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***A Documentation And Evaluation Of The  
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A DOCUMENTATION AND EVALUATION OF THE  
PANGNIRTUNG TOURISM PROGRAM

Sector: Tourism

11-32-50

Analysis/Review



A  
DOCUMENTATION  
AND  
EVALUATION  
OF THE  
PANGNIRTUNG TOURISM PROGRAM

Bob Kuiper

A DOCUMENTATION AND EVALUATION OF THE  
PANGNIRTUNG TOURISM PROGRAM

By

BOB KUIPER

B.E.S. University of Manitoba, 1971

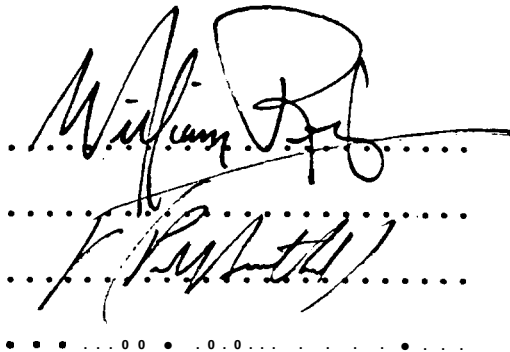
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A THESIS SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF  
THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF  
MASTER OF ARTS

in

THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES  
(School of Community and Regional Planning)

We accept this thesis as conforming  
to the required standard



The image shows two handwritten signatures in black ink on a background of horizontal dotted lines. The top signature is written in a cursive style and appears to read 'William J. ...'. The bottom signature is also cursive and appears to read 'F. ...'. Below the second signature, there is a row of small dots.

THE UNIVERSITY OF BRITISH COLUMBIA

October, 1987

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## ABSTRACT

The Pangnirtung Tourism Program was initiated by the Government of the Northwest Territories as a pilot study in northern community based tourism in Pangnirtung, Baffin Island, in 1981. This thesis is a case study documentation and evaluation of that program. Its focus is to examine the program from the perspective of its participants, which include the residents of Pangnirtung, and planners, tourism representatives, consultants and government officials that have been involved with the program. The thesis identifies what the program's objectives are, what the program's strengths and weaknesses are in achieving its objectives, and how it could have been improved to better meet local community development goals. Documentation methods included an extensive literature search, personal interviews with 101 program participants, and a one-month stay in Pangnirtung.

The Pangnirtung Tourism Program was initiated with the following main objectives:

- a) to set up a test case and demonstration project in northern tourism that could be learned from;
- b) to strengthen and diversify the economy in Pangnirtung;
- c) to encourage development that fit in with local lifestyles and social goals;  
and
- d) to contribute to capacity building in local community development.

During the program's planning phase, community consultation was held, a local Tourism Committee was formed, and a consultants' report outlining a five-year strategy was produced. During implementation, the Tourism Committee has taken the lead in managing the program. Development programs have included: trail construction, historic sites development, a visitors' **centre**, host programs, cultural programs, outfitter training, local purchase of the hotel, and Committee organization. Since the program started, tourism visitation has increased, the industry is more controlled by locals, and there are more tourism activities in the community.

As a test case, the program pioneered a new method of tourism development in the north, and much has been learned. No formal monitoring has been done, however, and this has limited its value as a tourism research and demonstration tool.

The program has also created jobs and increased incomes in the community, however, most new jobs and income have been in the public sector. Therefore, it is questionable whether the program has served to decrease or increase dependency on government. The lack of documented data makes it impossible to do a detailed economic analysis. With rapidly increasing visitation and changing 'public expenditures, the economic impacts of the program should be closely monitored in the future.

The program has also fitted in reasonably well with local lifestyles, and its cultural projects have contributed to local social programs. Minor disruptions of lifestyles and culture were documented, however, and these may well increase with increased visitation. The program should be monitored in the future to identify and mitigate potential social problems.

4 The program also contributed, in a limited way, to capacity building in community development. Through involvement in businesses and the Tourism Committee, local people have controlled the direction of the program and have started building skills in business and program management. A lack of business awareness and management skills is still a major problem in the community, however, and increased training and organizational development to build this capacity should be given a priority.

In conclusion, the program has been successful in achieving many of its objectives, and provides many lessons for tourism development in the north. By emphasizing local control, involvement and management, tourism has been developed with the participation of local people for the benefit of local people. By pioneering and demonstrating this approach in one Inuit community, the Pagnirtung Tourism Program has contributed significantly to facilitating community based tourism development in the north.

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Figure 1: Saipalaseequtt (Museum) Society

Lo INTRODUCTION

1.1 THE RESEARCH PROJECT

This thesis is a documentation and evaluation of the Pangnirtung Tourism Program. This program was started in 1981 by the Government of the Northwest Territories as part of an initiative to look for ways to strengthen job creation and community development in the north. It was set up as a pilot project in community based tourism development, and to date has involved several years of planning and implementation. The



program has been significant in that it was the first of its kind in Canada's north, and set directions for tourism development that many other communities are beginning to follow.

The emphasis of this thesis is to document and evaluate the Pangnirtung Tourism Program from the perspective of its participants. In this thesis, participants are defined as all people who live in Pangnirtung and are potentially affected by the program, as well as all people outside of Pangnirtung who have been involved in either the planning or implementation of the program. The research is designed to find out how these people feel about the Tourism Program, what they perceive to be its objectives; what they feel are its major strengths and weaknesses; how they feel it could have been, or still can be, improved where appropriate; and what lessons they feel can be learned from the Pangnirtung experience that will help other communities set up effective tourism programs elsewhere in the north.

In addition, this thesis looks at some of the broader issues surrounding community and tourism development, as contained in the literature, and evaluates how successful the program has been in addressing these issues. Although the thesis attempts to represent the views of the participants as accurately as possible in the text, the final evaluation of the program and conclusions drawn are the responsibility of the author.

## 1.2 RATIONALE FOR THE RESEARCH

The reason for doing this research is to learn more about tourism and tourism planning in the north. This is a particularly important topic for many communities today. In recent years, tourism has been growing rapidly in the north, and many communities are now looking to tourism as a major vehicle for development. The Government of the Northwest Territories (GNWT) is also interested, and since 1981, has been following a policy of actively promoting community-based tourism in the north. The goals of this policy are to establish tourism that is owned and managed by local communities, and is compatible with local lifestyles, needs and aspirations (Government of Northwest Territories, 1983).

Despite this growing interest, little documentation exists on effective planning for tourism in the north or the impacts of tourism once it has been established. For this reason, there is a need for more research and data gathering regarding northern tourism planning and development. The Pangiirtung Program was set up partially in response to this need. It was started as a pilot program to develop effective tourism planning in the north, and to examine whether tourism could be an effective vehicle for community economic and social development (Vaughan, 1985).

Although many people have looked at the Pangiirtung Program informally, no formal study has yet been done to evaluate the program. Therefore, in 1984, GNWT officials expressed the need for a formal evaluation so that its value as a pilot study could be increased (Vaughan, 1984, Nuegebauer, 1984, Hamburg, 1984).

### 1.3 COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT IN THE NORTH

The Pangnirtung Tourism Program was initiated to help strengthen economic and social development in Pangnirtung, and as such, address some of the chronic problems of underdevelopment experienced by many northern communities today.

For the purposes of this thesis, community development is defined as the process of communities taking action to achieve their basic human needs and social and economic goals. Rees (1986) has identified five basic goals for community development in the north: “the opportunity for personal growth, a decent standard of living, adequate services, reasonable control over the factors most significantly affecting their (the community members) lives, and some sense of social stability and security” (Rees, 1986).

#### 1.3.1 The Cycle of Underdevelopment and Government Dependency

The problems of underdevelopment and government dependency in the arctic are well documented in the literature (Rees, 1986, Ross and Usher, 1986, GNWT, 1982). These problems have been caused by a number of factors.

Of major importance, over the last 30 years most Inuit communities have experienced a major loss and change in their economic base. Although hunting and trapping used to be the major activities in these communities, subsistence hunting is no longer as important as it once was, and in recent

4 years revenues from trapping and sealing have dropped substantially. This has resulted in a dependence on government welfare programs, and reliance on the wage economy, for which many Inuit are not well equipped (GNWT, 1982).

A lack of local skills suited for wage employment or business development is a major problem for communities in the north. Although many public sector management jobs are available, many Inuit do not have the education or experience to take these jobs, and hence, most are filled by Kadluna (whitemen) from the south. Local people are often left out, and feel they are not in control of their own communities. They are often relegated to the unskilled labour jobs (GNWT, 1982).

Most private businesses in the north are also owned and controlled by Kadluna (GNWT, 1982). Local people have not yet gained the experience and financial resources to start their own businesses and, as a result, the opportunities that exist are often taken by Kadluna from outside. Not only does this reduce local Inuit input and control in development, but it also results in money leaving the community, as Kadluna often hire people from outside the community, and wages and profits are taken and spent elsewhere. This only further reduces local experience, control and financial resources.

As well, much of economic development that has occurred in the arctic has been unstable and of limited benefit to Inuit people. Large-scale industrial developments have provided some local jobs for local people, but they

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require specialized skills and training which most local people do not have. These jobs also require travel away from home, and result in wages which are not distributed as equally as the proceeds gained from the subsistence economy in the home community (Ross and Usher, 1986). The large industrial developments are usually based on non-renewable resources, they are controlled by outside shareholders, and are highly dependent on international markets. In the past, they have proven to be unstable, as clearly evidenced by the recent down-turn in oil and gas exploration in the western arctic. This has resulted in a boom and bust cycle well known to most northerners.

Because of the current underdeveloped and unstable nature of the northern economy, there is a high local dependence on government jobs and services. For example, the public sector accounts for almost 70 percent of Pangnirtung's monetary income (GNWT, 1983). There are also extensive housing, health care, welfare and financial assistance programs for local people. This high level of services has resulted in welfare dependency, a loss of incentives to achieve, and a high dependence on government to provide business assistance and initiate development.

Not surprisingly, this has been accompanied by a loss of pride among the Inuit. As the 1980 Winter Inuit Magazine states:

"Inuit people are very largely taken from the cradle to the grave under the care of bureaucrats. The good side of this is that many things (like jobs, housing, medical care, welfare, etc.) would not be possible without government. The bad side is more subtle; it has something to do with the soul" (GNWT, 1982).

Government dependence and cultural change has been accompanied by social problems, drug and alcohol abuse, loss of traditional skills, poor educational achievement, and high unemployment. This only reinforces poor skill development and a lack of local financial resources, which in turn, increases dependency on government, and further reduces the amount of pride "and control local people take over their own communities (GNWT, 1986).

### 1.3.2 A Direction for Community Development

Despite these problems, many northerners are working hard to break out of this cycle, and are pointing new directions for community development in the north. Several authors have also suggested directions that community development in the north can take to help break out of this underdevelopment and dependency cycle (Rees, 1986; GNWT, 1982; GNWT, 1983, Ross and Usher, 1986). Some of these main directions are briefly reviewed here:

- a) Create increased incentives for development: Several government officials and communities feel the current systems of welfare and financial assistance should be restructured to increase incentives for local economic development and reduce the ease with which northerners can continue to survive on government handouts. Suggestions include encouraging more home ownership rather than providing highly subsidized housing, changing the criteria for social

4  
assistance, providing more incentives for local people to get involved in working, and applying stricter guidelines to funding and "bailout" programs (GNWT, 1982).

- b) Coordination between the formal and informal economy: The informal economy (subsistence hunting and fishing) is still relatively stable and very important to northern communities, both economically and socially. Development should ensure that the strength of the informal economy is maintained, enhanced, and coordinated with the development of the formal economy (wage employment and businesses) (GNWT, 1982; Rees, 1987; Ross and Usher, 1986).
- c) Training: Training is an important component of any new development program. A high level of skills is needed by local people to fill positions in government and business, and training will be needed on an ongoing basis to take advantage of opportunities as they arise. Training to help build local competence in community development and business development should be a priority (Rees, 1986; GNWT, 1982).
- d) Social development: Social programs will also be required to help reinforce self-confidence, pride, and positive attitudes among northerners, which are essential in order to create a socially stable and healthy community. To aid this, development should be designed so that it fits in with local values and culture (Rees, 1986; Ross and Usher, 1986; GNWT, 1982).

- e) Local control and ownership: Increasing local control and business ownership is also important for community development. In this way, development will be more oriented to maximizing local benefits, and fitting in with local lifestyles and culture, rather than maximizing benefits for outside owners. With local control and ownership, northerners will be more able to take control over their lives, respond to local conditions, and develop responsibility and pride in their actions (Rees, 1986; GNWT, 1982).
- f) Reduction of economic leakages: Methods should be created to stop or reduce the flow of money out of northern communities, so that local financial resources can be improved. This could include encouraging more local ownership so that more profits stay local, local hiring policies, and more production and sale of locally produced goods, rather than the import of these goods from outside the community (Rees, 1986; GNWT, 1982).
- g) Stable economic activities: Community development should also focus on the development of activities which will be stable and secure on a long-term basis. Toward this end, development which is based on renewable resources and can be sustainable in the long-term should be given priority (Rees, 1986; Ross and Usher, 1986; GNWT, 1982). Building a diverse economic base is also important, as this helps reduce dependency on any one given sector, and encourages economic stability (Boothroyd and Davis, 1986).



- h) Planning, research and monitoring: To be effective, community development in the north should be accompanied by a planning process which is community controlled and based; has sufficient technical expertise and financial resources; provides opportunities for the sharing of knowledge between participants and planners; assesses local conditions and goals; is supported by government policies and programs; and is integrated and comprehensive (Rees, 1986). Development programs should also be monitored carefully, so that new initiatives can be evaluated as to how well they are achieving development objectives. In this way, more can be learned about development and how it can be designed to suit local needs (GNWT, 1982).

#### 1.4 A POTENTIAL ROLE FOR TOURISM IN THE NORTH

The value of tourism as a vehicle for community development has long been recognized both internationally and in Canada (deKadt, 1976; Smith, 1982; GNWT, 1983; Murphy, 1983). Tourism can facilitate job development and local economic growth, however, it can also have negative impacts on local communities (Murphy, 1983). For this reason, the GNWT has been promoting a strategy of carefully planned and controlled tourism to ensure that local development goals will be achieved.

There are a number of reasons why, at the start of the Pangnirtung Program, the GNWT felt tourism could work as a positive development strategy for northern communities. Tourism is based on renewable

resources, and is thought to be relatively stable over a long-term basis (GNWT, 1983). As well, the GNWT saw it as an industry that could be controlled and owned by local people and provide substantial economic benefits for local Inuit. It was also seen as an industry which would allow the informal economy to continue, and it was felt that through cultural tourism projects, social development could be strengthened. There are many examples in the literature which document that tourism in developing communities can serve these purposes if managed properly (Murphy, 1983; deKadt, 1976; Callimanopulos, 1982; Smith, 1982).

There are, however, also potential dangers with tourism development. There are numerous documented examples, in other locations, for example, where tourism has resulted in decreased local ownership over businesses, increased economic leakages, displacement of workers from other economic sectors, and negative social impacts to the host communities. This has particularly been the case in developing communities where tourism has grown from small local businesses to a major industry. In these cases, entrepreneurs from outside have been known to buy up and take over local businesses, control the industry for their own benefits, and displace local people from their traditional positions of control. This often results in negative social and economic impacts to the host community (Callimanopulos, 1982; Fox, 1977; Smith, 1982; Pi-Sunyer, 1982).

The extent to which tourism can act as a positive vehicle for community development depends on how it is planned and managed by the implementing agencies (government and private enterprise) and the local

community. This thesis focusses on determining how successful the Pagnirtung Tourism Program has been as a vehicle for positive community development in Pagnirtung.

#### 1.5 RESEARCH FOCUS AND QUESTIONS

The focus of this thesis, therefore, is to examine the Pagnirtung Tourism Program and evaluate how successful it has been in contributing to community development in Pagnirtung. The main research questions addressed are:

- a) What were the objectives of the Pagnirtung Tourism Program?
- b) To what extent did the objectives of the program respond to the issues and problems of arctic community development, as identified in the literature?
- c) What planning and implementation process was followed by the program?
- d) What were the strengths and weaknesses of the program in regard to meeting its objectives?
- e) How could the planning and implementation process of the program be improved to better meet its objectives and improve its contribution to community development in Pagnirtung?

As already noted, the research method emphasizes documenting participant views on the above questions. Nevertheless, where appropriate, the author also includes his own views and conclusions based on the supporting evidence.



Figure 2: Interviewing at home. **Rosie Okpik**, the author's interpreter, with a local carver and outfitter.

## 2.0 RESEARCH METHOD

### 2.1 THE CASE STUDY METHOD

Case studies have long been used for research and learning purposes in planning. In community development, case study research is a process which documents and analyses a community development process by describing the events, actors and different factors which contributed to the process as it happened. It usually does so to illustrate or analyse the

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development process from the viewpoint of a particular area of research interest. Wilson (1979) describes four qualities inherent to most case studies: a) they are **particularistic**, as they describe events in one particular situation **as** it exists; b) they are holistic, as they try to capture as many variables as possible and set the history and context of the case in regard to the area of interest; c) they are “longitudinal”, as they usually tell a story over time; and d) they are qualitative, in that they usually describe and **analyse** their cases through a narrative, rather than a strict summarization of quantitative data.

Case studies can be very useful tools in learning about community development, and have a number of strengths. They portray the experiences that people have had in development projects, and by sharing these experiences, readers can learn about what worked or what didn't work in other situations (Wilson, 1979). Through their detailed descriptions, they can also provide insights into the complexities of planning situations and the different actions and events involved. They can also portray a realistic example of what has actually happened and, as such, contribute to the knowledge of what is possible under **certain** conditions (Yin, 1986).

There are also, however, several weaknesses and potential problems with case studies. They are usually a narrative, and there may be little consistency in their research methods. Case study research has often been equated to “detective work” (Mintzberg, 1979), which can rely more on the researchers' intuition than a **rigorous**, quantifiable research method.

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There are also several different types of data collection, each with its own limitations, applications and strengths (Leenders, 1973; Burgess, 1984; Plummer, 1983). Although there is often heavy reliance on qualitative data in case study analysis, the accepted methods of analysis for this type of data are not well formulated in the literature (Miles, 1979). Because of these reasons, the potential for bias in case study documentation and analysis is high (Yin, 1981; Miles, 1979; Wilson, 1979; Jick, 1979; Kuiper, 1985).

Case studies also describe events under very specific circumstances, which are not always transferable to situations elsewhere. Therefore, it is not possible to draw broad generalizations about planning or development from one case study, but merely to describe what is possible under the circumstances observed. Hence, it is important to include a detailed description of the conditions and complexities involved, so that readers may draw insights or parallels with similar conditions they experience elsewhere.

The learning value of case studies also depends highly on the values the readers have before reading the case study. Research has shown that people tend to remember and believe things that confirm the values they already have (Wilson, 1979).

Another problem is that case studies, because of their descriptive nature, are often long and complex, and not easily read by the average reader who is short of time.

To help solve some of these problems, this case study uses the following approach.

- a) Although it is not possible to eliminate researcher bias, I have tried to clarify my bias by describing, in detail, the research method used. I have **also** used both quantitative and qualitative data in the research, and used a combination of data gathering techniques including literature search, personal interviews, and participant observation. I also attempted to represent participants' views as closely as possible in the report, and sent preliminary copies of the case study to key participants for verification of their views.
- b) To indicate the particular conditions present, I have included a history of the community and the program, and have tried to describe the special conditions, people and complexities of tourism development in Pagnirtung as it occurred. In this way, I am trying to **alert** readers to the special circumstances present so that they can relate them to circumstances elsewhere. **It** is hoped this will 'deter readers from making sweeping generalizations about tourism development that may not hold true for communities elsewhere.
- c) To facilitate a greater understanding of the case study by a variety of readers, I have tried to represent, as accurately as possible, the range of views held by participants regarding the Pagnirtung project. **In** most cases, I also describe who held these views and how many people held them.



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- d) To help break up the length of the case study, I have organized the report into sections which deal with specific areas of concern. In this way, readers can turn to the section that they are interested in and refer to only that section, without having to read the entire report. It is hoped this will make the report more usable.

In the remainder of this chapter, the case study method I used is described in detail.

## 2.2 PROJECT IDENTIFICATION AND INITIATION

### 2.2.1 Project Identification

I selected the Pangnirtung Tourism Program as a viable research project in 1984, on the advice of the GNWT Department of Economic Development and Tourism in Yellowknife, and with the initial support of the Pangnirtung Tourism Committee. I then contacted key program participants by phone and mail to get their approval for the project and obtain feedback regarding topics that should be covered in the evaluation, questions they felt should be asked, and appropriate research processes that might be used. All people contacted supported the project focus, and many made several valuable suggestions which were incorporated.

### 2.2.2 Refining the Scope and Extent of the Research

I then refined the scope of the evaluation, through discussions with research advisors at UBC, GNWT staff, and the Pangnirtung Tourism

Committee. Through this process, it was decided that the evaluation should be broadly based, and should concentrate on how the participants themselves viewed the program, so that the research would reflect a practical and northern perspective. It was also decided to include a wide range of participants so the evaluation would reflect a range of views.

At the request of the Pangnirtung Tourism Committee, I agreed to also examine the roles of Auyuittuq National Park Reserve, the Kekerton Whaling Station, tourism marketing and the Pangnirtung Tourism Committee as part of the study.

### 2.2.3 Designing the Interview Questions and Protocol

Designing the interview questions and protocol was a major task. I began by proposing a basic set of research questions and a strategy for interviews, which I sent to GNWT Program staff and the Pangnirtung Tourism Committee for comment. On their advice, I added additional research questions and prepared a detailed list of interviewees.

Finally, I contacted potential respondents to let them know what the research was about, and arranged a schedule for field trips and interviews.

## 2.3 DATA COLLECTION

Data were collected during two major field trips. The first included two weeks in Yellowknife during February, 1985, and concentrated on interviewing government staff and obtaining written documentation of the

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program. The second field trip involved ten weeks in April, May and June of 1985, including one month in Pangnirtung, and time in Iqaluit (Frobisher Bay), Montreal, Ottawa, Toronto, Winnipeg and Vancouver.

