to the industry. The territorial government recognized that these concepts had to be appreciated prior to the community identifying their concerns.

The concerns ranged widely from the cross-cultural impacts of a foreign culture impacting on a traditional society to how to maintain local control over the tourism development process as well as its impacts. Practical problems such as an untrained workforce with no background in tourism and the lack of public infrastructure and services were also discussed. Both the community and government recognized that tourism could be a powerful agent of social change with disruptive impacts. The community was particularly sensitive to this new initiative as this tourism planning initiative came on the heels of the European Economic Community's ban on sealskin imports which was a serious blow to the Northern economy. While tourism presented a viable economic development alternative, people were gravely concerned that it would expose them to more world criticism.

Furthermore, some residents were concerned that tourists would "interfere with local people by walking into our houses and asking too many questions". People were also fearful that "outsiders" would not understand the Inuit lifestyle of hunting and trapping, and would criticize it.

The public information and education program was fundamental to the success of the early stage of the tourism development process. The program involved

extensive use of the community radio, newsletters, posters, and, of course, the community meeting. Much of the material prepared had to be translated sometimes requiring the creation of new Inuktitut (Inuit language) words to explain those concepts never before considered.

Throughout the process the community's involvement grew from cautious concern and interest to support and direct participation. As with any process, it had and continues to have supporters as well as opponents. This type of dynamic tension provides the checks and balances necessary to ensure full community involvement in directing and setting the pace of development. Needless to say, the process was not without its problems and setbacks. However, as a learning process these "set backs" added and continue to contribute to the tourism development process.

### Establishing Tourism Goals and Objectives

In addition to providing community direction to the planning process, the Tourism Committee has other duties which include reviewing tourism development proposals, co-ordinating and implementing tourism programs, keeping the community informed of all tourism plans, promoting tourism opportunities, and organizing locally the necessary manpower, outfitting services, and accommodation for tourists.

Out of this process grew a number of tourism goals and objectives which still provide direction to the community today. Clearly, out of the consultations, participation, extensive discussions and education, the community realized what it wanted to achieve through a tourism development program.

**To promote development that fits in with local lifestyles and culture, including development which is compatible with subsistence and hunting activities, and which respects traditional Inuit values and lifestyles.**

**To promote development which will help the community achieve its own social goals**, by providing jobs and reducing dependency on social assistance, and by promoting cultural programs and facilities which could benefit both tourism and local social development.

**To facilitate local management and control over tourism development**, through encouraging local ownership, local decision-making, and local skill development in managing tourism businesses and the program.

**To help strengthen and diversify the local economy**, by increasing local tourism jobs and business opportunities, thereby reducing dependence on government jobs and the sealing industry.

**To increase the local economic benefits of tourism**, by increasing tourism spending in the community, and reducing the flow of tourism money out of the community.

**To encourage long-term self-sufficiency of the community**, by promoting private sector jobs in tourism which were felt to be more stable and long-term than jobs in businesses such as mining or furs.

**To facilitate cross-cultural learning and skills in dealing with outside people**, by providing opportunities where Inuit and non-Inuit can get to know each other in a positive atmosphere, and where local people could develop skills in dealing with non-Inuit people.

**To develop local awareness about tourism**, so that residents could make informed decisions regarding tourism development.

**To help develop capacity in planning and development**, through training, involving residents in the development process and giving them responsibility in making decisions for the community."

**A Documentation and Evaluation of the Pangnirtung Tourism Program. Bob Kuipper, 1988.**

With the assistance of the territorial government and a consultant, a five year strategy and development plan was developed after undertaking a comprehensive study of locally and regionally available natural and cultural resources. The community was presented a variety of development options following the resource inventory. This inventory was developed by the community based on those resources it deemed available for tourism use. Other important harvesting and cultural sites were excluded and remain for the exclusive use of the community.

This type of participation in research and planning created the ownership necessary in the development process for the community to be in control of tourism, rather than being controlled by it.