### 2.3.1 Research Questions

Data collection focussed on answering four broad areas of questions:

1. What were the objectives of the Pangnirtung Tourism Program?
2. What planning and implementation process was followed by the program?
3. Was the program successful in achieving its objectives? What were its strengths and weaknesses?
4. How could the Pangnirtung Tourism Program have been improved?

The interview questions (see Appendix A) explored substantive issues, processes and impacts for each category in detail.

### 2.3.2 Personal Interviews

Interviews were held with 101 people, as follows:

a)	residents of Pangnirtung;	Inuit	43
		Non-Inuit	10
b)	GNWT staff;		16
c)	federal government staff;		8
d)	Parks Canada staff;		12
e)	tourism industry operators and wholesalers; and		10
f)	program consultants.		<u>2</u>
		Total	101

A complete list of interview respondents and their affiliations is included in Section 10.3, 'Interview References'.

Interviews were conducted in an informal but guided manner. While emphasis was on answering the research questions, interviews were conducted as a guided conversation rather than as a rigid questionnaire. Respondents were encouraged to bring up any points they felt were important.

Because of the diversity of participants, interviews varied considerably in scope and emphasis. People concentrated on areas they knew best, and not all respondents answered all research questions. All questions eventually did get answered by those who had something to say on those topics.

If the interviews had been rigidly structured around specific, pre-set research questions only, there is a potential danger that certain areas of concern or impact would not have been identified. To get a wide range of responses, questions were worded in an open-ended way, such as "What have the good impacts of tourism in Pangnirtung been?, or "What have the bad impacts been?". At the end of all interviews, participants were asked to express any outstanding concerns that hadn't been covered yet in the interview. In this way, I am confident that all the major concerns regarding the program were identified.

In Pangnirtung, I interviewed people in both English and Inuktitut, using local interpreters. An effort was made to talk to a wide range of people in the community, which included elders, youth, men, women, and people who

were involved in tourism as well as those who were not. Respondents for interviews were suggested by the Tourism Committee, the interpreters, and the interviewees themselves. Some random selection during a community walk-about was also done. Much social visiting was involved, and this helped to develop a good rapport with local people and establish a relaxed atmosphere for interviews.

### 2.3.3 Review of Written Documentation

The literature review included an examination of all relevant files, pamphlets, reports, publications, notes, memos and correspondence that I could find. GNWT files were made accessible to the researcher and respondents were open with the data they had. This material supplied a wealth of information, and provided verification for much of the verbal data gathered during the personal interviews. A complete list of documents reviewed is included in Chapter 10.0, 'References'.

### 2.3.4 Participant Observation

During my 4½ weeks in Pangnirtung, I lived with a local Inuit family, socialized with local people, and joined in community activities. I attended Hamlet Council and Tourism Committee meetings, hiked several trails that had been constructed as part of the tourism program, stayed for a few days at the local hotel, talked to tourists, and talked to outfitters and tourism-related workers. In these ways, I got to know the community first hand and saw the Tourism Program in action.

### 2.3.5 Data Recording

Data was recorded in a variety of ways. I recorded important interviews with a small portable tape recorder. Most other interviews were recorded by taking extensive notes during the interview. Where neither of the above was possible, notes were made as soon as possible after the interview.

Written documentation was either collected or photocopied. Where this was not possible, notes were taken and referenced for later use.

I also wrote up the participant observation portion of the research, as appropriate, and made an extensive photographic record of Pangnirtung and its surroundings. Some of these photographs are included in this report.

## 2.4 DATA ANALYSIS

On completion of the interviews and literature review, I organized the data in a simple, two-way matrix, associating interviews and literature sources with the issues they raised. Data and responses were ordered in the categories as shown in Appendix A. By recording the number of times different individuals and sources had mentioned certain points and generating totals for each point mentioned, I was easily able to determine which were the most important (or at least most frequently mentioned) strengths and weaknesses of the program, as viewed by its participants.

Although the numbers of respondents that mentioned particular points is recorded in Appendix A, these numbers should be interpreted as general indicators only. This is because the interviews were conducted in an open-ended way, and not all respondents were asked all questions. Interviews took place under a variety of conditions with a variety of people, and this demanded flexibility in interview procedure. Some interviews were very rushed, with executives who didn't have time to answer every question. Other interviews were long and relaxed, where all questions were discussed in detail. In other interviews, the participants were evidently not knowledgeable about certain aspects of the program so, for expediency, I either did not ask questions related to that area or covered them only in a general sense. Therefore, my own judgement (and therefore also potential bias) was used in adjusting the interview to suit the situation and the knowledge of the participant.

Also, while taking interview notes, I did not have time to write down each detailed point the respondent mentioned. Therefore, the numbers in the field data results are approximate only, and in most cases, are lower than they would be, had all respondents answered all questions and had all points mentioned been written down exactly. These numbers do, however, indicate a relative strength of how often things were mentioned and how strongly respondents held certain views.

## 2.5 REPORT PREPARATION

Once the initial data were organized, as shown in Appendix A, I sent a progress report showing field data results and explanatory comments to key GNWT staff, the study consultants, Parks Canada staff, and the Pangnirtung Tourism Committee for review and verification. Participants were then contacted in person, by mail, and by phone to encourage feedback at this stage.

After I received comments on the progress report, these were incorporated in the research and I prepared a final draft report. This was also circulated to key participants for review and comment prior to preparation of the final document.





Figure 3: Pagnirtung Fjord and townsite. Cumberland Sound is in the background.

### 3.0 THE PANGNIRTUNG TOURISM PROGRAM

#### 3.1 PANGNIRTUNG BEFORE THE TOURISM PROGRAM

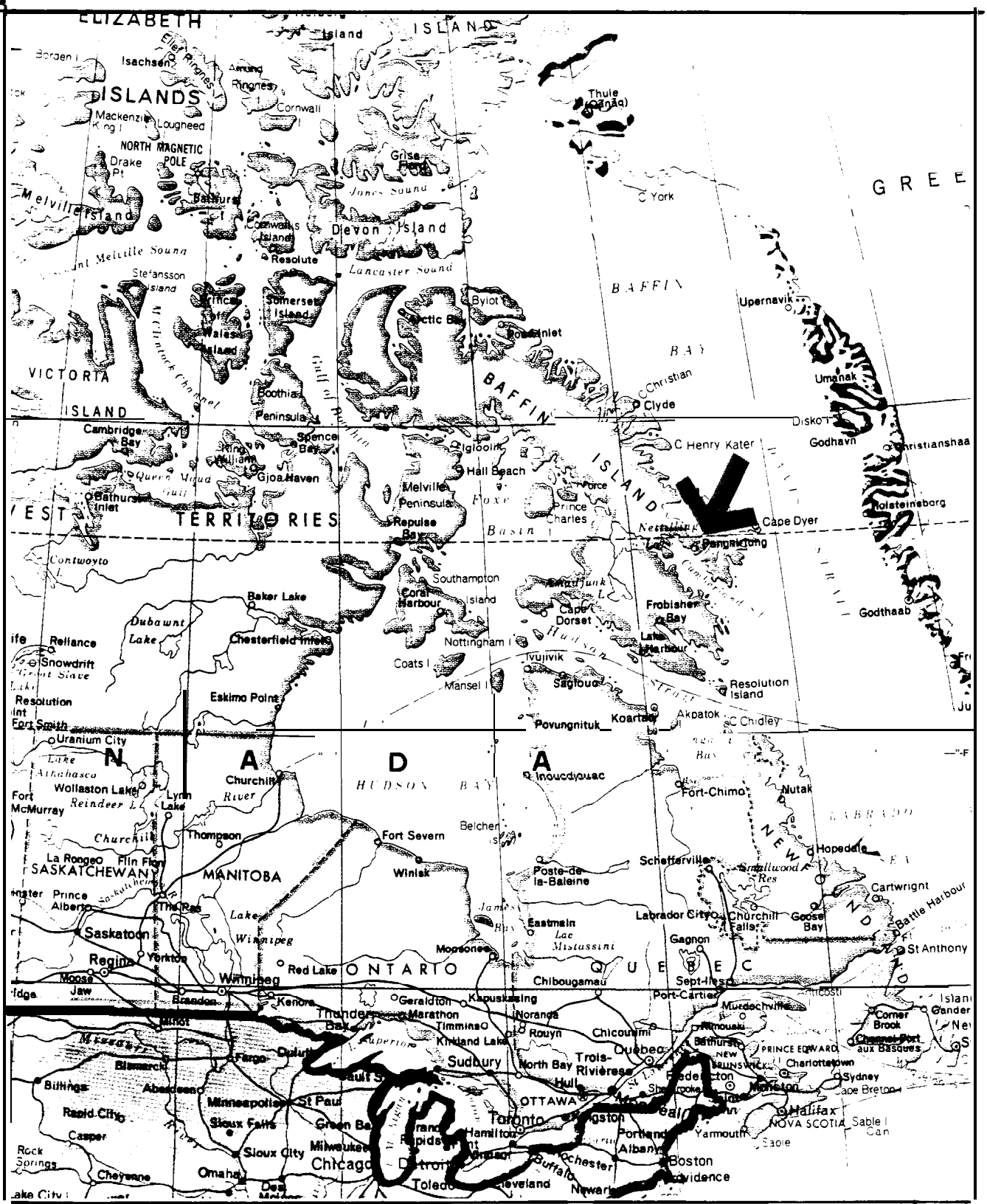
Pagnirtung is situated just off Cumberland Sound, in south-east Baffin Island, about 400 kilometers north of Iqaluit (Frobisher Bay) (see Figures 4 and 5, pages 28 and 29). In 1982, its population was 840, of which over 90 percent were Inuit (GNWT, 1984). It is located in Pagnirtung Fjord. Auyuittuq National Park is located at the north end of the fjord, about

30 kilometers from Pangnirtung. Cumberland Sound is located at the mouth of the fjord. The Sound is extensively used by local people for wildlife harvesting.

Cumberland Sound has had a long history of contact between Inuit and Kadaluna (whites). Whalers first began to penetrate the Sound in the 1800's, and by the late 1800's, there were at least four permanent whaling stations in the Sound (Marshall, Macklin and Monaghan, 1982). During this whaling period many Inuit worked as helpers in exchange for Kadaluna goods, and lived in camps close to the whaling stations in summer.

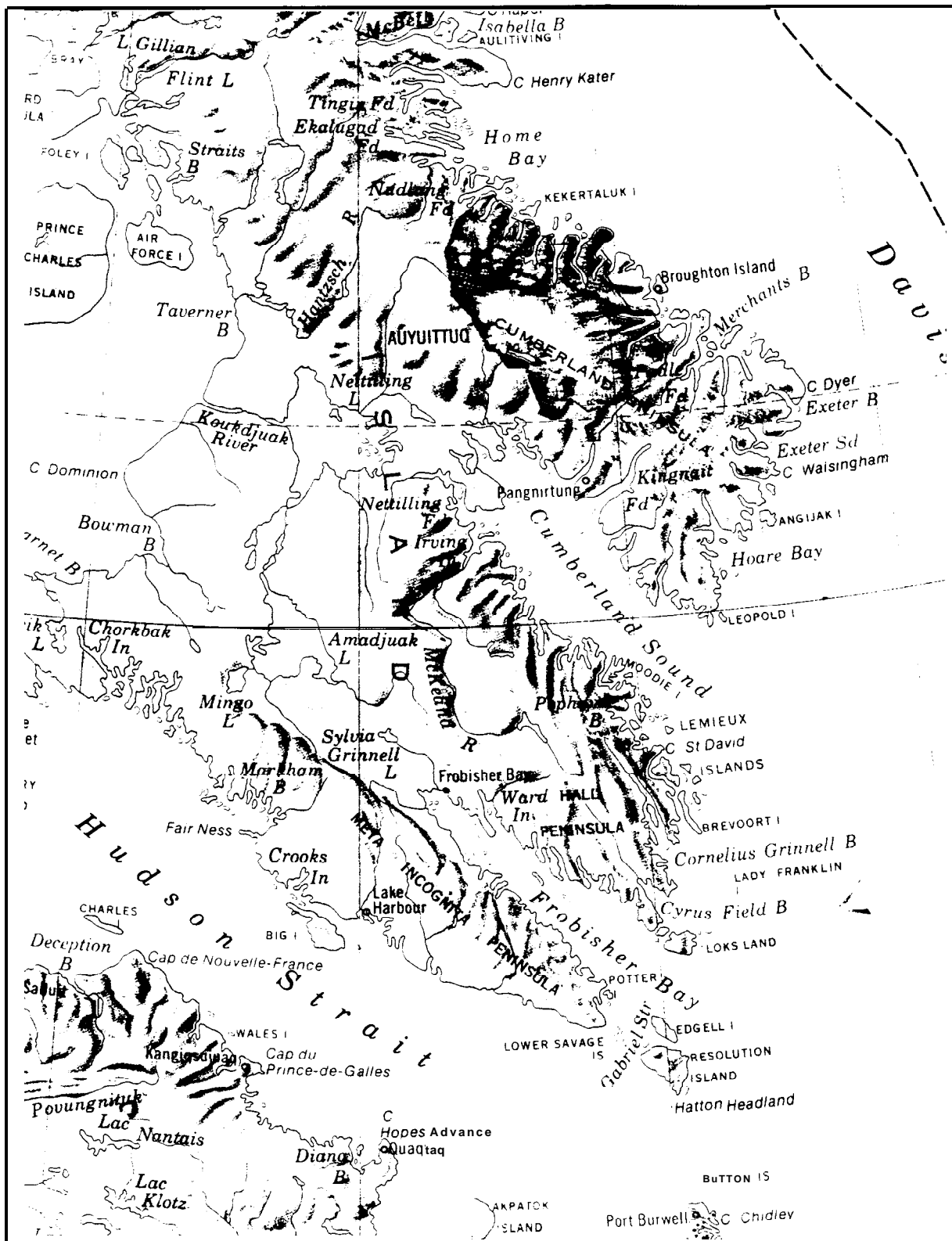
By the end of the 19th century, however, the whaling industry in the Sound collapsed, due to the depletion of Bowhead whale stocks. At the same time, fur prices were rising, and many Inuit started trapping to trade for the Kadaluna goods. The Hudson's Bay Company established a post at Pangnirtung in 1921. The trapping era continued for several decades, and during this time, the Inuit lived in extended family groups along the coast, living off the land and trapping for furs (Ibid. 1984).

A major change to this lifestyle took place in the 1950's. At this time, fur prices dropped, store prices rose, there were a few very harsh winters, and animals were disappearing from traditional hunting grounds. This caused death and starvation among many Inuit. As a result, the federal government began a program of emergency relief in Pangnirtung (GNWT, 1982). These services were expanded in the 1960's, and Pangnirtung received a new school, a health station, welfare services, low rent housing, and limited government employment. As a result, families began to leave



**Figure 4: Pangnirtung Location**

Source: Surveys and Mapping Branch  
Energy, Mines and Resources Canada



**Figure 5: Pangnirtung and Surroundings**

Source: Surveys and Mapping Branch  
Energy, Mines and Resources Canada

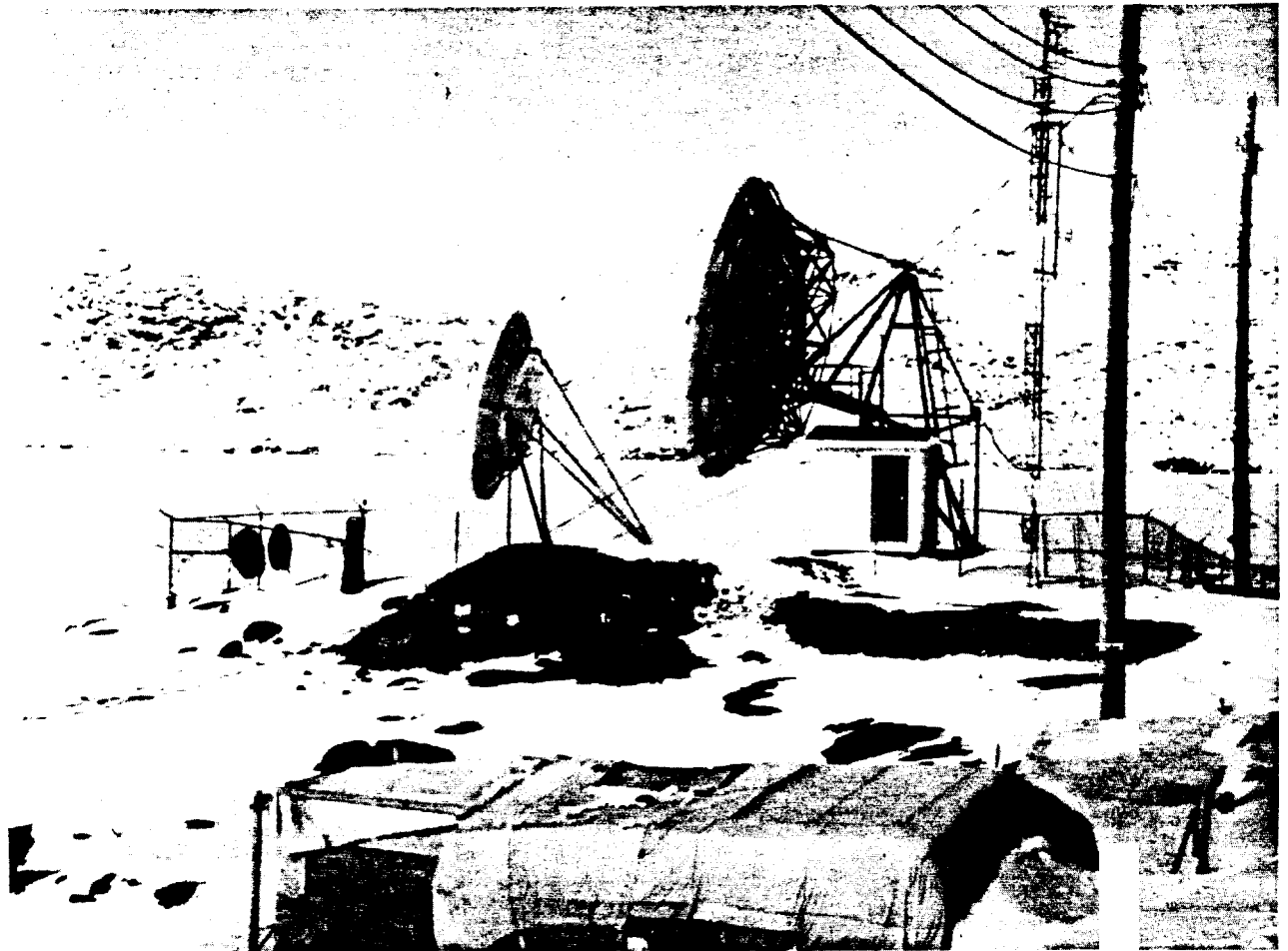


Figure 6: The old meets the new: Telecommunication disks, drying seal skins and traditional **Thule** style tents.

their outpost camps and moved into the community. The migration has continued slowly but steadily since that time. In 1984 there was only one family still permanently based outside of Pangnirtung (Joamie, 1985).

Although most people in the area now live in Pangnirtung, they still have close ties with the sea and the land. The informal economy, through hunting, trapping and fishing, is still very important to most families. Per capita country food consumption is highest of any community in the Baffin region (GNWT, 1984:68). In winter, the community is used as the base for

fishing, trapping, and hunting trips in the area. In the spring and summer, many families still live in outpost camps throughout the Sound to pursue their traditional lifestyle activities.

From a monetary point of view, Pangnirtung is a relatively poor community. In 1982 its per capita income was \$5,160, which was second lowest for the Baffin region (Ibid: 55). There is a high dependency on government for both welfare and employment. Public sector jobs account for 52.3 percent of all monetary income in the community, and per capita federal and territorial transfer payments to the community are more than twice as high as the regional average (Ibid: 51). In 1982, there were 415 people in the community between the ages of 17 and 65, yet only 142 jobs were available for these people. Seventy-nine jobs were in the public sector, and an estimated 63 jobs were in the private sector. This included seasonal and self-employed jobs (Ibid: 71).

Table I shows total community income for Pangnirtung in 1982. It shows that income from the private sector consisted of only 30.2 percent of the total monetary income in the community. The areas that contributed the most to private income included retail sales, arts and crafts, and renewable resources. Although seal skins were a major source of income for hunters in the community during the 1970s, the anti-sealing campaign has resulted in a drop in price from an average of \$40 per skin in the late 1970s to \$5 per skin in 1984 (Joamie, 1985). This has caused a major reduction in the community's exports. In 1983, arts and crafts was the community's largest export. The community has a weave shop, a print-making shop, and produces many carvings. Pangnirtung is well-known for its high quality art.

**TABLE I**  
**Pangnirtung Community Income: 1982**  
**With and Without Imputed Value of Country Foods**

	\$ Income	% of Total Not Including Country Foods	% of Total Including Country Foods
<b><u>Public Sector</u></b>			
Government Employment	2,298,342	52.3	30.5
GNWT Transfer Payments	30,691	6.8	4.0
Federal Transfer Payments	<u>470,259</u>	<u>17.5</u>	<u>6.2</u>
Sub-total Public Sector	3,069,292	69.8	40.7
<b><u>Private Sector</u></b>			
Fish, Fur and Ivory Sales	247,818	5.6	3.2
Mining	93,754	2.1	1.2
Construction	170,000	3.9	2.3
Retail	379,000	8.6	5.0
Arts and Crafts(1)	270,000	6.1	3.6
Hotel and Restaurants(1)	120,000	2.7	1.6
Outfitting(1)	<u>43,000</u>	<u>1.0</u>	<u>0.6</u>
Sub-Total Private Sector	<u>1,328,572</u>	<u>30.2%</u>	<u>17.6%</u>
Total Monetary Income(z)	4,397,864	100. 0%	58.3%
Country Foods Imputed Market Value(3)	<u>3,151,979</u>		<u>41.7%</u>
Total Income with Country Foods	7,549,843		100. 0%

(1) Based on information supplied by GNWT, Community Profile, 1983. These income estimates are probably low, as only incomplete data is available, and all three sectors deal with tourists informally, resulting in income which would be undeclared.

(2) This refers to personal income from wages, salaries, self-employment earnings, and government payments. Investment income is not included.

(3) Based on an annual per capita consumption of 342 kgs of country foods at an imputed value of \$11.00/kg. (Government of Northwest Territories, 1984)

Source: Government of Northwest Territories, 1984  
Government of Northwest Territories, 1983

As with most northern communities, Pangnirtung also has its share of social problems. In the last few decades, it has experienced major shifts in its economy, social structures, government programs, education and culture. People are caught in the middle of two worlds; the Inuit and the Kadluna. Many Inuit are finding it difficult to adapt to wage economy schedules and lifestyles, and many are afraid of losing their cultural ways and values. Dependency on government welfare is high, and lack of hope and job opportunities has resulted in problems of boredom, disillusionment, and depression with the youth. Although the community is officially dry, alcohol and drug abuse are still major problems (GNWT, 1982).

Nevertheless, residents in Pangnirtung are committed to their community and concerned about its welfare. It is their home, and local people are reluctant to leave the community for opportunities elsewhere. Residents are open, friendly, caring, and participate extensively in local committees and social groups (personal observation, 1985).

Prior to the Tourism Program, Pangnirtung had limited involvement in tourism. Mountain climbing expeditions have visited the community as early as the 1940's. A sport fishing camp in a nearby fjord was established in the early 1970's. More recently, the creation of Auyuittuq National Park Reserve in 1972 has resulted in an increase of mountaineers, hikers, photographers, and naturalists to the area. There was also a small local hotel owned by Ross Peyton, a Kadluna, where many visitors stayed. Prior to 1981, most local involvement with the tourists had been through selling crafts, skins and carvings, and occasional guiding and outfitting (Joamie, 1985).



At that time, local people had mixed feelings toward tourism. Although they saw tourism as an opportunity to bring money into the community, they did not know what tourism was all about or how to get involved in it. For many, tourists had left bad impressions by intruding on their privacy, asking too many questions, taking too many photographs, and displacing residents from local flights and services. One of the Inuit words for tourist means "people who look in windows" (Marshall, Macklin and Monaghan, 1982: 56).

As well, most tourism businesses were owned by people from outside the community. Tourists came up on charters organized by non-locals, stayed at the hotel which was owned by a non-Inuk, bought their goods at the Hudson's Bay store, and only hired local people for the odd trip. Local Inuit felt they did not benefit from the tourism as much as they should have.

Nevertheless, government officials and many local residents saw potential benefits in tourism. The area had many attractions, and if the industry was organized differently, they felt it could create businesses and employment for local people.

### 3.2 PROGRAM START-UP

The idea for the Pangnirtung Tourism Program originated in 1980, from senior staff in the GNWT Department of Economic Development and Tourism (Vaughan, 1985). These officials felt that a pilot program could help develop new tourism planning and implementation methods in the

arctic, and test out whether or not tourism could help in local community development. The officials selected **Pangnirtung** for the program, and proposed the study to the Baffin Regional Council and the residents of **Pangnirtung** (Trudeau, 1985). Reaction to the idea was favorable. A tourism sub-committee of the Pangnirtung Hamlet Council was formed to provide input into the program.

The Department of Economic Development and Tourism then prepared terms of reference for the study, reviewed these with the community, and after receiving proposals, hired the Toronto-based firm of Marshall Macklin Monaghan to do the work.

### 3.3 PROGRAM OBJECTIVES

There were several objectives identified for the program. Unfortunately, many of these objectives were implicit and only informally recognized, rather than explicitly stated. The author could not find any single document which comprehensively listed the objectives of the program for when it was first established in 1981 or for later on in 1985 at the time of research.

As well, the GNWT did not have any formally established policies or criteria for tourism development when the program was first started, other than knowing they wanted tourism to be community based and result in maximum benefits to local people. They saw the **Pangnirtung** study as one vehicle whereby more specific policies could be tested and developed. An

organized strategy for tourism development in the north was not clearly articulated until 1983, with the GNWT document, "Community Based Tourism: A Strategy for the Northwest Territories Tourism Industry".

It is difficult to distinguish, therefore, those program objectives which were established at the outset, and those which have developed through time in the program. For the purposes of this research, however, it is essential to identify a clear set of program criteria and objectives which can be used as a basis for evaluation. In developing these objectives, then, I used two main sources:

1. I reviewed relevant documentation on the program and GNWT policies for tourism development in the north; and
2. I asked the participants of the program, including the residents of Pangnirtung, what they felt the goals and objectives of the program were and should be.

Although participants had slightly different priorities in regard to different program objectives, the objectives listed by various participants were compatible, and resulted in a comprehensive set of goals and criteria by which the program could be evaluated. The objectives identified in this way consist of the following:

### 3.3.1 Pilot Study Objectives

One important set of objectives was to use the program as a pilot study for learning and developmental purposes. This was particularly important to GNWT officials. This included:

- a) to develop new methods for tourism planning and implementation in the north, particularly those which were community-based, included participation with local people, and resulted in a strategy which was a practical and realistic blueprint for action;
- b) to use the program as a test case and demonstration project, so that tourism could be evaluated as to its impact on local development, and the program could be used as a demonstration project for other communities to learn from; and
- c) to use the program to develop new government policies for effective tourism development elsewhere in the north.

These objectives were clearly supported by the following memo by a senior government official at the time:

“At the present time, there is a lack of information available to the communities concerning the tourism industry, what it implies, how communities can direct tourism, or what steps communities could take in order to gain maximum benefits from it. The results of the pilot project should provide this information, thus helping communities to decide for themselves the extent to which community based tourism could assist them in achieving their social and economic development goals and objectives” (Vaughan, 1981).

### 3.3.2 Economic Development Objectives

The economic objectives of the program were important to all participants. The main rationale for developing tourism in the north was, and still is, to strengthen local economies and provide jobs for northern residents. Specific objectives included:

- a) 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;
- b) 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; and
- c) 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**.

### 3.3.3 Social Development Objectives

The social objectives of the program were also important to all participants, particularly to local residents. Specific social objectives identified were:

- a) 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;
- b) 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.
- c) to facilitate cross-cultural learning and local 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. Government people in particular stressed this objective.

#### 3.3.4 Community Development Objectives

Another goal of the program was to help build local ~~experience~~ and capacity in community development. Specific objectives included:

- a) 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;

- b) to develop local awareness about tourism, so that residents could make informed decisions regarding tourism development; and
- c) 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.

### 3.4 **THE PLANNING PROCESS**

The planning phase of the program started in February 1981. The consultants' terms of reference included the following:

- a) to assess tourism opportunities in the area;
- b) to identify potential social and economic impacts of tourism in the community;
- c) to identify solutions to the possible negative impacts of tourism in the area;
- d) to identify existing and potential tourism markets in the area;
- e) to design a five-year community-based tourism development strategy that was supported by the community;
- f) to identify government policy and program changes that would be required to accommodate community-based tourism; and

g) to identify potential funding for program implementation (Marshall Macklin Monaghan, 1982).

The consultants made their first visit to Pangnirtung in March, 1981, and stayed for two weeks. During this trip, they met local people, identified community concerns, and inventoried tourism opportunities and constraints. Newsletters explaining the study were sent to all homes in the community, and over 20 meetings were held with community groups, committees and residents. Trips were also made in the surrounding countryside with the local Hunters and Trappers Association. Attendance at public meetings, however, was low (Marshall, Macklin, Monaghan, 1982).

After this visit, the consultants identified potential local tourism opportunities. They also designed three surveys to assess tourism markets for the area and administered them from May to October, 1981 to existing visitors, special northern interest groups, and tour wholesalers. The consultants conducted a second two-week visit in the summer of 1981, during which they continued their field work and visits with residents.

Based on their meetings, field inventories, and market research, the consultants then developed five alternative tourism strategies for community consideration. These included:

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



2. A strategy based on market demand, in which demands and initiatives in the private sector would determine the direction of development;
3. A strategy to maintain and expand traditional markets, in which existing tourism activities and markets would be promoted;
4. A structured specific market strategy, which would cater to small group (10 to 15 people) tours by developing facilities and a specialized marketing strategy; and
5. A "short stay" broad market strategy, which would cater to larger tour groups (30+ people) staying over for short stays in the community (Ibid: 105-14).

These options, with a brief evaluation of each, were presented in a report to the community that fall. The consultants also prepared a slide/tape show in Inuktitut to explain what tourism was and what it could mean to the community.

In October, the consultants made their third visit to the community. A public meeting was held with the slide/tape show, and the alternatives were presented with a recommendation to proceed with Option 4. At the meeting, the community was asked to vote on one strategy, so the consultants could continue with that alternative in their ongoing work (Ibid: 118).

The community, however, did not understand the process very well. The meeting was not well **attended**, and there was confusion about the meaning of the five strategies. The community did not feel ready to vote on the alternatives (Trumper, 1985).

At this time, the Tourism Committee held their first meetings. Previously planned meetings had been **cancelled** because of lack of interest. After the presentation of the alternatives, however, they met several times to discuss the project with the consultant, understand the strategies, and present the alternatives to the community. Several open-line radio shows were held, and newsletters explained and discussed the plans.

After several weeks of discussion, the community still did not understand the alternatives, so they prepared an "8 point manifesto" to identify the conditions they felt tourism development must meet. It read as follows:

**TOURISM SUB-COMMITTEE RECOMMENDATION  
TO HAMLET COUNCIL ON THE TOURIST STUDY**

"The Tourism Committee of **Pangnirtung** has conducted a series of radio shows to hear what the people of **Pangnirtung** have to say about tourism. On the basis of these radio shows, we, the committee, understand that:

- 1) the community wants more control and more involvement in the tourist business in **Pangnirtung**;
- 2) the community wants a tourism committee to monitor all developments in the tourist industry in **Pangnirtung**;
- 3) the community wants tourism guides to be hired to take tourists around **Pangnirtung** and answer their questions;

- 4) the community wants to control where people can go on the land and where they cannot go. The committee recommends that a map of the area be drawn up showing the areas where tourists can be taken and where they cannot be taken;
- 5) the community definitely does not want any use of helicopters to transport tourists around the Pangnirtung area;
- 6) the community does not want tourists to be visiting the summer camps;
- 7) the community would like to see more control over the number of tourists who come into the community at any one time;
- 8) the committee recommends that an outfitter should set up a model camp somewhere in Cumberland Sound for tourists to visit for a few days at a time.

The Tourism Committee recommends that on the basis of these above points, the consultants doing the tourism study should develop a tourism plan for the community that best suits the wishes of the people of Pangnirtung" (Pangnirtung Tourism Sub-committee, as quoted in Marshall, Macklin, Monaghan, 1982, p. 142-143).

The consultants felt these conditions favoured strategy No. 4, "The Tour Group Approach", and continued developing this alternative.

In the meantime, the Tourism Committee continued to meet to discuss tourism and their role in taking the program over once the planning study was complete. The GNWT Area Economic Development Officer (AEDO) played an important role at this time. She helped organize committee meetings, took minutes, and facilitated discussion about tourism and the planning study for Pangnirtung. She noted that, although many educational strides still had to be made at the time, the Committee was becoming more knowledgeable about tourism, and it was building strength (Trumper, 1982).

Shortly thereafter, the consultants submitted their final report, which consisted of a detailed 277-page technical report and a 23-page summary report written in both English and Inuktitut. The report contained the following components:

1. An analysis of tourism opportunities and constraints for Pangnirtung.
2. A brief review of resident attitudes toward tourism.
3. A market analysis and implications.
4. An overall development strategy based on option No. 4, the tour group alternative.
5. A five-year program implementation strategy, which identified 26 specific projects and budgets, and identified the role of the Tourism Committee, training, funding, and Auyuittuq National Park.

Appendix B contains a summary sheet of the implementation strategy. The study's key recommendations were:

- a) to create a number of activities and facilities that would attract tourists to Pangnirtung, such as trails, tours, traditional camps, host programs and brochures.
- b) to build a new hotel; and

- c) to create a formal Tourism Board which would organize, promote, and control tourism in Pangiirtung (Marshall, Macklin, Monaghan, 1982).

In February 1982, the consultants made their final presentation to the community at a public meeting, during which the community was asked to endorse or reject the plan. Senior GNWT officials were also present. Community residents, however, were upset at feeling pressured to make their minds up at the meeting, so they told the officials that they would wait with their decision until they understood the study more completely (Trumper, 1985).

For the next month, the study was examined in **detail** by the Committee, and after several meetings, the community decided it was supportive of the plan. The consultants and GNWT officials then held a final series of meetings with the community and Committee to discuss implementation. The Committee approved the strategy in principle, and decided to start immediately on six projects (Pangiirtung Tourism Committee, April 29, 1982).

### 3.5 THE IMPLEMENTATION PHASE

#### 3.5.1 Year 1-1982

Shortly after the Tourism Committee decided to proceed with the plan, the Department of Economic Development and Tourism arranged for \$50,000 of funding for implementation.

In this first season, the following actions were taken.

- a) A consultant was hired to help with Committee training and implementation of the program.
- b) The Tourism Committee was further organized through meetings, formalized roles, and participation in summer projects.
- c) A tourism information office was opened.
- d) A community host was hired to greet visitors and arrange for tours of the town.
- e) Two hiking trails were designed and located close to the community.
- f) Interpretive brochures for the trails were drafted.
- g) Two labourers and one local tourism trainee were hired for two months.
- h) Progress was made in organizing outfitters and arranging for a training program in 1983 (Pangnirtung Tourism Committee, 1982).

These projects were directed by the Tourism Committee, which reported to Council and the community regularly. As the AEDO noted:

"The actual delivery of the suggested development plans was undertaken on several fronts. The 26 development schemes were summarized into straight-forward categories and these were translated verbatim. Through a series of committee meetings we worked through each plan, making alterations where members felt it was necessary. Eight of the 26 plans were undertaken for the first year under special O&M and capital provisions in both HQ and regional tourism budgets."

"Once the first eight projects were settled on for the first development year, they were presented by the chairman in a brief to Council. A series of radio shows by committee members outlined the plans to the community. A time-frame for development was drafted by the committee and revised as we progressed, and always this was passed on to Council to ensure we weren't accused of moving forward in isolation" (Trumper, 1983).

### 3.5.2 Year 2-1983

In year 2, the Committee continued with previous projects and began several new ones. The following actions were taken.

- a) A consultant was hired to:
  1. coordinate the tourism program;
  2. oversee the completion of trails and trail signage;
  3. photograph local flora;
  4. design and lay out a summer camp and associated trail;
  5. write a walking tour brochure and a Kekerton whaling station brochure;
  6. assess the tourism potential of additional trails;
  7. conduct a tourism awareness workshop;
  8. recommend a plan for a day fishing camp; and
  9. make recommendations for projects to be undertaken in Year 3(Strahlendorf, 1983).

- b) The tourism office was improved.
- c) The community host program was continued and expanded.
- d) Local people were hired for trail construction and hosting.
- e) The Committee worked with the outfitters to improve organization.
- f) Archaeological work was undertaken at Kekerton (Pangnirtung Tourism Committee, 1983).

Although the Committee was consistently getting stronger, the AEDO continued to play an important role. She provided advice where required, prepared budgets and funding proposals, and lobbied for tourism interests both in the community and to outside agencies. She worked very hard to build a base of knowledge and independence in the Committee so that they could start wielding their own effective control over the program. As she states:

“Up until my departure, I organized and attended each monthly meeting, took the minutes, had them translated, and prepared the agenda. Copies of minutes and the upcoming agenda were sent to each member in advance of the next meeting as well as the mayor and R. Trudeau. Incidentally, I sat in on these meetings in an ex officio capacity.”

“A chairman and deputy were elected, and as time went on they assumed most of the responsibility for gathering members for meetings, recruiting members, and being the chief spokesmen for the tourism plan at BRC and on CBC northern radio programming. It's no secret that tourism spokesmen from the committees are far more effective than ourselves in communicating the essence of the tourism message.”



"It took at least two years of work, but the committee eventually reached a threshold of assuming more power. Power very clearly derives from knowledge, and after twenty or more lengthy meetings in smokey rooms, certain members began to be quite well-spoken on the issues of tourism as they affected Pagnirtung. (Others, of course, took less interest in the subject and were therefore less informed.) The committee is now at a stage where they want control of some of the budget, and for many of the minor O&M and capital expenditures this seems quite possible. I encourage independence in order that tourism development is perceived as, and is, an initiative of the community, and not solely that of the government" (Trumper, 1983).

At this time, members of the Tourism Committee began to be known as experts in tourism in other northern communities. They often went to other arctic villages to act as advisors in helping communities set up tourism programs of their own. Thus, valuable learning between northern communities started to happen (Komoartuk, 1985).

### 3.5.3 Year 3-1984

In Year 3, the community continued to be active in developing tourism. The following activities took place.

- a) Three outfitters from Pagnirtung attended a guide Level 1 training program in Frobisher Bay.
- b) A full-time general manager was hired for the Tourism Committee.
- c) Local people were hired on a variety of tourism construction and cultural projects.

- d) A tourist summer camp was planned out.
- e) A glaciation trail was laid out.
- f) The tourism host program was expanded and continued.
- g) A project documenting local history and historic buildings was completed by summer high-school students.
- h) Archaeological research continued at Kekerton.
- i) An attempt to organize outfitters was made through standardizing rates and licensing to ensure fairness and safety (Pangnirtung Tourism Committee, 1984).

#### 3.5.4 Year 4-1985

In year 4 the Committee continued to be active and tourism visitation increased over the previous year. Activities included the following items.

- a) A landscape architect was hired to assist the Committee in its projects.
- b) Further development work took place on a glaciation trail.
- c) Repairs took place on two already constructed trails.

- d) The hosting program was continued and expanded.
- e) Archaeological work at Kekerton continued.
- f) Further development work was done on the traditional summer camp.
- g) Some local outfitters attended a guide training program, held elsewhere in the region.
- h) The general manager position with the Tourism Committee continued on a full-time basis.
- i) Research data gathering began for this thesis research study (Magee, 1987; Hamburg, 1987; Keenainak, 1987).

#### 3.5.5 Year 5-1986

In 1986, the Committee continued to be active on several fronts. Tourism visitation levels again increased over the previous year. Developments included the following items.

- a) Construction began on a new visitors centre. The centre houses a museum, visitors' information centre, elders society meeting room, and the Tourism Committee office.

- b) Development work regarding interpretive facilities and trails took place on Kekerton Whaling Station. This employed seven local people in summer jobs.
- c) The general manager's position for the Tourism Committee was made full-time.
- d) A new trail brochure was made for the Pangnirtung area. Old trails were improved, relocated and completed as appropriate.
- e) The landscape architect was again hired to assist in the program.
- f) The hosting program was continued.
- g) A Pangnirtung information brochure was produced, and distributed to air passengers as they flew into Pangnirtung.
- h) A new fish camp, operated by local people, opened business on a part-time basis.
- i) A local craft store, owned by local people, was started in the village.
- j) A local fishing camp was made for tourists.
- k) Research results, as contained in Appendix A, were compiled and sent to the Pangnirtung Tourism Committee for comment.

- 1) Some local people attended a guide training program held elsewhere. One local outfitter was sent out to take a trainers course on guiding, and will act as a trainer in future years (Magee, 1987; Hamburg, 1987; Keenainak, 1987).

#### 3.5.6 Current Status -1987

The program continues to be very active in the community. The following activities are in progress:

- a) The landscape architect has been hired for a third consecutive year to assist with program activities.
- b) The visitors centre will be completed and opened in the fall.
- c) Development work will be completed at Kekerton and the site will be officially opened as a Territorial Historic Park this year. It will include a boardwalk and interpretive facilities.
- d) Peyton's Lodge has recently been purchased by a group of local and regional investors. Local interests own over 50percent and local ownership is distributed evenly among a large group of Inuit investors in the community. Renovations are scheduled for the fall of 1987. Expansion, if warranted, is scheduled for 1988/89.

- e) The outfitters are more organized, and are working together with the Tourism Committee in referrals and setting standardized prices and safety procedures.
- f) A traditional summer camp is being established close to town.
- g) The Tourism Committee has obtained a lease on the old Hudson's Bay Company buildings and the old whaling station in the community, and is planning to start a preservation and interpretation program for these historic sites.
- h) The tourism host program is continuing and expanding as required.
- i) The third fishing camp has continued to operate on a part-time basis.
- j) The craft store that opened in 1986 has remained closed, due to unspecified problems.
- k) The thesis research is being completed and sent to the community.

By all accounts, 1987 is the busiest tourism year Pangnirtung has ever had, and has been described as "bumper crop". Visitation in just the first four months of the 1987/88 year is already 20 percent higher than the total annual visitation for the 1986/87 year (Magee, 1987). Whereas in 1984, outfitters were often idle and waiting for clients, they are now booked ahead of time and are very busy (Hamburg, 1987).

There are still 12 licenced outfitters in the community, but fewer unlicensed outfitters, as the GNWT is becoming stricter on licencing and safety procedures (Keenainak, 1987).

According to the AEDO, residents in Pangnirtung are becoming more aware of tourism, and are pleased that it is increasing (Magee, 1987). The current general manager for the Tourism Committee noted that, although he has received some negative comments from residents regarding the number of tourists in town, most comments he has received from locals regarding tourism have been positive. He stated people are happy that tourism is bringing income into the community and creating jobs (Keenainak, 1987).



Figure 7: Skating after church.

#### 4.0 EVALUATION OF THE PROGRAM AS A PILOT STUDY

A major objective of the program was to use the program as a pilot study for learning and developmental purposes. The program was set up to explore one way of solving the problems of community economic development in the north, and develop tourism policies and programs that could assist communities in achieving their development goals. Specific program objectives identified in the program literature and by participants included:



1. The program should develop new methods for effective tourism planning and implementation in the north;
2. The program should be used as a test case and demonstration project to learn more about tourism development in the north; and
3. The program should be used to develop new government policies and programs for effective tourism development elsewhere in the north.

#### 4.1 APPROPRIATENESS **OF THE** PROGRAM SCOPE AND OBJECTIVES

As already stated, the program was set up to help combat some of the problems of underdevelopment and welfare dependency in the north. As such, to be effective, it is important that the scope and objectives of the pilot study address the major issues of northern development, as identified in the literature and by residents of the north. These issues have already been identified in Section 1.3 of this report. In this section, the program is briefly evaluated in terms of how well its objectives and scope addressed these issues.