The plan proposed full optional strategies to develop tourism in Pangnirtung:

**A non-tourism strategy**, to discourage tourism so that traditional lifestyles could continue and other types of development could be explored.

**A strategy based on market demand**, in which demands and initiatives in the private sector would determine the direction of development.

**A strategy to maintain and expand traditional markets**, in which existing tourism activities and markets would be promoted.

**A structured specific market strategy**, which would cater to small group (10 to 15 people) tours by developing facilities and a specialized marketing strategy.

**A "short stay" broad market strategy**, which would cater to larger tour groups (30+ people) staying over for short stays in the community.

After much consideration, the community decided to pursue the fourth option which maximizes local control by developing specific markets for small specialized group tours. Programs and services would be developed to cater to these small groups. The plan is based on a mix of public and private initiatives which revolve around five major components:

#### **Auyuittuq National Park Reserve**

A program which promotes and provides guiding and outfitting services for visitors to Auyuittuq National Park Reserve.

Services include snowmobile and boat transportation to and from the park, day use activities en route to the park, etc.

### **Community Hospitality and Information Program**

A program which ensures that visitors are greeted and oriented to the community and receive information about activities and services.

Activities and services include hosts meeting visitors arriving at the airport, provision of community tours, and the packaging of trips and tours with guides and outfitters.

### **Kekerten Historic Park**

A five year program which involved research, planning, and undertaking the development of Kekerten Historic Park as a partially restored whaling station.

Facilities include a guided walking trail, on-site displays and information, and guided outings to the park on Kekerten Island by boat or snowmobile from Pangnirtung.

### **Angmarlik Interpretive Centre**

A five year program which involved research, planning, and undertaking the construction and operation of the Angmarlik Interpretive Centre in Pangnirtung.

This centre houses displays, exhibits, audio-visual programs and other media portraying the cultural and social significance of Inuit of Cumberland Sound generally, and specifically during the 1840-1910 whaling period. The centre also serves as a community place for elders, school children, and visitors to meet, engage in story-telling, and share cultural experiences and knowledge.

### **Tourist Services**

This program provides tourist services owned by the community outside Pangnirtung, and consists of three fishing camps, approximately fifteen guide and outfitter operations, a re-created Inuit summer camp, two hiking trails, and a day-use fishing location.

The program also promotes and develops tourist services within the community including a community-operated campground, print shop, an Inuit owned hotel, carving sales (an arts and crafts studio open to visitors is now also being considered).

Although all these initiatives are inter-related, the two principle projects which have captured the community's imagination and taken much of its time over the last eight years are the whaling station restoration at Kekerten Island and the development of the Angmarlik Interpretive Centre. Both these projects are directed towards the non-consumptive tourist markets with the "observe, learn, and experience" theme built into them to ensure a pleasant visitor experience.

#### **The Auyuittuq Lodge, Kekerten Historic Park and the Angmarlik Interpretive Centre**

Along with Auyuittuq National Park Reserve, these three facilities: the lodge, territorial park, and centre, are the primary visitor attractions of Pangnirtung's tourism development program. These three initiatives support and complement each other and other related tourism initiatives in the community. The lodge was a pivotal consideration for the community even prior to discussing the territorial park and centre. The community recognized from the outset that the only means to control the number of visitors to Pangnirtung was to own the existing hotel, which was in private, non-Inuit hands. Through a public consortium and some government assistance, the lodge is now owned by the community, thereby ensuring its control over tourism growth in the community.

The Angmarlik Interpretive Centre, so called for the Inuk, Angmarlik, who was Kekerten's Inuit leader and best whaler in the 1890's, provides a focal point in Pangnirtung for visitors to learn about the Cumberland Sound Inuit, their way of life, and their predominate role during the whaling era in the Sound. Also depicted in the centre are themes related to Inuit relations with non-native whalers, the impact of whaling on the Inuit economy, lifestyle, and social order, and the post whaling period after the turn of the century.