##### 4.1.1 Program Objectives

For the most part, the project objectives did address the major issues and directions for northern community development, as identified in the literature.

- a) Create increased incentives for development: Although the program mandate did not include making changes to existing housing, welfare, or bailout programs, one of its major objectives was to provide opportunities where local people could easily get involved in earning extra income through outfitting, arts and craft sales or tourism project jobs. Therefore, the program was set up to provide incentives to start getting involved in businesses, which is a first step in developing role models and experience for larger **scale** community development.
- b) Coordination between the formal and informal economy: One major objective of the program was to develop an industry which would fit in with traditional lifestyles and cultures. This strongly supports the principle of coordinating the traditional informal economy with the formal economy.
- c) Local control and ownership: A major objective of the program was to **develop** an industry which was owned, controlled and **managed** by local people. This clearly addresses the issue of local control and ownership.
- d) Reduction of economic leakages: The program objectives clearly addressed the issue of economic leakages. They supported the development of an industry which was owned and operated by local people and encouraged the production and sale of locally produced goods. These all contribute to the reduction of leakages from a community.

- e) Training: The program objectives strongly supported the development of local expertise through training programs and job experience. Skill development was a major objective of the program.
- f) Social development: The objectives of the program clearly stated the importance of developing an industry which fit in with local lifestyles and culture, and helped the community achieve its social goals.
- g) Stable economic activities: The program objectives also identified the importance of establishing an economic base which was stable, diverse and viable. The tourism industry was specifically chosen because it was seen as an industry which was stable and sustainable on a long-term basis.
- h) Planning, research and monitoring: The objectives stated that the program was to be set up as a pilot study in tourism planning, research and monitoring in the north. Therefore, the program clearly addressed this important issue.

The program objectives, therefore, clearly address the major issues of community development for the north, as identified in the literature. This is not surprising, as the people who designed the program objectives -- the government officials and residents of the north -- live with the problems of northern development every day, and many are well versed in the current literature relating to northern development issues and concerns.

#### 4.1.2 Program Scope

The program dealt specifically with development in tourism. It did not address possible development opportunities in other sectors. Participants noted that this had both advantages and disadvantages.

A major advantage of limiting the pilot study to tourism was that it gave the program focus. It concentrated on development in an area that the community was already familiar with and interested in pursuing further. This helped encourage local participation in and understanding of the program.

A major disadvantage, however, was that the program did not examine opportunities in other sectors, or deal with the coordination of tourism with other sectors in **Pangnirtung**. Five respondents, including three government officials, felt that this was limiting, inappropriate, and potentially risky. They felt that because the study only dealt with tourism, potential opportunities in other sectors may be overlooked, and potential conflicts or coordination between the different sectors may ~~not~~ be identified.

One senior government official also felt that the emphasis on tourism in the north was raising people's expectations falsely regarding the potential of tourism to provide a suitable economic base for local communities. He felt the focus of the **Pangnirtung** program on only tourism was further

aggravating this problem, which could potentially encourage a reduction of economic diversity in communities, rather than an increase in diversity (Alwarid, 1985).

For these reasons, five participants, including the consultant and some senior officials within the GNWT, felt that the study would have been more effective if it had been multi-sector rather than dealing with only tourism. In their view, the study should have started with a regional socio-economic development overview, identifying opportunities and constraints in all sectors. This could then have been followed up with more detailed work for the opportunities identified. This could have encouraged a more comprehensive multi-sector development strategy for Pangnirtung, and could have also broadened residents' awareness about the different opportunities available to the community (Verburg, 1985).

One of the potential problems with a broader strategy, however, is that it probably wouldn't have had as strong a focus as the single sector tourism strategy did. Some government officials pointed out that because of this, public participation and awareness may have been more difficult with a multi-sector study (Vaughan, 1985).

#### 4.2 THE DEVELOPMENT OF AN EFFECTIVE TOURISM PLANNING AND IMPLEMENTATION PROCESS

When the Pangnirtung Tourism Program was first established, its intent was to develop a planning and implementation process which:

- a) encouraged the participation of local people;
- b) could be understood by local people and used as a vehicle for learning;
- c) encouraged local commitment and control over development; and
- d) resulted in a realistic community based strategy which would be sensitive to local needs and aspirations.

Respondents had mixed feelings about how successful the program was in achieving these objectives. Several strengths were pointed out, however, weaknesses were also noted. Participants also had several suggestions as to how the process could have been improved.

#### 4.2.1 Strengths of the Planning and Implementation Process

##### 4.2.1.1 Involvement of Local People

Twelve participants mentioned that one of the most important strengths of the program was its involvement of local people. A number of factors contributed to this:

- a) Contact between consultants and residents during the planning process: During planning, the consultants made an effort to make good contacts with residents and include them in the work. During field visits, the consultants usually stayed for  $1\frac{1}{2}$  to 2 weeks, and kept

the community informed through meetings, house visits, newsletters and local phone-in radio programs. They also worked with the Hunters and Trappers Association. Some participants mentioned that these measures helped to increase local awareness and strengthen resident input.

- b) An effective Tourism Committee: Eleven participants from a range of categories felt the establishment of the local Tourism Committee was one of the major strengths of the Program. The Committee was, and still is, the main vehicle for local participation and control in the plan. It acted as the liaison between residents and outside consultants and officials, and organized tourism awareness programs the community could understand. Committee members took it upon themselves to learn about tourism, build the skills required to guide its development in the community, and facilitate local input into the decision making process (Sowdloopik, 1985).
- c) Local control over decision-making: Another important factor in facilitating local involvement was the control local people had in the program. For example, the pilot study started only after it received support from the community. During planning, the consultants were required to get specific feedback from the community before they could proceed further. In implementation, the community, through the Committee, has always maintained strong control over the direction of projects and the program. Respondents from all

categories felt this local control was essential for maintaining a program which belonged to the local people and was sensitive to their needs.

- d) Local involvement in projects: The Committee has tried to maximize local involvement within the community. It has members from a variety of other community groups in Pangnirtung. It has also tried to facilitate local input through meetings, newsletters and radio programs. As well, in its projects, the Committee has hired both young and old, and men and women. Many local respondents noted that these policies increased support for the program and local understanding of tourism.

#### 4.2.1.2 Strong Skills and Personal Rapport of the Professional People Involved

Some government officials felt that the personalities and skills of the professional people involved also contributed to the strength of the program. They felt the consultants were highly skilled and knew how to work with local people. They had a sense of humour, a genuine respect for local people, and were willing to adapt to local schedules and customs. This helped build a good rapport with the community (Trumper, 1985).

Government officials also noted that the AEDO contributed greatly to the program. She helped organize the Tourism Committee and played an active role in working with its members and building skills. This was important for facilitating local involvement and control in the program (Hamburg, 1985).



#### 4.2.1.3 Supportive Government

Although few participants mentioned this point, it is clear from reviewing the program that much of its success was also due to a supportive government. Government funding has provided ongoing support for program planning, capital, operation, maintenance, and salary expenditures (Vaughan, 1985). Supportive government staff have also been important. Economic Development and Tourism staff in Pangnirtung, Iqaluit and Yellowknife strongly supported the program and have willingly spent considerable time working on it. Government participants noted that this involvement has been of a training and supportive nature, and has helped build local skills, independence, and control in the program (Trumper, 1985).

#### 4.2.1.4 A Useful Final Report

The planning program also produced a credible final report that could be used by the Committee for implementation. It has given legitimacy to the program, which is essential in terms of accessing funding and government assistance (Vaughan, 1985).

#### 4.2.1.5 Commitment to Follow-up and Carry-through in Implementation

Much of the success of the program has been due to consistent follow-up and carry-through during implementation. The plan was not a document that sat on the shelf and collected dust. Through the commitment and hard work of the Tourism Committee and the Economic Development and

Tourism staff, action projects were identified, funded and implemented as appropriate.

In the early years, the projects were relatively small, with a large component of GNWT guidance. As local capabilities and experience grew, however, the projects have become larger and more complex, and the Committee has been taking an increasing role in guiding the program. Now the GNWT and the Committee work together in guiding the program. This dedication to following through on projects, identifying needs, and putting plans into action has been a major factor in determining the success of the program in Pangnirtung.

#### 4.2.2 Weaknesses of the Planning and Implementation Process

Participants also noted a number of weaknesses in the planning and implementation process of the program. Concerns included public involvement, the alternative strategy planning process used, project timing, lack of follow-up, narrow study focus, an emphasis on capital projects, and a poor marketing component.

##### 4.2.2.1 Poor Areas of Public Involvement

Although public involvement was identified by 12 respondents as one of the main strengths of the program, twelve participants, including eight local people, also felt it was not as strong as it should have been, especially during planning. The following points were noted.

- a) Poor local involvement during program initiation: Local people were not significantly involved in initiating the program. Rather, it was the GNWT who thought of the program, presented the idea to the community, set the scope, drew up the terms of reference, and hired the consultants for the study. Therefore, the community was only minimally included in setting the objectives and scope for the pilot study.

This lack of local involvement during project initiation seriously contradicts the concept of community-based development. The planning literature stresses the importance of involving local people during program initiation (Rees, 1986). This gives the community a chance to identify its problems, clarify its goals and aspirations on a comprehensive basis, set the program scope and objectives accordingly, and develop ownership and knowledge in the planning process from the start.

Without this initial local involvement, there was a grey area during the beginning of the planning phase when residents were only vaguely aware of or interested in the project. All the early Tourism Committee meetings were cancelled because of lack of interest, and the consultants had to spend a lot of time explaining the project to local residents (Magee, 1987). This lack of local involvement limited the input that residents could make in designing a planning process that would work in the community.

- b) Poor public awareness during planning: Even though the consultants tried a number of techniques to involve the public during planning, many local participants still felt they were not very aware of the planning process. Turnout at public meetings and response at the radio phone-in programs were low. When asked by the researcher what they thought of the planning study, most local respondents could not remember it. The planning process, as followed, was not traditional in the **Inuit** culture, however, and this may explain some of the awareness difficulties the consultants had. This again stresses the importance of involving local people during project initiation to enable designing a program and process that local people are interested in participating in.
- c) Short consultant visits: A few local people felt that the consultant visits were too short. They felt that  $1\frac{1}{2}$  to 2 week visits weren't really long enough to get to know the community and start working with the people. They felt the visits should have been longer (Joamie, 1985).
- d) Poor tourism awareness programs and unrealistic expectations: The awareness programs during planning were also ineffective. Nine respondents felt the slide and tape awareness program was too late in the planning study, and not comprehensive enough. They felt that areas such as the cultural, legal, economic or developmental issues connected with tourism were not adequately dealt with. As well, no major public awareness programs have taken place during implementation.

Because of the poor awareness programs, respondents in all categories felt most residents still have poor understanding of tourism and unrealistic expectations regarding its potential benefits. Government officials and outfitters did mention, however, that the guide training programs were successful in increasing awareness among outfitters.

#### 4.2.2.2 Poor Alternative Strategy Approach During Planning

The approach of choosing between five alternative strategies did not work well in the community. Residents did not understand the strategies, nor did they know what to do with them. In the end, they designed their own "manifesto" and responded with a clear definition of what they wanted tourism to do. In hindsight, the consultants and government officials agreed the alternative strategies approach did not work. As the AEDO stated:

"In my own opinion, the strategy approach was never well understood by the community members concerned, for the simple reason that 'tourism' as a concept is not all that well understood. The work 'strategy' does not translate well into Inuktitut. I agree a framework is needed, but trying to differentiate the strategies to the communities before thoroughly exposing the subject was 'putting the cart before the horse'" (Trumper, 1982).

#### 4.2.2.3 Not Enough Time Given for Decision-Making in the Planning Process

Local residents had a lot to learn about tourism, yet they were often requested to make major decisions in short periods of time, so the program

could stay on the government's and consultants' schedule. Local people felt this was unfair. In some cases, residents had to insist that they be given the extra time to make their decisions properly (Trumper, 1985).

#### 4.2.2.4 Slow Funding Follow-up and Lack of Continuity With Personnel

Some local people and government officials also felt that funding follow-up was not quick enough. Once the community decided to support the program, some participants noted that funding approvals had often been slow. Funding for 1984 summer season, for example, was not received in the community until the fall of 1984 (Joamie, 1985).

Some local people also noted that personnel changes contributed to lack of continuity with the program. As Committee members and general managers changed, continuity was lost, and when the AEDO in Pangnirtung was changed, continuity was lost for a short while.

#### 4.2.2.5 Emphasis on Capital Growth Rather Than Organizational Development

Three government officials felt there was too much emphasis on implementing capital projects that would look good on government records, rather than facilitating long-term organizational development that would enable stronger local management and control in tourism. For example, most projects in the implementation plan were infrastructure related, and little budget emphasis was given to organizational development, public awareness or management training.

Some government officials and Committee members felt that because of this, the Committee lacked the expertise to plan and monitor tourism development effectively from a strategic point of view (Joamie, 1985; Sowdloapik, 1985; Theriault, 1985).

#### 4.2.2.6 Lack of Planning Follow-up During Implementation

Once the planning phase was complete, the planning consultant had no more involvement with the program. Therefore, there were no opportunities for the consultants to monitor the progress of the plan or contribute to ongoing strategic planning as the program developed. Rather, the Committee was left on its own in terms of implementing the plan as presented in the final report. Six participants, including three members of the Committee, two government officials, and the senior planning consultant for the plan, felt this lack of follow-up was a serious weakness of the program.

#### 4.2.2.7 Rigidity of the Five-Year Plan

Some respondents, particularly members of the Tourism Committee, felt the five-year plan was too rigid. It identified a specific time schedule for particular projects, and did not allow for change, monitoring or ongoing strategic planning. As a result, the Committee has had to use the plan as a point of departure only. It discusses the possible projects, and determines itself what the projects and priorities for that year will be. Because of this, the community has had to change the plan as it goes along (Sowdloapik, 1985).

#### 4.2.2.8 Poor Marketing Component and Lack of Private Sector Involvement

Several government officials, local residents, and industry representatives felt the marketing component program was poor. The community did not know how to market itself, or how marketing among government and private organizations should be organized. Industry participants felt that this was partially due to the fact that they were not included in setting marketing strategies for the community. In their view, this led to a strategy which was vague, poorly coordinated with existing operations, and impractical. Further comments on marketing are included in Section 5.7.4, 'Improve Tourism Marketing'.

#### 4.2.3 How the Planning and Implementation Process Could Have Been Improved

Participants had a number of suggestions as to how the planning and implementation process could be improved.

##### 4.2.3.1 Improved Local Input During Project Initiation

Some of the problems experienced during the planning phase may have been reduced if the community had been consulted more during project initiation. In this way, community concerns and issues could have been addressed at the outset. Local people could have taken part in designing a program and planning process that they would have participated in and residents could have been more aware of the program from the start. This may have resulted in a planning process that would have encouraged greater local awareness, commitment, and participation in the program.



#### 4.2.3.2 Improved Public Participation During Planning and Implementation

Ten government officials and local people felt public participation could have been improved during both planning and implementation. They felt a slower planning process with more emphasis on learning would have been valuable. They suggested that the awareness programs be more in-depth, that they start earlier in the program, and that they continue on an ongoing basis with more newsletters, workshops, radio shows, and information meetings. They felt these measures would have increased the value of people's input, as well as facilitating greater understanding of the development process.

Some local people also felt public participation could have been improved in regards to involvement in jobs and local management of the program. Suggestions for improvements in these areas are dealt with in Sections 5.7 and 7.4 respectively.

#### 4.2.3.3 Improved Continuity and Funding

Nine participants, covering all categories, mentioned that continuity and funding should have been improved. Continuity could have been improved by arranging for funding well ahead of time so that it was readily available when people are ready for implementation. More flexible and secure funding was also desired.

#### 4.2.3.4 Improved Organizational Development and Training

Five participants, including local people, government officials, and the consultants, felt that organizational development and training with community and Committee members should have been improved. This is dealt with in more detail in Section 7.4.2.

#### 4.2.3.5 Improved Consultant Follow-up

As already noted, six participants, including three members of the Tourism Committee felt that the consultants should have been involved in follow-up during the implementation stage of the program. They felt this would have helped with program monitoring, training and ongoing strategic planning. Although the consultants were interested in doing this, the GNWT did not make any provisions for consultant follow-up in its budgets (Verburg, 1985). This is a common problem with many community planning contracts in the north. Some participants felt that greater provision for consultant follow-up should be made in the original funding agreements for these types of projects (Verburg, 1985; Joamie, 1985).

#### 4.2.3.6 Increased Flexibility in the Five-Year Plan

Four participants mentioned that the five-year plan should have been more flexible. They felt it should have incorporated an ongoing review and strategic planning process so that unforeseen changes in tourism could have

been dealt with. Some also felt it should also have been able to accommodate different speeds and types of development for entrepreneurs with different skill and awareness levels (Neugebauer, 1985; Hamburg, 1985).

#### 4.2.3.7 Improved Industry Participation

Some industry representatives and Committee members felt that increased participation by the tourist industry would have improved the program. They felt this could have helped in identifying industry needs and local tourism products that could have been coordinated with a realistic marketing strategy. Additional comments regarding marketing are included in Section 5.7.4.

It should be noted, however, that the planners and government officials were reluctant to involve too much industry participation. They wanted the community to "call the shots" in the program and felt that a large industry presence would have been intimidating (Vaughan, 1987). Nevertheless, some community and industry members felt ~~controlled~~ industry participation could have led to mutual learning and more informed decisions being made regarding tourism opportunities and marketing strategies (Joamie, 1985; Kinner, 1985).

#### 4.3 THE PROGRAM AS A TEST CASE AND DEMONSTRATION PROJECT

One important objective of the program was to establish a test case and demonstration project in northern tourism. The program was set up as an experiment, something that could be examined and learned from. The GNWT people who initiated the program wanted to: a) learn what tourism planning and implementation methods worked in arctic communities; b) evaluate what the impacts of tourism could be on the people and communities of the north; and c) set up a "show piece" or demonstration model of northern tourism that other communities could learn from and follow.

##### 4.3.1 Criteria for Evaluating Test Case Effectiveness

Test cases have long been used for learning and demonstration in community development. There are three project criteria that should be met in order to gain maximum benefits from test cases:

- a) a formal monitoring and evaluation procedure should be in place to observe the test case and evaluate its results;
- b) appropriate policies and resources should be established as required to support the evaluation process; and
- c) an effective system of compiling and distributing the information gained should be in place to ensure maximum learning benefits to others.

These criteria were reflected in the "Baffin Community Economic Planning Handbook", produced by the Department of Economic Development and Tourism (Baffin Region) in 1982. This publication emphasized the importance of "stopping, looking and listening" with the new government programs. It recommended that new programs be monitored closely, that they be subject to the systematic gathering of statistical information, and that people at the receiving end of the programs be listened to so that the programs' impacts could be evaluated. It also recommended that strong policies and resources be put into place to enable this monitoring (in particular, policies requiring private industry to provide statistical data) and that the information be systematically filed so that the data could be shared and used by those who needed it (GNWT, 1982).

The authors of the publication also emphasized that it was important to coordinate monitoring efforts between different governmental departments. They noted that Pangnirtung would "provide an ideal opportunity for introducing a new spirit of cooperation among us all" (GNWT, 1982:72), because it was the site of a variety of cross-departmental initiatives at the time. The report concluded by stating, "We recommend everyone concerned get together to implement some of the recommendations made here, as well as those of other departments and to set up a process to monitor the results of our initiatives" (GNWT, 1982:72).

Despite these strong recommendations for the systematic monitoring of government programs in Pangnirtung in 1982, no formal evaluation, monitoring, or demonstration procedure was ever adopted for the Pangnirtung Tourism Program. Rather, monitoring and demonstrating was

done on an informal and ad hoc basis. Therefore, although valuable learning and demonstration still took place with the program, it also had weaknesses as a test case and demonstration project.

#### 4.3.2 Strengths of the Program as a Test Case and Demonstration Project

Despite the fact that no systematic monitoring has been done regarding the program, 15 participants, in a wide range of categories, still felt the program performed a valuable learning function for tourism development in the north. It was the first of its kind, and through occasional staff reviews, informal conversations, and personal experience, many people felt they had gained a lot of new knowledge from the program. Government officials noted they learned about planning and implementation methods that worked, and about tourism impacts in the arctic. As a result, they now felt in a better position to design effective tourism programs in the north (Hamburg, 1985; Vaughan, 1985).

Four local residents, particularly Committee members, also felt they had learned from their experiences. They felt they had developed a good understanding of tourism and tourism planning, and felt they were continually gaining strength in this area. They also mentioned they were learning how to deal more effectively with governments and funding agencies.

The program also served as a valuable demonstration project for other communities in the Baffin Region. As people from other communities learned about the program through word of mouth, they often sent

delegations to Pagnirtung or invited a member of the Tourism Committee to come to their community to assist in setting up their own tourism programs. In this way, the Committee was exporting its tourism knowledge, and the lessons learned in Pagnirtung were being brought in person to other arctic communities (Vaughan, 1985; Joamie, 1985; Sowdloopik, 1985).

#### 4.3.3 Weaknesses of the Program as a Test Case and Demonstration Project

A major weakness, however, is that the GNWT never followed up on its own recommendation of doing systematic "stopping, looking and listening" with the tourism program. By 1985, no detailed systematic monitoring or statistical information gathering was ever done with the program; the author could not identify any special policies or financial resources that had been established to enable effective program monitoring; the government had never systematically asked local people what they thought of the program; and no common information filing system had been set up to organize and distribute the information gathered. This thesis research was the first time any systematic evaluation of the program had been done.

Because of these weaknesses, the pilot study's potential to be used as a learning and demonstration tool has been severely limited. For example, there were several areas where important data was not collected or available, particularly regarding the economic impacts of tourism in the community. It is the responsibility of the AEDO and the Regional tourism officers in Iqaluit to record this data, however, they are extremely busy with the work load they already have and do not have the additional

resources to do this adequately. These statistics are also difficult to collect because of the informal nature of the industry. As a result., the author could not find any accurate systematically recorded data on tourism related visitation, activities, expenditures, revenues, or employment in the community. Although some data did exist in these areas (see Chapter 5), it was often incomplete, inconsistent, or not systematically collected. Therefore, an accurate economic analysis of the program is difficult. Because of this lack of data, two government officials and two Committee members felt there were still many problems with tourism that were not understood. They felt the lack of formal monitoring and evaluation was a serious weakness of the program.