The centre is broken up into five key inter-related areas including an office/reception area for orientation and visitor information, an exhibit area for the interpretation of local historic resources, an elders' room to promote firsthand story telling and visitor interaction, an audio-visual room to show films and slides pertinent to the community, and a library, which among other documents, contains historic reference material and books on the Cumberland Sound region.

Situated in the centre of the community, the Angmarlik Centre provides a much needed service to visitors and local residents. Here, visitors make arrangements for outfitting services, seek out information on local attractions, meet their guides and find out about the unique story of the Cumberland Sound Inuit.

From the Angmarlik Centre in Pangnirtung to Kekerten Historic Park, the visitor is transported to a bygone era of some 100 years ago. The island site, which is a two to three hour boat or snowmobile ride away, is toured by way of a series of wooden walkways that link together locations and display panels which re-construct life at the whaling station. Boat slips, rendering pots, Inuit "qammaqs" or permanent sod houses, old building foundations, a graveyard, and a whale lookout are located along the boardwalk and tell the island's story. The site also has basic visitor services such as an overnight shelter in case of foul weather and toilet facilities. The only way to travel to the site is by a local outfitter who also provides a guided tour. This requirement not only provides economic opportunities but also security for artifacts and remains, many of which are within easy reach on the ground. Both the boat or snowmobile trip and the local outfitter add to the overall visitor experience of going to and seeing the site.

How were these two projects developed? Both were planned and undertaken over a five-year period starting with archaeological research in 1983 and finishing with the official opening in 1988. Much work by the Tourism Committee, with the involvement of the community and assistance from various territorial government agencies (the Department of Economic Development and Tourism, and the Prince of Wales Northern Heritage Centre) took place during the early development period. The pace and direction of most of this work was set by the Tourism Committee who throughout the process became increasingly more adept in managing the project. This involvement eventually led to the committee being recognized for its contribution to heritage preservation in Canada by the Canadian



Parks Service in 1988, when the committee was awarded the Canada Heritage Award.

In the first two years, the committee's focus was devoted to researching historical records, oral history taping, and archaeology. The taping sessions involved extensive interviews with many community elders who had participated in the last days of the whaling industry. From 1985 to 1987, the committee began an extensive site preparation program at Kekerten Island. This program involved co-ordinating and enlisting the services of a physical anthropologist, an archaeologist, outfitters, assistants and tradesmen. Matching and re-burying the numerous human bones that were scattered throughout the island, excavating dwellings and features that were to be exposed for public viewing, undertaking investigative archaeology in areas where the walkways were to be placed, and sign fabrication are a few examples of the many projects that had to be done to complete the task.

The Kekerten and Angmarlik projects did much to catalyze the community's desire to preserve and show their culture. Numerous artifacts once removed from this area have now been repatriated. Combined with extensive use of artifacts, historic photographs, local quotations, story telling by elders, and on-site experiences, these two sites continue to affirm the importance of the community's cultural history as well as promote the area as an attractive tourism destination. As these projects take shape, more and more community support was seen to evolve.

The Pangnirtung Tourism Committee has been involved in all phases of both projects. Working with exhibit designers, ethnologists, anthropologists, archaeologists, community elders, and funding agencies, its contribution and leadership has resulted in a significant program that will protect, preserve and interpret for the benefit of all an important chapter of Canadian history.

### **Tourism and the Future**

After almost a decade of tourism research, education, planning and development, how will the process continue? After the major attractions have officially opened, how does the community ensure that tourism remains viable and integral to continued local economic growth? To address this concern, the community has identified an annual celebration "Old Whaling Days and Whale Boats" as the means

to link the existing cultural centre and historic park to a proposed restoration and interpretation of a beluga whaling station and a tour of other heritage buildings in the community. As a re-occurring special event, the celebration will not only continue to draw tourists to the community but also maintain local interest in tourism. Maintaining such interest locally will be critical to ensuring the continued growth of the industry and its success.