Because of the lack of documentation, the program's value as a demonstration project has largely been limited to word of mouth discussions with communities and people that have had direct contact with Pagnirtung. These people knew a lot about the program, but respondents who had only limited personal contact with the program also had only limited knowledge of it. I also found that, in my contacts with people who were not respondents, several people had heard about the program and had vague ideas about it, but none really had a clear idea of its strengths or weaknesses.

This reliance on word of mouth to distribute knowledge about the program carries its own risks, as information can easily be misrepresented, exaggerated, or blown out of proportion this way. This is a particularly serious risk, as several communities are looking to tourism as a major means of achieving economic development, and the potential for creating



false impressions and expectations is high. Some senior government officials cautioned that many northern communities are already developing unrealistic expectations in regard to tourism, which could seriously impact their development programs (Theriault, 1985; Alwarid, 1985; Hunt, 1985). This underscores the importance of making accurate, documented and unbiased information about the program readily available to these communities so that its strengths, limitations, and lessons can be more readily understood by other people in the north.

The potential value of the program as a demonstration project, therefore, is great, as many people are interested. The actual realized value, however, is more limited and of questionable accuracy, because systematically documented information on the project does not exist, and comprehensive consistent written reviews of the program are not available to those who may be interested.

#### 4.3.4 Ways the Program Could Have Been Improved as a Test Case and Demonstration Project

Seven respondents, including three government officials, three residents, and one industry representative, felt the program could have been improved as a test case by conducting more rigorous monitoring and data gathering in regard to the program and its impacts on the community. This could have included more formalized follow-up and evaluation meetings regarding the planning and implementation process, more consistent and detailed data gathering regarding the social and economic impacts of the

program on the community, and more listening to local people about the effects of the program on the community. These participants felt this would have supplied a more detailed data base on which to test the program, evaluate its effectiveness, and learn more about the still unknown aspects of tourism development in the north.

As well, the program would be much more valuable as a demonstration project if accurate and documented information about it was made readily available to other communities, tourism planners and the general public. In this way, people who do not have personal contact with Panguitung could also learn about the program.

These measures would require a serious commitment of staff and finances from the GNWT to carry out, but without them, the value of the program as learning research tool and demonstration project is limited. Based on the level of interest northern communities have in tourism, this is a commitment the GNWT could do well to consider.

#### 4.4 THE DEVELOPMENT OF NEW TOURISM PROGRAMS AND POLICIES

An important objective of the program was to help identify new policies and programs that could be used to facilitate community based tourism elsewhere in the north. Although the program has had some success in this regard, the extent to which it has contributed to new tourism initiatives in the north is not clear.

As already noted, no formal evaluations have yet been done to determine new policies and program initiatives based on the Pagnirtung experience. Nevertheless, one senior government official noted that the Pagnirtung experience was used extensively in developing the policies and programs included in the 1983 'Community Based Tourism Strategy' (Vaughan, 1987). Therefore, the program has contributed in an informal and ad hoc way, rather than on a systematic or clearly specified way. Therefore, it is difficult to assess the specific contribution the program has made to program and policy development in the north.

As well, in 1983 when the "Community Based Tourism Strategy" was produced, the Pagnirtung program was still in its early stage of development. Now that the program has developed further, it would be useful to **re-evaluate** tourism policies and programs based on the community's more recent experience.

#### 4.5 CONCLUSIONS

In regard to establishing a pilot study and developing an effective tourism planning and implementation process, the Tourism Program had both strengths and weaknesses. One strength of the program was that it developed a structured five-year plan that could be used for funding and implementation. Of major importance, it also facilitated local management and control through the Tourism Committee, particularly during the later stage of planning and all throughout implementation. It also facilitated effective implementation through the follow-through and

ongoing efforts of the Committee and GNWT staff members. It also contributed significantly to informal learning and demonstration in northern tourism with people that came into contact with the program. These all contributed significantly to the success and strengths of the program.

The program has also, however, had several major weaknesses as a pilot study. Even though the program was set up to be community based, local people were not involved significantly in initiating the program or designing the planning process to be followed. Public involvement during the early stages of planning was also limited. Local people had difficulty understanding what tourism or the study was all about, and the awareness programs were poor. Once planning was finished, there was no follow-up by the consultants during implementation, and there was little formal training for the Committee in program management. Hence, the Committee's abilities to carry out strategic planning on an ongoing basis was limited. Lastly, no formal monitoring, evaluation or organized system of distributing information on the program was ever established. Hence, the program's value as a research and demonstration tool has been limited.

Therefore, despite the fact that the program has resulted in significant progress for tourism development in Pangnirtung, there are several ways in which the planning and implementation process could have been improved. Greater involvement of local people during project initiation may have helped design a program more suited to local participation and learning, and improved awareness programs may have helped build a stronger local knowledge of tourism and the program. As well, consultant follow-up

during implementation could have improved strategic planning with the Tourism Committee, and improved training could have helped build better skills in program management and control. Lastly, more systematic monitoring, evaluation and distribution of information regarding the program could have helped immensely in increasing the program's value as a research and demonstration tool.



Figure 8: Carver

#### 5.0 EVALUATION OF THE PROGRAM AS A VEHICLE FOR ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

A major objective of the tourism program was to strengthen economic development in the community. The following criteria were established by the program and its participants in regard to achieving this objective:

- a) The program should increase income into the community.
- b) The program should help create new jobs and businesses in the community.

- c) The program should increase the local benefits of tourism spending in the community.
- d) The program should increase economic diversification in the community.
- e) The program should promote the development of a stable and economically viable industry.
- f) The program should be coordinated with local informal economic activities such as subsistence hunting, trapping and fishing.

These program criteria are consistent with the objectives and criteria identified in the literature as being important for community economic development in the north. In this chapter, the tourism program is evaluated in regard to how well it has met these criteria.

It should be noted, however, that because of the lack of monitoring, very little systematically collected data is available regarding the economic impacts of tourism on the community. Therefore, to carry out this analysis, I often had to rely on incomplete data sources, secondary ~~sources~~, generalized data, and the ~~verbal~~ responses given by participants. Therefore, this economic evaluation should be considered as preliminary only, until more complete data is available for analysis.

## 5.1 INCREASING COMMUNITY INCOME

The formal economy consists of the public sector and private sector. Public sector income includes government jobs, public development grants,

and transfer payments. Private sector incomes include all monies earned through private businesses or jobs. The program has been successful in increasing incomes in both these sectors in the community.

#### 5.1.1 Public Sector Income

The two main sources of tourism related public sector income in Pangnirtung are salaries and contracts related to Auyuittuq National Park Reserve, and government grants to various tourism development projects in the community. Both these sectors have increased since the tourism program started.

##### 5.1.1.1 Auyuittuq National Park Reserve

Although Auyuittuq National Park Reserve was not created solely for tourism, it does actively support tourism in the community. It attracts many visitors to the area, and one of the growing mandates of national parks is to facilitate compatible tourism related economic development in and close to park areas (Beddard, 1985). Although park budgets are not set only for the purpose of tourism, they do respond to visitor demands and hence, are affected by the tourism program (Breneman, 1985). Therefore, in this study, park expenditures are considered to be partially tourism related and included in this analysis.

Community income due to Parks Canada expenditures has increased significantly in the years since the tourism program started. Table II, on page 90 shows park expenditures increased 30 percent from 1981 to



1983, and the greatest increases during 1981 to 1983 were in operating costs, which have a high component of local expenditures. Table III, shows that, on average, about 70 percent of total park expenditures for Auyuittuq are spent in the Northwest Territories, and local payroll generally accounts for about 67 percent of all NWT expenditures (Intergroup Consultants Ltd., 1985).

In 1982/83, local park salaries and labour contracts totalled \$256,701 (Intergroup Consultants Ltd., 1985), which represents 6 percent of the community's total income for that year (GNWT, 1983). Increasing park expenditures, therefore, contribute significantly to increasing local incomes in the community.

**TABLE II**  
**Capital and Operating Expenditures**  
**Auyuittuq National Park**  
(in 1984 dollars)

Year	Capital Expenditures	Operating Expenditures	Total
1973	\$487,915	\$ 296,757	\$ 784,672
1974	691,044	235,566	927,210
1975	116,446	289,130	405,576
1976	397,038	321,402	718,440
1977	---	325,293	325,293
1978	163,674	302,523	466,197
1979	123,361	371,901	495,262
1980	116,935	403,081	520,016
1981	64,819	399,310	464,129
1982	117,443	499,134	616,577
1983	80,977	524,262	605,239

Source: Intergroup Consultants Ltd., 1985:44.

**TABLE III**  
**Parks Canada Expenditures in NWT**  
(in thousands of 1984 dollars)  
**Auyuittuq National Park**

Expenditure	YEAR		
	1977/78	<b>1978/79</b>	1979/80
NWT Supplies and Services	\$ 119.62	\$ 93.49	\$ 107.95
NWT Payroll	<u>223.35</u>	<u>203.06</u>	<u>262.27</u>
<b>NWT Total</b>	\$342.97	\$296.55	\$370.22
% NWT of Total	72.20/6	<b>69.5%</b>	73.1%

Source: Ibid: 18

5.1.1.2 Government Funded Projects

Government funded tourism projects in Pangnirtung have also increased as a result of the program. Table IV shows the following level of funding from 1981 to 1985:

1981:	\$ .0-
1982:	18,000
1983:	76,000
1984:	136,500
1985:	23,000 + (partial estimate only)

Most of this funding was allocated directly for local project salaries and contracts administered through the Tourism Committee (Pangnirtung Tourism Committee, 1982, 1983, 1984, 1985).

Therefore, the program has been effective in increasing tourism related public sector income in the community. There was no evidence to suggest that other funding programs were cut to accommodate this increase in tourism funding.

TABLE IV  
Government Expenditures Supporting  
Local Tourism Development Projects

Year	Project	Funding Agency	Amount
1982	YEAR 1 Development Projects	GN WT	\$ 17,999.20 (a)
1983	YEAR 2 Development Projects	GN WT	\$ 56,000.00 (b)
	Kekerton Research Project		<u>20,000.00 (b)</u>
	YEAR 2 Total		\$76,000.00
1984	YEAR 3 Development Projects	BTA	\$ 11,500.00 (c)
		STEP	12,500.00 (c)
		CW	10,000.00 (c)
		FERI	69,000.00 (c)
	Kekerton Research and Development	FERI	<u>33,500.00 (d)</u>
	YEAR 3 Total		\$136,500.00
1985	YEAR 4 Development Projects	C/85	\$ 23,000.00 (c)
	Kekerton Research and Development)	GNWT	?

Sources: (a) Pangnirtung Tourism Committee, November 16, 1982  
(b) Hamburg, 1983.  
(c) Magee, 1985  
(d) Pangnirtung Tourism Committee, January 31, 1985

### 5.1.2 Private Sector Income

The tourism program has also been effective in increasing private sector income to the community. In the research, 12 respondents noted that tourism has helped bring more money into the community, and 21 local people mentioned that tourism had resulted in increased opportunities for selling crafts and operating small tourism businesses. This increase in private sector income was seen by local people as a major benefit of the program.

Although respondents from all categories noted that private sector incomes had increased because of the program, the exact level of increase is unknown due to the lack of sufficiently detailed data. Private sector tourism income is directly related to tourism visitation and tourist expenditure patterns, but tour company expenditures were not available to the author, and visitor expenditures and visitation were not recorded on a consistent basis. Tourism related income was also not recorded among the community's tourism oriented businesses. This data should be recorded by the region's tourism officers based in Iqaluit, however, as there are only two officers for the entire Baffin Region, they have neither the facilities nor the time to collect such detailed data (Hamburg, 1985).

The lack of data makes it impossible to draw detailed conclusions regarding how much tourism contributes to private sector incomes in the community. Nevertheless, to get a rough idea of what visitor levels and expenditures are, it is useful to review the incomplete data that does exist.

#### 5.1.2.1 Tourism Visitation

Almost all local people who were asked mentioned that tourist visitation has increased consistently and substantially in Pangnirtung since the program began. In 1981, total visitation was 2,016, and by 1983 this had increased to 2,462. Although visitation numbers are not available for later years, the Regional Tourism Officer estimated that visitation in 1985 was more than twice as much as in 1982, and visitation has been increasing ever since (Hamburg, 1987). The AEDO and Committee manager noted that visitation in the first half of the 1987 season had already surpassed total visitation for 1986 (Magee, 1987; Keenainak, 1987).

Tourist visitation to Pangnirtung has not always increased this consistently. Park visitation estimates from 1977 to 1983 (shown in Table V) show that there was a decrease in park visitors from 1978 to 1981, and then an increase from 1981 to 1983. The Superintendent of the park attributed this pattern to: a) heightened awareness in the park shortly after it was established in 1977; b) an increase in airfares in 1979 to 1981, causing a drop in visitation; and c) an increasing interest in Pangnirtung and the park since 1981. This experience suggests that visitation can be strongly dependent on external factors, such as cost of transportation and marketing.

TABLE V  
Auyuittuq National Park Visitation Estimates

Year	Auyuittuq Visitation Estimate A (a)	Auyuittuq Visitation Estimate B (b)
1977	700	730
1978	600	735
1979	500	582
1980	400	436
1981	400	399
1982	520	681
1983	---	734
1984	---	

Sources: (a) Intergroup Consultants, 1985  
(b) Beddard, 1985

#### 5.1.2.2 Visitor Expenditures Data

General visitor expenditures in Panguitung are not recorded. The only data I could find was in regard to park visitor expenditures for selected years. Table VI on page 96, shows that average NWT expenditures for park visitors increased from \$62 in 1977 to \$522 in 1982. Table VII indicates where these expenditures occurred by sector.

Although spending patterns by park visitors in 1982 will not be identical to those of other visitors in other years, many of the categories and trends can be expected to be similar. The Arctic attracts tourists who are interested in arts and crafts, outfitting and guiding, and local touring. Non-park visitors could be expected to spend more on outfitting,

accommodation and meals, however, as they are generally not as self sufficient as park visitors regarding food, shelter, or transportation (Beddard, 1985).

The documented trends for Auyuittuq Park visitors then, suggest that non-park visitor expenditures in the NWT have also increased substantially in recent years. It would be reasonable to assume that average visitor expenditures in Panguitung have also increased at a corresponding rate, as Panguitung also offers services and retail outlets in all the major spending categories identified in Table VII, and this would contribute to the increase in private sector incomes as reported by residents.

**TABLE VI**  
**Average Park Visitor Expenditures in the NWT for Selected Years**  
 (in current dollars)  
**Auyuittuq National Park**

Year	Average Visitor Expenditure In NWT (in \$ per visitor trip)
1977/78	62 (a)
1978/79	95 (a)
1979/80	192 (a)
1980/81	N/A
1981/82	N/A
1982	522 (b)

Source: (a) Intergroup Consultants Ltd., 1985:33  
 (b) Taylor, 1983:61

TABLE VII  
Average Park Visitor Expenditures in the NWT by Sector: 1982  
(in 1982 dollars)

Sector	Average Expenditure	% of Total Expenditure
Local Artwork	\$ 182.00	35%
Local Transportation	80.00	15
Accommodation	65.00	12
Meals	49.00	9
Other Major Purchases	48.00	9
Guides and Outfitters	40.00	8
Groceries	34.00	7
Personal and Miscellaneous	14.00	3
Clothing	10.00	2
<b>Total</b>	<b>\$522.00</b>	<b>100%</b>

Source: Taylor, 1983:61

## 5.2 INCREASING JOBS AND BUSINESS OPPORTUNITIES

The program has been very effective in increasing jobs and business opportunities in the community. Thirty-two local people, more than two-thirds of all local respondents, mentioned that job creation was one of the major benefits of the program. This benefit was mentioned by more respondents than any other benefit of the program. Despite this strong majority support, nine local respondents felt that only a few jobs had been created and job creation was not as good as it should have been.



Table VIII, on page 99, identifies tourism employment in the community in 1981 and 1984, the only years for which such data are available.

#### 5.2.1 Public Sector Jobs

Public sector jobs increased both with the park and with government funded projects. In Auyuittuq National Park, jobs increased from 8.3 person years in 1981, to 10 person years in 1984. The most dramatic increase, however, occurred with the government funded tourism projects. Before the program, no such projects existed in the community. By 1984, a total of 30 jobs (both full-time and part-time) had been created through projects related to tourism. Although more recent statistical data were not available, telephone interviews in 1987 indicated this high public sector employment continued from 1985 to 1987.

In interviews, residents were very supportive of these jobs. They increased incomes, and helped provide training and experience in construction, hosting, arts and crafts, archaeological work, historical and cultural research, and tourism management.

#### 5.2.2 Private Sector Jobs and Businesses

The program also helped create jobs and business opportunities in the private sector, although the exact extent of this is difficult to estimate.

Licensed outfitters increased from 6 in 1981 to 12 in 1984, although many of these outfitters worked only part-time. In 1985, however, all outfitters contacted mentioned that business had been increasing from year to year. More recently, the Regional Tourism Officer noted that, whereas in 1984 most outfitters had a lot of free time during the tourist season, in 1987, tourism has increased so much that most outfitters were booked ahead of time most of for the summer (Hamburg, 1987).

**TABLE VIII**  
**Tourism Related Businesses and Employment in Panqirtung**  
**Before and After the Program**  
(including both full-time and seasonal jobs)

	1981	1984
<u>Public Sector</u>		
Ayuittuq National Park	8.3 p.y.	9.3 p.y. (a)
Archaeological Development	-o-	12* (b)
Territorial Park	-o-	1* (b)
Tourism Committee Projects	-o-	18* (b)
Tourism Committee General Manager	-o-	1 p.y. (b)
<u>Private Sector</u>		
Number of Fishing Camps	1	2* (b)
Fishing Camp Jobs	6	10* (b)
Licensed Outfitters	6	12* (b)
Unlicensed Outfitters	N/A	12* (b)
Peyton's Lodge	N/A	6+5* p.y. (c)

Note: p.y. = person year  
\* = primarily seasonal or temporary jobs

Sources: (a) Intergroup Consultants Ltd., 1985  
(b) Joamie, 1985  
(c) Government of Northwest Territories, 1983

In regard to starting tourism businesses, four residents noted that tourists were relatively easy to deal with. They were curious and friendly, willing to buy local goods and go for outings. Four locals also noted it didn't cost much to get involved. Informal arts and crafts sales didn't involve any overhead costs, and most outfitters already had a boat and motor that they could use for outfitting. The main extra costs for outfitters consisted of purchasing a \$75 outfitters licence and acquiring the required safety gear such as life jackets, etc. (Evik, 1985). Four of the outfitters interviewed mentioned that, with training and organization, they had been able to make it a good financial business.

In 1986, a new locally owned craft shop also opened in response to tourism. This, however, has remained closed in 1987 due to unknown problems (Keenainak, 1982). Also as a result of the tourism program, the local hotel is being improved and expanded. This will allow for expansion of visitor facilities which will be directly related to job creation in the community (Vaughan, 1985).

### 5.2.3 Problems With Job Creation and Business Development

Although most local residents felt the program was effective in creating jobs and businesses, people also identified a number of problems in this regard.

#### 5.2.3.1 Lack of Local Business Skills and Financial Resources

Eighteen local people noted the lack of business skills and financial resources among the Inuit as the major problem for local business development in Pangnirtung. Skills identified as lacking included general tourism awareness, business management, marketing, legal awareness, awareness of safety and rescue procedures (for outfitters), and knowledge of government grants and assistance programs. Because of this, these people noted that some existing opportunities in the community have not been pursued by locals, and Inuit business development has been slow. Therefore, most private sector involvement has, so far, been on a fairly small scale.

Although this small scale of business development is not necessarily bad, as it takes time to develop skills, there is also the danger that with this pattern, the larger opportunities may be taken over by the Kadhuna. For example, the Kadhuna who was the manager of the Pangnirtung Co-op in 1985 has since opened his own private convenience store in town. He has, therefore, taken over an important opportunity in town, and is thereby in direct competition with the local Inuit-owned co-op (Magee, 1987).

This pattern of having business opportunities taken up by people from outside is not uncommon in areas where tourism is developing rapidly. There are many documented cases in developing countries of outside investors coming into a community once tourism becomes profitable. They buy up existing local businesses or start new ones of their own, and control

the industry more for their own purposes, rather than for the good of the community. This often results in local people being displaced from ownership and control in the industry (Murphy, 1983; Pi-Sunyer, 1982; Callinanopilos, 1982; Fox, 1977; deKadt, 1976).

In the case of Pagnirtung, it will be important to ensure that this pattern does not occur. Although regulation of private business ownership is difficult in Canada's democratic society, government policies should ensure that local skills, financial resources and involvement in businesses is strengthened as quickly as possible to facilitate stronger local control and ownership in development. The recent local purchase of the hotel is very important in this regard.

#### 5.2.3.2 Temporary and Seasonal Nature of Work

Most of the jobs have also been temporary or seasonal. In the public sector jobs created, only the Committee manager's job was full-time and year-round. The rest ranged from a few weeks to a few months in duration. Similarly, outfitting is seasonal and can be sporadic. Most business is in a six week period in July and August. For most, the seasonal and part-time nature of the work was suitable, as it allowed time to hunt and pursue traditional activities. Two of the outfitters, however, wanted more stable and year-round employment, and henceforth found this type of work unsuitable.

#### 5.2.3.3 Language

Eight residents noted language as a major problem for Inuit business development. Most middle-aged and older people in Pangnirtung speak only Inuktitut. They felt their lack of English was a major problem in dealing with tourists. Because of this, they strongly supported the roles of the community hosts, who were often able to provide interpretation when required.

#### 5.2.3.4 Outfitter Licencing

There were mixed feelings among residents in regard to outfitter licencing. The outfitters who were licenced recognized its value in terms of encouraging safety and proper management of the industry. Six residents, however, felt that licencing made outfitting too difficult. They felt it was too expensive (\$75) for the short season, it was too complicated to get involved in, it created too many unrealistic restrictions and regulations, and was controlled by people from outside the community who ~~do~~ not understand local conditions. This hampered their willingness to get involved in outfitting.

#### 5.2.3.5 Poor Organization Among Outfitters

In 1985, five residents noted that poor organization was a problem for getting involved in outfitting. The following problems were cited: a disorganized and inconsistent referral system; the lack of an outfitters

association; poorly adhered to regulations, fares and time schedules; unfair competition; inconsistent safety practices and skill levels; and the hiring of non-local outfitters by the hotel, when locals could do the job just as well.

More recently, in 1987, organization among outfitters has been improved. They have an association, and have organized an improved referral and price system which is operated out of the tourism office (Hamburg, 1987). It is not known to what extent this has solved some of the aforementioned problems.

### 5.3 INCREASING THE LOCAL BENEFITS OF TOURISM SPENDING

A major objective of the program was to increase the local benefits of tourism spending by increasing local ownership and participation in the tourism industry (thereby reducing leakages) and involving as wide a range of local people as possible in the industry (thereby encouraging a wide distribution of benefits).

#### 5.3.1 Increasing Local Participation and Ownership

The program has been successful in increasing local management of tourism, participation in jobs and local ownership of businesses.

##### 5.3.1.1 Local Involvement in Jobs

Several residents noted there was a higher level of local involvement in tourism jobs after the program than before. In the public sector,

Committee projects used exclusively local people, except for the consultants who were hired to train and work with local people. In the private sector, the owner of Peyton's Lodge noted that whereas before the program, most of their guides were imported from the south, in later years, the lodge hired a higher percentage of local guides and hotel staff. This was due to the training and experience that people had gained through the program (Peyton, 1985).

#### 5.3.1.2 Local Ownership of Businesses

There has also been increased local ownership in tourism businesses. As already noted, locally owned outfitting businesses doubled in number between 1981 and 1984. A second fishing camp was also established under local ownership in 1984, and a third fish camp under local ownership was established in 1986 (Magee, 1987). Of major importance, Peyton's Lodge was transferred to local ownership in 1987, which will further strengthen local participation and control in the industry.

#### 5.3.1.3 Reduction of Economic Leakages

As shown above, the program has clearly been effective in increasing local participation and ownership in tourism development in the community. Detailed income-expenditure data, however, is not available to trace economic leakages from the community before and after the program. Although this data does not exist, an increase in local participation and ownership does suggest that leakages have been reduced. To confirm



this, a more detailed study comparing estimated previous tourism related income expenditure patterns with current ones would have to be undertaken.

### 5.3.2 Distribution of Income

Tourism income in Pangnirtung has also been distributed widely since the tourism program started. This includes incomes in both the public and private sectors.

#### 5.3.2.1 Public Sector Income

In its projects, the Tourism Committee has hired a wide range of people. This has included young and old, and men and women (Joamie, 1985). Other publicly funded tourism projects have hired people as diverse as construction crews, cooks, guides, students, elders and crafts people. This distribution has been greatly appreciated by local people.

#### 5.3.2.2 Private Sector Income

In the private sector, incomes have also been widely distributed. More than half of the Inuit residents interviewed noted they received some private income directly from tourism, through outfitting, fur and arts and crafts sales, or employment in the hotel. This is consistent with the visitor expenditure patterns noted earlier in Table VII, which identifies local art work, local transportation, accommodation, meals and guiding/outfitting to be the five top spending categories for park visitors to the area.

In particular, arts and crafts involves a wide range of local people. In 1982, there were 40 carvers earning over \$1,500 per year in the community (GNWT, 1984) and probably an additional 40 earning less than \$1,500 (Joamie, 1985). In 1985 there were approximately 20 people working in the Pangnirtung Print Shop and Weaving Shop, both of which sell a portion of their products to tourists (McLean, 1985). Almost all families in Pangnirtung are involved in preparing seal skins or arts and crafts production of some kind, and several residents noted they sold these items directly to tourists in the summer. This was confirmed by the manager of the Co-op, who mentioned that almost the entire production of summer carvings gets sold directly on the street during the tourist season (Murphy, 1985).

Guiding and outfitting also involves a wide range of people. In 1984, there were a minimum of 24 people involved in outfitting and fish camps (GNWT, 1982).

Recent local ownership in Peyton's Lodge is also widely distributed. The new ownership structure involves an organized division of shares among a distribution of local investors in the community and one regional investor. Local ownership is over 51 percent of the operation.

Therefore, the distribution of tourism spending in the community is wide. Although four residents mentioned that tourism spending only benefited certain people, the author could not find any other monetary private industry in the community with income that was distributed as widely as that from tourism.

#### 5.4 DIVERSIFYING THE ECONOMIC BASE

An important objective of the program was to create an industry which would help to diversify the economic base of the community. Specifically, its objectives were to introduce new types of businesses, markets and incomes to the community; give local residents a wider choice of viable activities whereby they could earn a living, and thereby help reduce local dependence on the existing sectors of government and fur harvesting.

Because of the lack of detailed economic base line data for the community before and after the program, it is impossible to draw any detailed conclusions regarding a change in economic diversification in the community. Nevertheless, participants did have several observations on this topic worth noting.

##### 5.4.1 Strengths of the Program Regarding Economic Diversification

Eight respondents mentioned that the tourism program was successful in helping to diversify the economy in Pangnirtung. They pointed to the fact that, prior to the program, tourism was a relatively small part of the economy, and that new opportunities were created in tourism which helped reduce dependence on other sectors.

This availability of new work opportunities was felt to be a major benefit by a majority of respondents in the community. Many of these people felt their work options were already limited in the community. Students and

young people who traditionally had difficulty finding jobs in the summer, were able to find employment on Committee projects. Elders, whose options for entering the job market were severely limited, worked on cultural history projects or produced arts and crafts for sale. Hunters, who were searching for new opportunities to replace the sealing income that was lost, found that they could do outfitting and also produce arts and crafts.

These respondents felt that tourism was adding a new range of job opportunities to the community. They felt this was increasing diversity and was helping to reduce dependence on welfare, UIC, and the declining fur industry.

#### 5.4.2 Weakness of the Program Regarding Economic Diversification

Three respondents, however, felt the program was narrowing the economic base rather than widening it. The following concerns were mentioned.

##### 5.4.2.1 Continued Dependence on Public Sector Jobs

Of major importance, most of the jobs created were in the public sector, not the private sector. Hence, there is a possibility that the program is reinforcing dependence on government jobs, rather than reducing it. It should be recognized, however, that the program is still in its development phase, where the emphasis is on building the infrastructure required to support an expanded private tourism industry in the future. As the capital

infrastructure projects are completed in the coming years, public sector jobs will probably be reduced, and with the expected increase in tourists, private sector jobs may well be increased (Hamburg, 1987). This is speculation, however, and cannot be confirmed at this time.

#### 5.4.2.2 Displacement of Jobs and Opportunities from Other Viable Sectors

Two government officials and one local respondent felt that the focus on tourism could take attention and workers from other economic activities, thereby reducing diversity rather than expanding it. In Pangiirtung, however, this does not appear to have happened. Many jobs were in areas in which community members were already involved, such as arts and crafts or outfitting, or the people who got jobs would have otherwise been unemployed. For these reasons, the tourism sector did not appear to have displaced any workers from other sectors in Pangiirtung. The future growth of the industry, however, may eliminate the part-time nature of the work, and may in fact, displace people from informal economic activities or other potential jobs. This should be monitored in the future. ~--

The program, did, however, seem to focus local awareness on tourism rather than other sectors. For example, the author found that in 1985, most people in Pangiirtung had several ideas as to how tourism should be developed and improved in the community, however, they had no or only few ideas about opportunities in other sectors.

More recent developments, however, have shown that this lack of awareness is not necessarily a permanent problem. In 1986 and 1987, a pilot study in commercial fishing was started in Pangnirtung, and is showing promising results (Magee, 1987). There is no evidence to suggest that tourism has detracted in any way from the development of the current fishing operation.

## 5.5 INCREASING ECONOMIC SELF-RELIANCE

Respondents disagreed considerably as to whether tourism was contributing to economic self-reliance in Pangnirtung or increasing dependence. Convincing arguments were made pointing out both strengths and weaknesses of the industry in regard to its economic viability and stability. Most arguments were conceptual only, however, as the industry in Pangnirtung is still new and underdeveloped, and there was no consistent data base by which either economic viability or stability could be evaluated. Nevertheless, it is useful to review the main strengths and weaknesses of the industry in regard to increasing economic self-reliance in the community.

### 5.5.1 Strengths of Tourism in Terms of Promoting Economic Self-Reliance

A number of respondents noted several factors in support of tourism in Pangnirtung. They felt that, because of these factors, tourism had a good chance of becoming economically viable and stable in the community.

#### 5.5.1.1 Current Industry Growth and Market Trends

- a) Industry growth: In terms of job creation, tourism is Canada's fastest growing industry. Between 1972 and 1985, tourism's average annual employment growth rate was 6.1 percent, which was more than twice as high as the next highest rate of 2.5 percent for the trade sector (Government of Canada, 1985:46). As was recently stated in the government document, "Tourism Tomorrow":

"No single industry in Canada has greater potential for new job creation than does tourism. Employment in the field is expected to grow at more than five percent a year in this decade and even faster in the 1990s" (Government of Canada, 1985:33).

Tourism in the north is similarly experiencing growth. Ten years ago, few people were aware of the tourism possibilities in the arctic. Now, interest is increasing. In 1984, there were eight tour wholesalers offering over 30 package tours in the Baffin Region (GNWT Explorers' Guide, 1984). In 1987 this has increased to ~~68~~ tours (Hamburg, 1987). These developments show that tourism is a growing industry, particularly in the north.

- b) Industry stability: Many tourism operators also consider tourism to be relatively stable. Industry trends suggest that the desire and need to take vacations does not seem to be seriously affected by recessions. In times of recession, people still take holidays, but tend to stay closer to home. Their holidays tend to be more national than international (Marshall, Macklin, Monaghan 1983).

- c) Market trends: Recent tourism markets are also changing. There is a greater emphasis on wilderness, adventure, and package tours to specific destination points. Disposable incomes among tourists are becoming higher, and family sizes are decreasing. There is a heightened interest in travel which is challenging, educational and cultural. These trends **favour** arctic tourism, which can offer a unique holiday that not many tourists have experienced yet. For these reasons, the Northwest Territories is becoming better known with both Canadian and international markets, including eastern USA, Europe and Japan (Hamburg, 1985).

#### 5.5.1.2 Local Tourism Resources

Pangnirtung also has significant resources to attract these new tourism markets. It has spectacular geography and scenery. The area is well known for its hiking and mountain climbing opportunities and wildlife resources. The area also has cultural and historic resources.

Pangnirtung's attractions are being recognized on a national and international basis. Tourism Canada has classified Pangnirtung as a "Category A" tourism product; one which is: "a unique or superior world-class tourism product able to draw visitors from around the world" (Government of Canada, 1985:15). It also classifies it as "immature"; one where the "product is primitive; lacks infrastructure, access, services and accommodation. It requires major development" (Ibid:17). There are only five locations in all of Canada that have this combination of ratings. This would suggest that Pangnirtung has high potential for growth in tourism.



### 5.5.1.3 Other Northern Examples

Respondents also pointed out that in several areas in the arctic, tourism was already functioning as an economically self-reliant industry. For example, in 1985 the manager of **Peyton's** Lodge noted that his business, as it had been running, was economically viable. Similarly, there are tourism operations in **Iqaluit (Frobisher Bay)** and Resolute Bay that are stable and operating on a financially viable basis. Experience has shown, however, that the businesses have to be managed well in order to survive economically. The arctic is an expensive and specialized location, and these factors have to be carefully considered in order to operate a successful business (**Tolley, 1985**).

### 5.5.2 Weaknesses of Tourism in Terms of Promoting Economic Self-Reliance

Respondents also pointed out a number of limitations for tourism as a stable and viable industry in **Pangnirtung**. These include the following.

#### 5.5.2.1 Limited and Price-Sensitive Market

Several respondents noted that the market for tourism in the area would always be limited. This was due to the short season, poor access, and high expense of getting there. To date, for example, the main season is from mid-July to the end of August, when almost half of the annual visitation takes place (**Taylor, 1983:19**). This leaves 10 months of the year with only very limited tourism activity.

Travel to Pangnirtung is also expensive. For most visitors, the cost of getting to Pangnirtung is greater than the cost of purchasing tourism goods and services while there (Ibid:60). In the past, visitation has been price-sensitive to transportation costs, as shown by the drop in visitation during 1979 to 1981, when air fares increased substantially. This creates uncertainty regarding the security of future markets.

#### 5.5.2.2 Expense of Development

The costs of tourism infrastructure in the arctic are also very high, particularly when compared to the short season when revenues can be expected. Operation and maintenance costs are especially high if the facility is kept open on a year-round basis. This can reduce the viability of tourism facilities in the north.

#### 5.5.2.3 Existing Reliance on Government Support

Because of these limited markets and high costs, some government officials felt that tourism development was only possible in the arctic with ongoing government support.

For example, by 1983 over \$250,000 had already been spent on Tourism Committee projects. Development costs for Kekerton will be approximately \$250,000 by the time it is finished in 1987 (Stevenson, 1987). The budget for the recently completed visitors' centre was in the range of \$650,000 (Magee, 1987). Government financial assistance in the new hotel purchase is also expected to be substantial.

Because of these development costs, government expenditures supporting tourism in Pangnirtung have been far larger than revenues generated by the industry. A few respondents felt this was a clear indication of the lack of self-reliance of tourism in the community.

Senior government officials, however, pointed out that tourism is still in its developmental stage in Pangnirtung. Because of this, capital costs are high and revenues have not yet reached their full potential. One senior government official felt the upgrading of the hotel will result in increased visitation, as tour companies have previously been reluctant to send guests there (Vaughan, 1987). Another government official pointed out that capital development will be reduced substantially over the next two or three years, as facilities are put in place (Hamburg, 1987). Therefore, government expenditures in Pangnirtung may well be reduced in the future, and private income may increase. This, however, is speculation and cannot be confirmed until the program has developed further.

In Pangnirtung, much will depend on how the program and its related tourism businesses progress. If large ongoing government expenditures are required to build and maintain an extensive but underutilized tourism infrastructure, it is possible that the tourism program will only reinforce economic dependence on government, rather than build self-reliance. If, on the other hand, the industry is developed and scaled so that its businesses will be viable and eventually self-supporting, then economic self-reliance may well be increased.

### 5.5.3 The Need for More Time and Data Collection

It is clear that no clear conclusions can be drawn, at this time, on whether the tourism program is reducing or increasing economic self-reliance in the community. Both time and ongoing industry monitoring will be required to determine whether or not Pagnirtung's tourism industry will be viable and stable in the long run. Time will be required to allow the industry to develop and achieve more of its visitation potential, and monitoring will be required to keep track of markets, expenditures, and revenues so that the industry's viability can be evaluated. Only after this is done, will any conclusive evidence exist as to how much the program has increased or reduced economic self-reliance in the community.

### 5.6 COORDINATION WITH **THE** INFORMAL ECONOMY

Pagnirtung has a very important informal economy. Forty-two percent of the total community income in 1982 consisted of country foods harvesting (see Table I, page 32). One of the objectives of the tourism program ~~was~~ to build an industry which would not take away from this informal economy, but rather, fit in with it.

There was disagreement as to whether or not tourism fitted in with local subsistence hunting lifestyles. Five local respondents said it did, and five said it did not.



Figure 9: Hunters preparing to leave for spring camps.

#### 5.6.1 Strengths of the Program Regarding the Informal Economy

The residents who mentioned that tourism did fit with local country foods harvesting noted that their involvement in tourism was on a part-time basis only, and therefore, they still had time to pursue their traditional activities. They felt that tourism was a benefit, as it offered them a chance to earn some immediate cash, with which they could purchase hunting supplies and equipment. In this way, tourism helped the informal economy rather than taking away from it.

#### 5.6.2 Weaknesses of the Program Regarding the Informal Economy

There were also local people who felt that tourism took away from the traditional subsistence economy. In particular, three women mentioned that because the men were in town working as outfitters in the summer, families did not spend as much time in their traditional summer camps as they did before tourism. Therefore, tourism did not affect the men so strongly (as their outfitting allowed them to still get out on the land to hunt occasionally), but it did affect the women and children because they spent more of their time in town during summer, hence, their former roles in the informal economy on the land were reduced. The exact extent of this impact, however, was not clearly identified.

#### 5.7 WAYS TO IMPROVE THE ECONOMIC EFFECTIVENESS OF THE PROGRAM

Respondents suggested a number of ways that the program could be improved to increase its effectiveness as a vehicle for local economic development.

##### 5.7.1 Strengthen Inuit Management and Ownership in the Industry

Fifteen respondents from all categories felt that Inuit management and control in the program **should be** strengthened. This is particularly important considering that local skills and financial resources are lacking, and in many cases in other locations, tourism development has often been taken over by outsiders once the industry becomes profitable. Therefore,

to remain community based, it is essential that local people retain control over the industry through ownership in businesses and management and planning of the industry from a strategic point of view.

Participants suggested a number of ways that local management and ownership could be strengthened. Seventeen people felt training should be improved and expanded (see following section) to build skills in business development. Seven people felt there should be improved professional support and follow-up for the Committee in order to strengthen its mandate and management skills (see Section 7.4). Six people felt that there should be more businesses owned and operated by Inuit. Six people “ also felt a local development corporation should be formed to facilitate greater control over the industry (see Section 7.4).

These are all important actions for Pangnirtung to consider in order to strengthen local ownership and management in the industry. Government policies and programs should be designed to facilitate these developments in Pangnirtung in the future.

#### 5.7.2 Improve Training

Seventeen respondents from all categories felt that local training had to be improved in order to provide better services and businesses in the community, and to strengthen the control local people have in development in Pangnirtung. The following recommendations were put forward.

5.7.2.1 Increase the Number and Variety of Training Courses

People felt more training courses should be given. Suggested topics included: general tourism awareness, how to start and operate a business, improved and expanded outfitting training, legal liability awareness, licencing awareness, safety awareness, first aid, funding, and marketing.

5.7.2.2 Make the Training More Accessible to the General Public

Five local residents felt the training courses should be made more attractive and accessible to people in the community. Suggestions included holding courses in the community rather than outside, and providing interpretation or courses in Inuktitut for those that could not speak English.

5.7.2.3 Increase Northern Content and Coordination in Training Programs

Some local residents, government officials and industry representatives mentioned that past training courses had been based on southern examples of tourism and business management. They felt more local content should be incorporated into the course material. The Committee manager also felt local courses should be more coordinated with training given elsewhere in the NWT, to improve training options and advancement possibilities (Joamie, 1985).



### 5.7.3 Increase Visitation and Extend the Tourism Season

In 1985, seven local people felt it would be an improvement if more tourists came to Pangnirtung. Eleven local people, however, felt that the growth of tourism should be controlled by locals. This was because the community was small, and they felt it could only handle so many tourists without being over-run. Three people felt the number of tourists should be kept the same, and one said it should be reduced. Several respondents from all categories felt that the increased visitation should be more spread out, both in terms of a longer tourist season, and with more diversified tourism activities.

Respondents identified two factors they felt were required to attract this increased and diversified market: a) improved facilities and services; and b) improved marketing.

### 5.7.4 Improve Tourism Facilities and Services

A large number of people from all categories felt that facilities and services should be expanded and diversified. This was so that new activities could be accommodated and the tourism season could be extended.

Suggestions for new facilities included: a visitors' centre/museum, an upgraded hotel, an improved information centre, an improved co-op store, expanded retail outlets for souvenirs and arts and crafts, camping supply

outlets, cross-country ski facilities (lodge and trails) sport hunting facilities, mountaineering facilities, showers, economical accommodation, a cafe or restaurant serving country food meals, and improved docking facilities.

Suggestions for expanded services included: interpretation for tourists, tourism host program, mountaineering and cross-country ski guiding, equipment rentals, improved outfitting to accommodate sport hunting, photography tours, wilderness survival expeditions, floe edge tours, historic sites tours, improved organization and safety standards among outfitters, and improved tour packages that could be developed and marketed to tour wholesalers.

#### 5.7.5 Improve Tourism Marketing

The need for improved marketing was seen as a major concern by a wide range of respondents. Because poor marketing was a problem common to the entire arctic, in 1987 the Government of NWT and the Travel Industry Association of the NWT established a comprehensive Marketing Strategy for the entire NWT (Hamburg, 1987). As this strategy is still new, it is not yet known how much it will solve marketing problems in Pangnirtung. The following section reviews marketing problems and recommendations for improvement, as identified in 1985, before this strategy was designed.

#### 5.7.5.1 Existing Problems

Problems identified with tourism marketing in Pangnirtung included the following:

- a) Vague initial strategy: Twelve respondents felt the initial strategy proposed in the five-year plan was vague and unspecific. They felt it did not give a clear indication of what kind of marketing to do and how to do it.
  
- b) Poorly defined roles and a lack of coordination: There are currently many actors involved in marketing. They include local operators, the Baffin Region Tourist Industry Association, the NWT Travel Industry Association, Travel Arctic, Tourism Canada, travel agents, and southern tour operators. Ten participants felt the roles of these different people were poorly defined, and there was little networking or coordination between these organizations.
  
- c) Lack of information and local contacts: The majority of southern tour operators contacted noted they did not have adequate information about Pangnirtung, and did not have local contacts to find out about the services available. This made promotion of tourism difficult (Ianetta, 1985).

- d) Poorly defined target market groups: Seven respondents felt that information was lacking about the specific market attracted to Pangnirtung. This information would be required to target marketing efforts effectively.
  
- e) Poor local marketing skills and training: Local operators mentioned they did not know how to market their product or know who they should contact for marketing (Joamie, 1985). Local participants and tour operators also noted that existing marketing seminars done in the region had been poor. They were vague, difficult to understand, and too southern oriented.

#### 5.7.5.2 Recommendations for Improved Marketing

Participants had several suggestions as to how tourism marketing could be improved.

- a) Improved marketing roles and coordination: Nine responders felt the various marketing and tour operator groups should be brought together to define roles and responsibilities and establish a coordinated marketing strategy. Hopefully, the Marketing Plan established in 1987 will accomplish this task.
  