### **THE LESSONS FOR SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT**

What can be learned from the past eight years of tourism development in the Pangnirtung region, particularly in terms of ecological, social, economic and cultural sustainability?

#### **Local Involvement and Participation Builds Ownership and Control in Tourism**

The Pangnirtung experience shows that local community involvement is essential in all aspects of tourism development including establishing an understanding of what tourism means, identifying community worries and concerns, setting the program's goals and objectives, identifying research needs, participating in research, setting the implementation priorities and schedules, directing and participating in the design and construction of the public physical infrastructure, managing and operating services and facilities, and monitoring the effects of the program and making the necessary adjustments. This type of involvement right from the outset builds the required community ownership and commitment to the tourism program now and for the future. This support and commitment leads to a collective understanding that the natural, cultural, and archaeological resources which make up the program must be safeguarded and carefully managed. At a community level, for instance, this understanding translates into developing a small number of specific sites or resources for tourism in order to leave other locations untouched or available only for local use. Individually, such an understanding may mean that an elder or hunter takes the time to explain to a visitor the importance of the land and sea and their resources to the social and economic well-being of the community. The visitor enjoys a unique experience, learns about a different culture, and the elder or hunter takes pride in the community's traditions and lifestyle. Ultimately, this positive type of tourism experience establishes the community's reputation and results in

additional people visiting the community. In terms of employment and income, and broadening the usually narrow economic base of small and remote communities, this type of controlled tourism growth (not necessarily measured only in visitor numbers) can be sustainable and beneficial. Ultimately, the community will decide what level of development is acceptable, and given such involvement at all stages of the development process, the community will be able to make the necessary adjustments at the opportune time.

-Ultimately, with the community setting the development parameters, identifying what local resources are available, using locally available skills and human resources, and setting/controlling the pace of development, tourism will be sustainable at the community level. This approach is the cornerstone for success because it ensures that the community can achieve its goals and aspirations from within rather than being controlled by external forces.

### **Tourism Must Be Culturally and Socially Relevant and Provide Community Benefits**

The community must feel that the development of natural, cultural, and archaeological resources for tourism is socially relevant and meaningful. Both the manner and messages portrayed in the development of these resources must first and foremost have cultural significance for the community. In the case of Pangnirtung, the Angmarlik Centre and the Kekerten site provide the community, especially the school children, insights into their past and forebears that many do not have. Such knowledge and sense of one's past does much to provide direction to individuals living in a rapidly changing world. The development of tourism resources must have benefits for both the visitor who comes to experience another lifestyle as well as for the local community in understanding its past. In the case of Kekerten Historic Park, the whaling period is but a fading memory in the minds of a few elderly Inuit in Pangnirtung. However, in their remaining years, they can take comfort in knowing that the heritage of the Cumberland Sound Inuit will live on. The historic park and cultural centre have preserved this heritage for the enjoyment and edification of generations to come.

### **Proper Research and Planning Are Prerequisites for Tourism to Succeed**

Sustainability implies the ability for a development to operate continuously for an indefinite period of time, it also implies a longevity that ensures resources are not irreversibly or irreplaceably depleted or altered. To achieve this notion of sustainability, an understanding of the resources being developed is essential. Research is required to understand the resource in order to both develop it prudently as well as present it accurately to the visitor and community. In the case of Kekerten and the interpretive centre, the archaeological and oral history research were absolute prerequisites to conserving as well as developing the on-site resources, and to telling the Cumberland Sound Inuit story. Without the knowledge provided by the research, no justice can be done to resources both for the visitor and the community.

Planning is equally critical to the sustainability of tourism development. Through an extensive and methodical consultation and education process, residents of Pangnirtung set their economic, social and community development objectives. These objectives provided the community a framework in which to set the direction and pace of tourism development. These objectives assisted the community in selecting a preferred strategy for tourism development generally as well as dealing with specific projects. For instance, the tourism committee found that implementing all aspects of the plan in the first five years was spreading its resources too thin and was leading to quality problems. The committee pulled back from the initial schedule and focused on two priorities, the historic park and the Angmarlik centre. The result is two very well planned and developed facilities rather than a greater number of lesser quality developments which in the long-run would not serve the community's tourism development objectives. A well conceived plan based on commonly held objectives and supported by relevant research will always provide the community the touch stone necessary to guide it through its development process.