- b) Improved local information and contacts: Seven of the ten tourism industry operators contacted in the south emphasized the importance of having information on the services available in Pangnirtung in

order to sell tours there. They suggested that people in Pangnirtung put together tourist information packages for distribution to potential clients. These packages should include: area maps, townsite maps, brief area descriptions, a description of outfitter services available, pictures, a description of the type of accommodation available, prices, the types of activities available, a description of their main clientele, and all appropriate contact names, addresses and phone numbers. This information should be sent to all regional tourism organizations and wholesalers who may wish to send people to the Baffin Region.

- c) Improved working relationship with travel agencies and tour wholesalers: Tourism industry representatives also recommended establishing closer working relationships between local operators and the outside tour industry. Suggestions included regular conferences where local people and tour wholesalers could be brought together to work out improved marketing strategies, develop better information packages, develop marketable tourism products and identify facilities and services needed to improve the local tourism industry.
- d) Improved seminars and training: Six people felt that marketing awareness and training should be improved and made more accessible to locals. They felt it should be oriented to the region by being easy to understand and by dealing with problems and solutions relevant to Pangnirtung and other arctic communities.

5.7.6 Improve Funding

Three members of the Tourism Committee and two government officials noted that improved funding would assist in improved tourism projects and opportunities for local businesses. Items mentioned included making more start-up funding available, and making funding more secure and long-term for ongoing tourism programs.

5.7.7 Continue to Provide Jobs Through the Tourism Committee

Eight residents felt the Committee should continue hiring local people for its projects. They felt this was valuable for creating local employment and building skills and experience.

5.7.8 Encourage More Local Hiring

Ten respondents, including five local people, felt that more local hiring should be encouraged. This was particularly in regard to employment at the hotel. Hopefully, with the new local ownership, this will improve.

5.7.9 Make the Program More Self-supporting

Four respondents suggested that the program be made more economically self-supporting. This would involve an eventual reduction of the proportion of public sector jobs in the program, and a greater emphasis on job and business development in the private sector. It would also involve careful

planning of businesses to ensure that they help achieve local development goals, and thorough feasibility analysis of new businesses to ensure that they can be economically viable and can survive without ongoing government dependence. This would also involve ongoing monitoring of the businesses to ensure that the industry is developing in a strategically sound manner.

In order to achieve this type of development, local management and organization should be strengthened. This emphasizes the importance of improving local ownership and management skills, and maintaining and strengthening the role of the Tourism Committee in the Program (see Section 7.4)

## 5.8 CONCLUSIONS

The program has both strengths and weaknesses in regard to strengthening economic development in Pagnirtung. One major strength is that local jobs and incomes have increased both in the public and private sector. Also, local ownership and involvement in tourism has increased, and leakages have been reduced. Tourism jobs have been distributed widely in the community, and local people have found it relatively easy to become involved in tourism. These were all important benefits in the community.

A major weakness, however, is that most of the tourism related jobs and income in the community are in the public sector, not the private sector. The program is still largely dependent on the government. The program is

still in its early developmental phase, however, and infrastructure related public expenditures are expected to decrease in the next few years and visitor expenditures are expected to increase as the industry grows. It is therefore, not known at this time whether tourism will eventually increase economic self-reliance in the community or just prolong government dependency.

Another potential weakness is that the attention on tourism may cause opportunities in other sectors to be overlooked and hence may reduce economic diversity in the long run. In Pangnirtung this does not seem to have happened, as the community is now also involved in a fisheries pilot project with significant success.

A final major weakness is that jobs in tourism are usually short-term and seasonal, and the long term stability of the industry is not yet known. Therefore, by itself, tourism in the arctic cannot provide a solid basis for community survival. It should be integrated with jobs and business in other sectors that continue on a year-round basis, and should be prepared to adapt to changing market conditions in order to remain viable in the long term.

Much of the analysis of this chapter was hampered because of a lack of documented economic data available on the program. To be able to better plan the program in the future and learn more about the impacts of tourism in the north, a stronger commitment should be made by the GNWT to systematically gather data and monitor the program on an ongoing basis.



This will allow participants to determine whether the program is achieving self reliance or not, and will also be important for planning future projects in the community so that economic viability will be maintained and the program can be kept on track. Only with systematic monitoring and evaluation, will the impacts of the program be identified.



Figure 10: Talking after church.

6.0 EVALUATION OF THE PROGRAM AS  
A VEHICLE FOR SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT

An important goal of the program was to encourage development which would provide social benefits to the community. This was particularly important because, in the past, northern economic development has often had negative social impacts on local communities. For the tourism program, three specific objectives and criteria were identified:

- a) The program should promote development which fits in with local lifestyles and cultures.
- b) The program should promote development which helps the community to achieve its own social goals.
- c) The program should facilitate cross-cultural learning and local skills in dealing with outside people.

In this chapter, the program is evaluated in terms of how effectively it has achieved these objectives. Suggestions made by participants as to how the program could be improved are also identified.

## 6.1 FITTING IN WITH LOCAL LIFESTYLES AND CULTURES

Twenty-three local people, mostly Inuit, felt tourism didn't create any major social problems in the community. When questioned further, however, most of these people mentioned that tourism did ~~create~~ some minor problems. Only three local people felt that tourism created major social problems. In this section, these positive and negative impacts are reviewed.

### 6.1.2 Positive Impacts

Seventeen local respondents, most of them Inuit, noted they liked tourists and tourism in Pangnirtung. Many said they enjoyed seeing tourists in

town, as tourists were friendly and relaxed. Five local people noted that tourism did fit in with local lifestyles and culture. This was because tourism involved activities that local people were already involved in, such as traveling on the land and producing arts and crafts. Tourism also operated mostly on a part-time basis, so most people still had time to carry on their normal non-tourism-related activities. As well, tourism mainly happens during a short six-week summer season, so for most of the year, the community is on its own anyways.

Ten local people noted the tourism program was effective in controlling tourists and minimizing their negative social impacts in the community. This was particularly due to the tourism host program. Before the program, tourists would go around town and disturb people or invade their privacy, but with the hosts, tourists were accompanied by a local person who would familiarize them with information and local customs, so local people would not be bothered as much.

#### 6.1.3 **Negative Impacts**

A number of social problems were also noted. Ten locals noted that tourists were sometimes, rude, insensitive, and invaded people's privacy by staring, asking too many questions, or taking inappropriate photographs. Five locals noted that tourists often didn't understand local hunting customs and got upset when seeing skins or carcasses in town. As already noted though, people mentioned these problems were reduced with the tourism host program.

Eight local people felt the language barrier was a problem. They couldn't communicate with the visitors, and this made them feel insecure. They also mentioned the interpretation provided by the hosts helped in this problem.

Alcohol was also a problem. Pangiirtung is a dry community and, in the past, tourists bringing alcohol into the area has caused abuse problems among locals (Magee, 1987). The women were particularly concerned about this issue.

Three women also noted that tourism disrupted their summer camp activities. Before the tourism program, they went out to the summer camps for the entire season. With tourism, however, they spent part of the summer season in town while their husbands pursued outfitting work. They felt this disrupted their family life and was eroding their traditional lifestyle and values.

Seven respondents felt that the program had falsely raised people's expectations about the future availability of businesses and jobs. When these were not fulfilled as much as people had expected, disappointment resulted.

## 6.2 ACHIEVING COMMUNITY SOCIAL GOALS

In the program, the community had not identified any specific social development goals it wanted to achieve, however, a number of social goals were mentioned by local people during the course of research. Two goals

which have already been discussed were to increase employment and to maintain Inuit traditions and lifestyles. In addition to these, three other goals, or program criteria, were mentioned:

- a) to promote local learning and awareness in Inuit culture;
- b) to promote pride in Inuit culture and traditions; and
- c) to provide facilities which could be used for social programs as well as tourism programs.

In general, the program has been effective in assisting the community to achieve these goals.

#### 6.2.1 **Program Strengths**

Nine local respondents, mostly Inuit, felt that the program was effective in promoting awareness of local culture. This was particularly through programs such as the historic sites inventory project, archaeological work at Kekerton, oral history projects with elders at Kekerton, a traditional fish camp, and the museum and elders' meeting centre. These people felt these projects were helping local people, especially young people, learn about the history and local traditions, and helped increase pride in the Inuit culture. Several local people mentioned they felt proud when tourists were curious and interested in local history (Okpik, 1985). Residents were very supportive of these cultural tourism projects.

Some tourism facilities will also be able to help social programs. For example, the new visitors' centre also contains a museum and meeting room for the Siplaseequtt society (museum society). The interpretation facilities at Kekerton also help local cultural awareness programs. Therefore, these facilities will benefit both tourism and social development.

#### 6.2.2 Program Weaknesses

Two local Inuit felt that tourism was taking away from local social goals. They felt tourism was eroding local pride in Inuit culture, and they did not like seeing tourists in the community. One woman in particular felt strongly that the tourists were providing foreign role models for their children and other residents, and as a result, felt that many Inuit children wanted to grow up to be like little Kadluna. She felt this was eroding local values and taking away from the pride people had in their own culture (Anilniliak, 1985).

Three respondents felt that tourism was making local people dependent on people from outside, and encouraging them to adopt a subservient "master/servant" relationship, rather than a more equal guest/host relationship (Hicks, 1985). No outfitters or guides, however, ever mentioned that they felt this way.

## 6.3 CROSS-CULTURAL LEARNING AND SKILLS IN DEALING WITH PEOPLE

In general, the program has been effective in fostering greater understanding between Kadhuna and Inuit, although people noted that problems still exist.

### 6.3.1 Program Strengths

Several local people mentioned that tourism was increasing cross-cultural learning and helping local people learn how to deal with outsiders. Through contacts between locals and tourists, Inuit were learning more about Kadhuna and Kadhuna were learning more about Inuit. Local people felt this was a positive step. It was helping build local skills in dealing with outside people in a personal and in a business context, and helping outsiders understand and accept more about Inuit people and their lifestyles.

Outfitters and government officials noted that the outfitting courses were effective in teaching about tourists and their expectations. Two outfitters noted that this was helpful in dealing with tourists in various situations, and setting up outfitting services that were better organized.

As already noted, the tourism hosts were also doing an effective job of establishing good contacts between the tourists and local people, which helped cross-cultural understanding.





Figure 11: Women and children.

### 6.3.2 Program Weaknesses

Local people also noted, however, that considerable misunderstanding between tourists and locals still took place in the community. As already noted, there is a language barrier, and many tourists lack an awareness of local customs. Some local people and government officials felt the program did not place enough emphasis on educating tourists about what to expect before they came to Pangnirtung.

#### 6.4 RECOMMENDATIONS FOR CONTINUED AND IMPROVED ACHIEVEMENT OF SOCIAL GOALS

Participants made a number of recommendations regarding continuing and improving the social development aspects of the tourism program.

##### 6.4.1 Continue Cultural Tourism Programs

Twelve respondents, including six locals, felt the cultural projects of the program should be continued and expanded. This included the summer camp, historic sites restoration, the museum, a carving centre and the archaeological program.

##### 6.4.2 Control the Level of Tourism in the Community

Several respondents, including eleven local residents, emphasized that the number of tourists in the community should be kept under control. Although people did not have any suggestions as to how this could be accomplished, they felt that too many tourists would over-run the community and erode people's privacy. Therefore, the Committee should closely monitor this situation and ensure that some controls are in place to limit the number of tourists that come to their community.

#### 6.4.3 Improve **Local** Tourism Awareness

Twelve people felt that tourism awareness programs for local people should be expanded. They felt this would help local people to be less intimidated by tourists and let them feel more comfortable getting involved in tourism related businesses.

#### 6.4.4 Improve Tourists' Awareness of **Local** Customs

Six respondents noted that tourists should be made more aware of Inuit customs and values, including local animal killing and butchering practices, local values regarding not working on Sundays, alcohol prohibition, and not asking too many questions or taking insensitive photographs.

Specific suggestions in this regard included continuing the community host program; producing a pamphlet describing the community, its customs, and some simple translations for Inuktitut words; and building a new visitors' centre.

#### 6.5 CONCLUSIONS

The program had both strengths and weaknesses in regard to social development. Most local people felt tourism did not create any major social problems in the community, although some minor problems were noted.

The strengths of the program were that **many local people** enjoyed tourists and tourism **Pangnirtung**, and through the host program tourists were more controlled in the community and learned to respect local values and customs. For the most part, tourism did fit in with local culture and lifestyles, as it involved activities people were involved in anyways. Tourism also benefited some social programs, as through cultural projects residents got to learn more about their own history and culture, and some tourism facilities were used for both tourism and social programs.

There were also some problems, however. Some residents noted that even though the tourism host program helped a great deal, tourists still invaded their privacy at times and were inconsiderate or not understanding of local ways. As well, a minority of women felt there was a loss of lifestyle, as involvement in tourism usually meant they didn't spend as much time in their traditional summer camps. A small minority of people also **felt Inuit** were losing their independence, as they were now catering toward the needs of the tourists instead of their own needs. Most, however, welcomed the opportunity to work in tourism and earn their own living. ~~To~~<sup>For</sup> them, tourism was considerably better than dependence on unemployment or welfare.

It is also very important to note that in 1985, several residents felt the numbers of tourists in town should be controlled by local people so that tourists wouldn't "take over" the town. Since that time, visitation has more than doubled, and is increasing steadily. It is quite possible, therefore, that the minor social problems noted in 1985 could become

major ones, if the community does not take strong action to control visitation and reduce these potential problems. In other parts of the world, rapidly increasing tourism has often resulted in serious social problems, including a loss of privacy, loss of lifestyle and culture, loss of quality and integrity in local arts and crafts, loss of local control in the tourism industry, and alcohol and drug abuse (Pi-Sunyer, 1982; Callinapulos, 1982; deKadt, 1976; Murphy, 1983).

Therefore, for the future in Pangnirtung, it will be important to monitor visitation and social impacts closely, and control the number of tourists in the community so that social problems do not become major. It will also be important to maintain the cultural projects and the tourism host program, so tourists can be controlled in the community, and so that tourism facilities and projects can also contribute to local social development projects.



Figure 12: Museum society meeting room and craft shop.

#### 7.0 EVALUATION OF THE PROGRAM AS A VEHICLE FOR COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT

An important objective of the program was to contribute to the building of skills and capacity for community development in Pangnirtung. Specific criteria in this regard were:

- a) The program should help build awareness about tourism and economic development.

- b) The program should facilitate local management and control in tourism development.
- c) The program should help develop local skills in planning and management.

In this chapter, the program is evaluated in terms of how effective it has been in achieving these criteria.

## 7.1 BUILDING LOCAL AWARENESS ABOUT TOURISM AND DEVELOPMENT

Twenty respondents from all categories felt that local residents had become more aware of tourism and economic development through the program, however, just as many respondents pointed out that lack of awareness was still the major problem to development in the community. A number of strengths and weaknesses were noted:

### 7.1.1 Program Strengths

A major strength of the program was that it helped increase tourism in the community, got projects going, hired local people, and created the Pangnirtung Tourism Committee. This direct involvement helped considerably in raising local's awareness about tourism in the community. As a result, outfitters noted that they were encouraged to run their own operations, entrepreneurial role models began to develop, and several

people interviewed were thinking about starting their own business. People were becoming more aware what tourism had to offer, and how to get involved.

A wide variety of respondents felt the Tourism Committee was a main vehicle for building this awareness. Through their involvement, Committee members were becoming very knowledgeable about tourism. They also conducted awareness programs and travelled to other communities to help them develop tourism programs of their own.

#### 7.1.2 Program Weaknesses

A lack of tourism awareness, however, is still one of the major problems to developing tourism in the community. Although some awareness programs had been carried out in both planning and implementation, nine respondents felt these programs were poorly done and ineffective. The researcher found that most local respondents had no recollection at all of the planning phase of the program. As well, the researcher found that most local people asked were not aware of the awareness programs the Committee was running during implementation. Because of this lack of awareness, many residents did not know how to get involved in tourism, or what the problems or advantages of getting involved were.



## 7.2 FACILITATING LOCAL MANAGEMENT AND CONTROL

The program has also been successful in increasing local management and control in tourism development, which is a major strength of the program. This was accomplished through increasing local ownership in tourism businesses, and increasing local control in the program through the Tourism Committee.

### 7.2.1 Local Ownership

As already documented in Section 5.3.1, local ownership and involvement in businesses increased considerably after the tourism program started. This has strengthened local control in the private sector, and has helped develop skills among local people. With local ownership of the hotel, this should be further increased.

### 7.2.2 The Pangnirtung Tourism Committee

Twenty-six respondents, including 12 local people, felt a major contribution of the program was the creation of the Pangnirtung Tourism Committee. Almost all respondents who were asked felt the Committee was essential to the success of the program. People noted a number of strengths and weaknesses of the Committee.

#### 7.2.2.1 Committee Strengths

- a) Local support: Almost all local people who were asked felt the Committee was doing a good job. They strongly supported its role and programs.
- b) Local program organization and control: The Committee manages and controls the development of tourism in the community. It is made up of local people who have a direct say in the program. This was seen as essential for effective local control.
- c) Local information and awareness: Seven local people felt the Committee provided a good information centre and helped to build local awareness in tourism. Two people also noted the Committee maintained good contact with other organizations in the community, as the Committee was made up of members from other committees in the community.

#### 7.2.2.2 Committee Weaknesses

- a) Lack of local contact: Fifteen residents, however, noted they were not very aware of the Tourism Committee or its activities. They felt there was a serious lack of communication between the Committee and community at large.

- b) Limited funding and control: A few Committee members felt the Committee had only limited control in tourism development. This was partially because all the funding was government controlled, and not on a secure long-term basis.
  
- c) Varied expertise and awareness: Committee members noted that some members were unaware of tourism issues, particularly when they were new to the Committee, and hence much time was spent bringing new members up-to-date. Other members who were knowledgeable acted as leaders. These differences in skills sometimes led to frustration in terms of creating an effective working group and running efficient programs (Sowdloapik, 1985).
  
- d) Poor management and organizational skills: Committee members also noted that management and organizational skills were lacking in the Committee. As a result, some members felt limited in terms of strategically running the program. Rather, they felt limited to running the ongoing administrative aspects of the program.

Suggestions on how the Tourism Committee could be improved are included in Section 7.4.2, 'Improve the Pangnirtung Tourism Committee'.

### 7.3 BUILDING SKILLS IN PLANNING AND MANAGEMENT

The program had only limited success in building local skills in planning and management. Although four respondents felt that some progress had been

made in this regard, five people, including two Committee members, two government officials, and one consultant, felt the program should have focussed more on these objectives. Respondents pointed out both strengths and weaknesses in this regard.

#### 7.3.1 Program Strengths

The main areas in which the program helped build local skills were in guide training and tourism management. Guide training courses have continued on an ongoing basis in the Baffin Region, and have been in high demand among local outfitters. One of the Pangnirtung outfitters has progressed so far in his experience and training that he is now acting as a trainer in this field (Hamburg, 1987).

Committee members have also built skills in planning and management, although to varying degrees of proficiency. They have learned about tourism, how to run a committee, program administration, and how to deal with government funding programs effectively (Joamie, 1985).

#### 7.3.2 Program Weaknesses

Five respondents felt the program was not as effective as it should have been in building local skills in planning and management. One senior federal official felt the program had focussed on capital projects that would look good on government records, rather than skill development. For example, the vast majority of the projects identified in the program's five-

year plan were infrastructure related, rather than organizational (See Appendix B for a summary of the five-year plan.) This emphasis, however, is inconsistent with the position taken by the planning consultants at the time, when they verbally advised the Committee that the establishment of an effective tourism board was the most important component of the entire five-year plan (Pangnirtung Tourism Committee Minutes, April 19, 1982).

Despite this recognized importance, there were no training positions for Committee members during the planning phase of the project, and there were no formal training or organizational programs designed for the Committee during implementation. Rather, responsibility for training and organizational development was left to the AEDO. Fortunately, Pangnirtung has been lucky to have two skilled AEDOs at different times, who have spent a lot of time with the Committee over the life of the program, and hence, some valuable learning and skill development has taken place. Nevertheless, several Committee members felt they were still lacking in management and planning skills. They felt ill-equipped to develop the program from a strategic point of view (Joamie, 1985).

Three government officials and two residents felt the skill building that did take place was job-specific, and did not deal with the broader aspects of community development. For example, in the Committee, skills were developed in project administration, funding, and tourism management, and among outfitters, skills were developed in guiding and operating an outfitting business. Important areas in which skills had not been developed

as much as these people felt they should have been included program planning and development, business management) community organization, economic development, resource management, and community planning. Because of this lack of training, some respondents felt that the community was limited in its ability to pursue broader types of community development and non-tourism related economic development.

#### 7.4 PARTICIPANT RECOMMENDATIONS FOR THE IMPROVEMENT OF THE PROGRAM REGARDING COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT

Participants had a number of suggestions on how the program could have been more effective in building local development awareness, control and skills.

##### 7.4.1 Improve Awareness Programs

Twelve respondents noted that the awareness programs should be improved. Recommendations included that they should have been held earlier in the planning process, they should be continuing on an ongoing basis, they should encourage more local involvement, and they should cover topics such as: the problems of tourism, how tourism fits in with other forms of development, what other forms of development are possible for the community, the legal problems of outfitting, and tourism business management.

#### 7.4.2 Improve the Pangnirtung Tourism Committee

Respondents had a number of suggestions as to how the Tourism Committee could be improved:

##### 7.4.2.1 Improve Community Contact and Information

Fifteen local people noted the Committee should be more active in **involving** the community and informing residents **about** Committee projects. Suggestions included improved awareness programs, newsletters, public meetings, special events, seminars, conferences with outside tour agencies, meetings with different organizations in the community (such as the outfitters, the hotel, the RCMP, nurses, Hunters and Trappers Association, etc.), an improved information centre, a drop-in centre, and increased notices for jobs and outfitting opportunities.

##### 7.4.2.2 Improve Committee Member Selection

Five local people felt that Committee members should be freely elected and/or selected from tourism oriented groups in the community. It was felt that this may help to attract more dynamic Committee members who are committed to tourism and aware of its issues.

#### 7.4.2.3 Increase Training for Committee Members

Three Committee members felt a need for increased training in the following areas: Committee organization and management, how to be effective as a Committee, program planning and administration, and tourism awareness.