### **A Partnership Between the Community, the Private Sector, and Government is Needed for Tourism to Succeed**

The Pangnirtung experience shows that the community including the private sector, and government can and must work together in the pursuit of common goals and objectives. This partnership must be formed in order to create a collaborative and effective process.

In Pangnirtung, the Territorial Government provided the community the framework and resources to start the tourism development process. When the community identified its tourism objectives and needs, both the Federal and Territorial Government assisted by providing support funding for many of the community's initiatives. The private sector also contributed by getting involved in tourism opportunities. This three-way partnership between the community, government, and the private sector is critical to the success of tourism in developing communities.

Small, remote communities such as Pangnirtung usually do not have the human and financial resources to implement a tourism development strategy, especially at the outset. The experience shows that government and individual entrepreneurs, at times, should provide the financial and human resources to assist the community in implementing the plan. The degree and extent of government participation is a function of the stage of the development cycle. In the beginning, the community must develop its expertise by gaining the necessary knowledge and experience. Training in the area of small business administration, project management, and outfitter and lodge guiding are the type of programs governments can offer. In the Pangnirtung experience, these training programs have and continue to be provided by government to assist both the community generally and specifically the individual business person.

In the case of developing public infrastructure, a regional or national government usually has both the mandate and resources to develop facilities such as a cultural centre or park. As a one-time capital outlay, this type of public investment is necessary to stimulate private sector involvement in providing tourism support services. In Pangnirtung, some fifteen outfitters that operate in the area provide tourist services to visit places of interest such as Kekerten Island or Auyuittuq

National Park Reserve. These outfitters and three fishing camps in the Cumberland Sound region also provide sport fishing and nature viewing opportunities for visitors to the community. These private sector services are co-ordinated and administered through the Angmarlik Centre, a public sector facility, again demonstrating the need for a partnership and collaboration between the community, government, and the private sector. The key to the success of this partnership is the need for government to not take the lead and therefore the initiative and control away from the community. Both the community and government will be challenged to see that this does not occur. In the case of Pangnirtung, the community through the Tourism Committee exercised such initiative which kept the control of the development process at the local level. In essence, the GNWT realizes that community based tourism is, by definition, a development process which must be locally directed.

### CONCLUSIONS

No planning process is perfect, no development experience is without its problems or challenges. The experience of any one community is not entirely transferable to another. However, much can be learned from another's experience. The community of Pangnirtung and the Government of the Northwest Territories together have undertaken a collaborative research and planning process. This process has led to the initial development of tourism infrastructure and programs which are consistent and compatible with the aspirations, lifestyle, and traditions of the community. A framework has been established and the foundation has been laid. Now the community will build upon what it has developed, and other communities in Canada's North and around the world will be able to benefit from the lessons learned in Pangnirtung.

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Over the last 10 years, many individuals in the community and the Government of the N.W.T. have contributed to the tourism development process in Pangnirtung. Although more people than can be mentioned have contributed, a number of people stand out and should be acknowledged.

Sakiasie Sowdlooapik, former chairperson of the Pangnirtung Tourism Committee.

David Monteith, Manager of Parks, Baffin Region, Economic Development and Tourism

Richard Hamburg, Regional Tourism Officer, Baffin Region, Economic Development and Tourism

Katherine Trumper, Regional Superintendent, Baffin Region, Economic Development and Tourism

Alan Vaughan, Assistant Deputy Minister, Economic Development and Tourism

Robert Trudeau, former Regional Superintendent, Baffin Region, Economic Development and Tourism

Gary Magee, Community Economic Development Officer, Pangnirtung, Economic Development and Tourism

Harry French, Marshall, Macklin, Monaghan