#### 7.4.2.4 Improve Funding and Professional Support for the Committee

In 1985, Committee members felt that funding for the Committee and its general manager should be made more secure to allow for better program planning. They also felt there should be improved professional support for the Committee. Since that time, funding for the general manager's position has been made permanent, and a landscape architecture consultant has been hired for three consecutive summers to help with Committee projects (Hamburg, 1987). It is not known to what extent these measures have addressed the aforementioned problems.

#### 7.4.3 Create a Full-time Tourism Officer Position in Pangnirtung

Three people felt a full-time tourism officer should be created in Pangnirtung. They felt this would assist with the planning and development of the program, and facilitate increased support from the GNWT in the form of reference materials, files, information and access to government resources.



7.4.4 **Organize an Outfitters Association**

Seven local people felt a local outfitters association should be formed. They felt this would help organize the outfitting business, set appropriate standards for outfitters, and act as a lobby group to promote outfitting concerns and interests.

7.4.5 **Settle Land Claims**

Ten local people noted that they needed a land claims settlement to strengthen Inuit control over land, resources, and the economy in the area. They felt this was essential in order to achieve management over their own social, resource use, economic and political programs.

7.4.6 **Create a Community Development Corporation**

Three local respondents and two government officials felt that a local community development corporation (CDC) should be formed to ~~act~~ as a vehicle for tourism development. One official felt a a CDC would help increase local coordination and control over development in the area and facilitate the accessing of government funding programs (Trumper, 1985).

7.4.7 **Improve Skill Building in Planning and Community Development**

Five respondents felt that skill building in management and planning should be improved. Suggestions for the planning phase included doing more

planning workshops and establishing a local trainee position to work together with the planners. Suggestions for implementation included training and workshops in strategic planning, community organization, economic development, business development, and program management.

The Committee manager also expressed the need for more professional follow-up from the tourism planners during implementation. He felt this would have helped the Tourism Committee monitor, evaluate and direct the program from a strategic point of view, and would have helped the Committee build skills in these areas.

## 7.5 CONCLUSIONS

The program had both strengths and weaknesses in regard to being a vehicle for community development. One of its strengths was that it got people involved in tourism, so people became more aware of tourism as one option for economic growth. It also created the Tourism Committee which has played the major role in managing the program in the community. It has also helped build strong skills in outfitting through guide training programs, and limited skills in program management through the organizational work of the Tourism Committee. It has also facilitated greater ownership and control in the industry, through involvement in local jobs and the recent purchase of the local hotel.

The program also has several weaknesses. In terms of awareness building, most development has only been in tourism, other sectors have not been dealt with. Despite the awareness programs undertaken, a lack of tourism

awareness and skills among residents is still seen as the major problem to developing tourism in the community. Therefore, the training and awareness programs have not been as effective as they should have been. As well, even though the Tourism Committee is responsible for managing the program, Committee members felt they didn't have the skills or professional back-up they needed to manage the program effectively from a strategic and developmental point of view. Training, continuity and professional follow-up with the Committee were not as strong as Committee members would have liked. Although the Committee is doing an excellent job and has the strong support of the community, its role could nevertheless be improved.

Participants had a number of suggestions as to how the program could have been improved. Awareness programs should have been held earlier, they should have been more in-depth and also should be held on an ongoing basis. Residents also suggested that the Tourism Committee improve contact and information exchange with the community and change the system of member selection. Committee members requested increased training and improved professional support and funding. Other suggestions included creating a full-time tourism officer position in Pangnirtung, organizing an outfitters organization, creating a Community Development Corporation, settling land claims, and increasing training in program management, business development, and community planning and development. All these actions would be important in strengthening community development in Pangnirtung.



**Figure 13: Pangnirtung Fjord and Auyuittuq National Park.**

## **8.0 NATIONAL PARK AND HISTORIC SITES CONCERNS**

At the outset of this study, the Committee requested that the research examine the roles of Auyuittuq National Park Reserve and Kekerton Whaling Station in relation to the tourism program. In particular, they wanted to know what the tourism related strengths and problems of these areas were, and how the areas could be best managed to support local development.

In this chapter, Auyuittuq National Park Reserve, Kekerton Whaling Station, and other local historic sites are briefly reviewed.

## **8.1 AUYUITTUQ NATIONAL PARK RESERVE**

Auyuittuq National Park Reserve was first established in 1972. It consists of 21,470 square kilometers of spectacular **wildlands**. It has been described as “A formidable domain, a prodigious 8,300 square mile tract of vertical rock, rolling ice and precipitous fjords; of terrestrial and marine flora and fauna seen only in photo books by most of the world; and of prehistoric Inuit hunting camps and whaling cemeteries.” (Intergroup Consultants Ltd., 1985:9) The area is well known for its hiking and mountaineering and attracts hikers, naturalists, photographers and outdoors enthusiasts. Entrance to the park is located at the head of Panguirtung Fjord, about 30 kms away from the community. (See Figure 2, page 14)

### **8.1.1 Strengths of the Park in Regard to Tourism Development**

Auyuittuq National Park Reserve plays a significant role in tourism development for Panguirtung.

#### **8.1.1.1 An Important Attraction and Resource for Tourism**

Auyuittuq is the largest single attraction for tourists in the entire Baffin Region (Mallon, 1985). Therefore, the park clearly increases tourism in the community. The Park also provides facilities and services for tourists,

which helps local infrastructure development. This includes a visitors' centre and park warden services and a network of trails and shelters. These fit in well with the local tourism program.

#### 8.1.1.2 Job and Skill Development

The operation of the park also provides local jobs and gives opportunities for skill development. The majority of the park employees are local, and the national parks system has several ongoing training programs that employees can take advantage of. Skills have been developed in guiding, search and rescue, first aid, park and wildlife management, and office management (Sowdluapik, 1985).

#### 8.1.1.3 Opportunity for Local Input

The park reserve also provides for local community input into the management of the reserve through the Local Advisory Committee, which is made up of community members. The role of this board is to advise and give local input into the development and management of the Park Reserve (Beddard, 1985).

A major opportunity also exists in that the Auyuittuq Park Reserve is currently under Interim Management Guidelines, but will soon (possibly within the next five years) be restructured into operating according to a comprehensive Management Plan. The Management Plan planning process gives a high priority to public participation. This will give locals a chance to have input into the future management of the park.

## 8.1.2 Problems of the Park in Regard to Tourism Development

Participants also noted problems with the Park Reserve in regard to its relation to the tourism program.

### 8.1.2.1 Conflict of Objectives

Nine respondents, including five park officials, noted that the conservation objectives connected with National Parks were often in conflict with the economic development objectives of tourism. Some senior officials in GNWT Dept. of Economic Development and Tourism noted that there was friction between their department and Parks Canada because of this. These officials felt that, because of national park conservation policies, economic opportunities and visitor services in Auyuittuq would always be limited. Four senior officials in Parks Canada, including the local park superintendent, however, noted that tourism development was becoming a higher priority within the national park system, and they expressed a willingness to cooperate with the local tourism program.

### 8.1.2.2 Poor Local Input

Although a Local Advisory Committee is technically in existence, it rarely meets and was not very knowledgeable about park issues, operations, or plans (Breneman, 1985). Because of this, most of the management of the park took place without significant input from the community or the

Tourism Committee. At the time of research, in 1985, the management of the park was being done relatively independent of the management of the tourism program (Joamie, 1985).

#### 8.1.2.3 Unrealistic Job Expectations and Distrust

When the park reserve was first created, local people felt they had been promised a lot of jobs from Parks Canada. In reality, however, not nearly as many local jobs were created through the park as originally anticipated. This created false expectations among locals, disappointment, and a certain level of local distrust regarding park operations. As a result, local people were reluctant to get involved in Park matters.

### 8.1.3 Improving the Role of the Park in Local Development

Participants had a number of suggestions regarding better integration of the park with local tourism development.

#### 8.1.3.1 Improve Local Participation and Involvement

Seventeen participants, including ten park officials and five local residents, felt that public involvement and responsibilities in park management should be increased. Specific recommendations included:

- a) Local input: Local people should be given greater responsibilities and control over all aspects of park management. This point was particularly emphasised by local people.



- b) Local Advisory Committee: The Local Advisory Committee should be made stronger. It should be encouraged to meet more often, and be more active in park management affairs. Its role should also be more clearly defined and understood! and it should be given more technical and financial support to carry out its duties effectively.
- c) Awareness and information programs: Seven people felt improved awareness and information programs should be started by Parks Canada in the community. These would be to inform local residents about park policies, programs and plans for the future. In these programs, people should be given a realistic idea of what to expect regarding future benefits or problems related to the park.
- d) Regional headquarters contact: Local people and regional headquarters officials felt there should be better contact between the community and the regional headquarters office in Winnipeg.
- e) Local hire: Eight people, including five park officials, felt local residents should continue to be hired for park related jobs.

#### 8.1.3.2 Improve Coordination with Local Development Goals

Eight respondents, including five park officials, felt the park should integrate its programs more with regional development goals. This included allowing for increased visitation, more park-related business activities, limited resource use, and improved marketing of park attractions and facilities to increase tourism in the area.

#### 9.1.3.3 Establish a Community-based Park Management Plan

Four park officials felt a Park Management Plan should be developed to clarify management issues and provide for local input into parks management. Public participation in the management plan planning process was seen as a priority.

#### 8.1.3.4 Hire a Local Public Participation Consultant

One senior park planner strongly suggested that a local person or organization could be hired to carry out the public participation component of the proposed Management Plan planning process. It was also noted, however, that this person or organization would have to be well-qualified in order to do a proper job.

## 8.2 **KEKERTON WHALING STATION**

Kekerton Island is a historic whaling station in the Cumberland Sound, about 4 hours by boat from Pangnirtung. (See Figure 2, page 14) It is considered to be one of the most important historic sites in the Eastern Arctic. In the late 1800s, it was the major settlement for Scottish and American whalers in the Arctic, and was occupied for a total of 70 years by both Inuit and whites (Stevenson, 1985). Some elders in Pangnirtung still remember growing up on Kekerton Island, and it is heritage site highly valued by local people.

Since 1983, archaeological work has been proceeding on the island under the direction of a GNWT archaeologist. It is currently being developed as a territorial historic park with research and visitor interpretation facilities. This work has generated interest among both local people and tourists.

## **8.2.1 Strengths of Kekerton in Regard to the Tourism Program**

In general, Kekerton is making a strong contribution to the tourism program.

### **8.2.1.1 Strong Tourist Attraction**

Kekerton is a significant attraction for tourists and, with its new facilities, provides a good opportunity to increase tourism and business in the area. A round trip to Kekerton requires a full day, by boat, which will provide jobs for local outfitters.

### **8.2.1.2 Local Heritage Value**

Ten local people also noted that the site has important heritage value for residents. It is a project which not only helps tourism, but also helps local people learn about their heritage. People in Pangnirtung were very supportive of this.

## **8.2.2 Problems with Kekerton in Regard to the Tourism Program**

Respondents also noted problems with development at Kekerton.

### 8.2.2.1 Lack of Coordination

Of major importance, in 1985, there was a serious lack of coordination between the various people and government departments involved in the site. The Prince of Wales Heritage Center was primarily interested in archaeological research, conservation and interpretation (Stevenson, 1985). The Department of Economic Development and Tourism was interested in developing the site as a tourism facility (Nuegebauer, 1985). Parks Canada was making its own investigations into other historic sites in the area and was interested in exploring joint management and cost sharing options for Kekerton (Woodsley, 1985). Although some officials in Parks Canada were in support of getting involved, the area had not yet been declared a site of national historic significance, and budget cut-backs at the time were making any meaningful participation difficult. This created a lot of uncertainty about the future of the site.

Since 1985, however, Parks Canada has not had the budget or mandate to get involved, and the lead role in developing the site has been taken by the Dept. of Economic Development and Tourism, and the Prince of Wales Northern Heritage Center. It has since been made into a Territorial Historic Park, which has cleared much of the previous uncertainty that existed for the site.

### 8.2.2.2 Potential for Damage of Artifacts

A few local people and park officials also felt that with the development of Kekerton as a tourist attraction, there would be a danger that some of the

historical artifacts would be disturbed or removed from the island. Artifacts have been removed by tourists at other heritage sites in the Cumberland Sound, and local people did not want that to happen at Kekerton.

### 8.2.3 **Participant Recommendations for the Future of Kekerton**

Participants had a number of recommendations regarding the future development and management of Kekerton.

#### 8.2.3.1 **General Development**

Thirteen respondents, including six locals, felt Kekerton should be managed for both tourism and local use. The management program, as developed by the Prince of Wales Northern Heritage Center, was seen as appropriate.

#### 8.2.3.2 **Protection and Research**

**Twelve** people emphasized that all historic sites, including Kekerton and other whaling areas, should be protected. Local people felt that no artifacts should be allowed to leave the area, and proper archaeological research should be done for all sites. They also felt that all artifacts that had been removed from the region in the past should be returned.

#### 8.2.3.3 Local Control

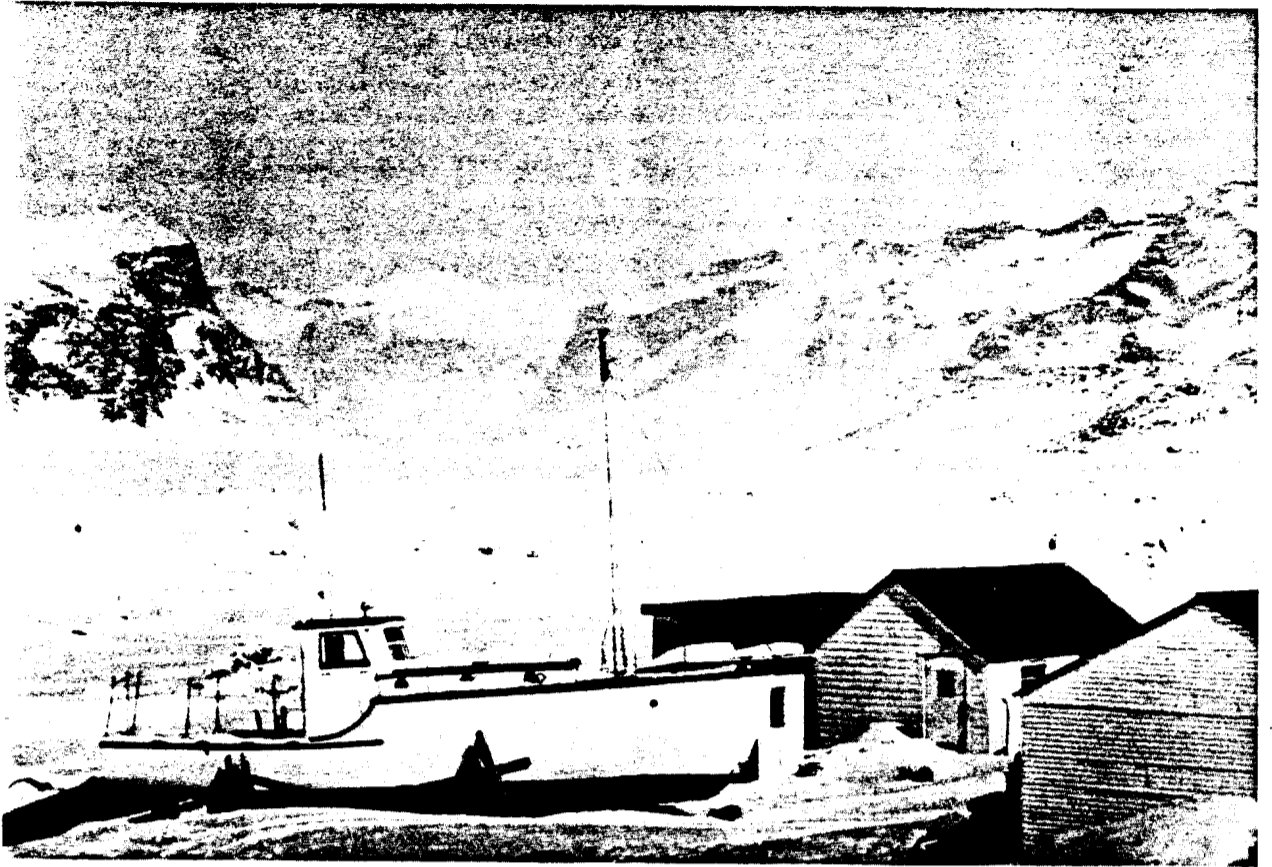
Ten people, including six locals, two government officials, and two park officials felt that local people should be in control of development at Kekerton. People also felt tourism visitation to Kekerton should be controlled so that tourists do not disturb the artifacts. This included setting visitation limits, providing guides and security, and controlling activities.

#### 8.2.3.4 Interpretation

Ten participants felt interpretation facilities for local historic sites and whaling areas should be improved. This could include developing brochures, plaques, and an interpretation centre.

#### 8.2.3.5 Cooperation and Cost Sharing

Ten people noted that roles and responsibilities between different agencies should be better defined. More cooperation and cost sharing agreements should be sought. Most felt that local people should play a leading role in this coordinated management of site resources.



**Figure 14: Pagnirtung Whaling Station.**

### 8.3 LOCAL HISTORIC SITES

There are also several historic sites and buildings in the community of Pagnirtung. In 1983, a local historic sites inventory was conducted as a summer project by students. Some of the major sites include the old whaling station, the old Hudson's Bay Company buildings, the old Anglican church and its associated buildings.

### 8.3.1 Strengths of the Local Historic Sites

Ten local people saw the historic sites in Pangnirtung as being very important. They felt the sites give an historic atmosphere to the community, which was an attraction for tourists. They also felt the old historic buildings were an important part of their own heritage. For the elders, they made the old days “come to life” (Pitsiuliak, 1985).

### 8.3.2 Problems with the Local Historic Sites

The problems with the local historic buildings, however, were that most of them were in poor repair, they were expensive to maintain or restore, and had little or no form of protection. Because of this, some local residents were concerned that the community was in danger of losing these buildings.

### 8.3.3 Recommendations for Local Historic Sites Management

As with Kekerton, people felt that local historic sites in Pangnirtung should be saved, protected, and restored when practical. Buildings to be protected included the old whaling station, the old Hudson’s Bay Company building, the old Anglican Church, and its associated buildings. Local people also felt that research and interpretation should be done for these buildings, and they should be maintained and developed to complement the tourism program.



#### 8.4 CONCLUSIONS

Auyuittuq National Park, Kekerton Island and local historic sites in Pangnirtung make an important contribution to the Tourism Program. They are significant attractions, and are educational in both their natural and cultural history. Both the park and the historic areas provide important interpretive potential, and fit well with local cultural programs.

Although the National Park has opportunities for local input, through the Local Advisory Board, this is not used effectively by the community. Similarly, management control is poorly defined with Kekerton and the local historic sites in Pangnirtung.

Nevertheless, it is important that residents have significant input and control over the management of these areas. Therefore, the Local Advisory Board should be revitalized with increased incentives and resources to be more effective, residents should take the initiative to be more involved in the creation of a management plan for the park, and the local historic sites in Pangnirtung should be protected and managed by the community for tourism and local heritage purposes.



Figure 15: Children: the future of Pangnirtung.

## 9.0 CONCLUSIONS

### 9.1 OVERVIEW OF PROGRAM STRENGTHS, WEAKNESSES AND CONCERNS

In conclusion, the program has had both strengths and weaknesses in regard to achieving its objectives. One of its major strengths was that it facilitated a development process in which local people have had significant input and control into the direction of the program. The establishment of the Tourism Committee and the role it plays in tourism development in Pangnirtung was essential for the success of the program.

The program was also successful in increasing jobs and income and this income is widely distributed in the community. As well, tourism did not cause any major social problems, although some minor ones were noted. Most local residents felt that tourism fitted in well with their culture and traditional lifestyles and, in some cases, benefited their social programs.

The tourism program has also been a valuable informal learning experience for both **Pangnirtung** residents and other participants. Local people have learned more about running businesses and how to find and manage funding for development projects. Other participants have learned about effective tourism planning and implementation methods in the north, and about the impacts of tourism in an **Inuit** community.

There were also, however, some major weaknesses with the program. There were limitations in the planning and implementation process. Local people were not significantly involved in determining the program's scope or objectives during program initiation, and did not understand the planning process very well. This was partially due to the fact that awareness programs were too late in the process and not thorough enough. As well, there has been no follow-up from the planning consultants during implementation, and no formal training for Committee members to develop skills in program planning and management. Because of this, Committee members feel they are limited in their ability to do strategic planning for the program, which reduces their effectiveness as controllers and managers of tourism. Much of the program is a collaborative effort between the GNWT and the Committee, which makes some Committee members feel they have little control over the program.

Another major concern is that most jobs and income with the program have been in the public sector, not the private sector. To date, the development of the industry has been heavily subsidized by the government, which raises a major question as to whether the program is increasing or decreasing dependence on government. Government expenditures are expected to decrease in the near future, however, and visitation is expected to increase. Therefore, this situation should be monitored closely in the future to ensure that local development goals are respected and achieved.

Another major concern is local control and management in the industry. Although to date, most development has been locally based and controlled, experience in other countries and developing communities has shown that once tourism becomes profitable and well known, it is often taken over by outside entrepreneurs who then control the industry, and local people can be seriously displaced. Therefore, it will be important in Pangnirtung to strengthen local business and management skills, financial resources, and control over local development. In this regard, the training programs given so far have been helpful, and should be expanded to include business development and program planning and management. The recent purchase of the hotel by a group of local and regional investors has also been helpful, as this strengthens local control in the industry.

Another important concern is social development. The social impacts of tourism identified in this research took place at a time when tourist visitation was still relatively low. Although many people in 1985 said that tourism didn't create any major social problems in the community, some

said it did, and many people felt the numbers of tourists in the community should be controlled to minimize negative social impacts.

Since 1985, visitation has more than doubled, which will undoubtedly also affect the social impacts of tourism in the community. As visitation increases, therefore, it will be important to monitor the program closely and listen to local residents to find out what the changing social impacts of tourism in the community are. This will be particularly important in regard to examining impacts in local lifestyles, culture, social programs and people's sense of privacy and control in the community.

Another major concern is how tourism compares with other economic sectors or how it can be coordinated with them. The program, and this research, deal only with tourism. Therefore, the research does not evaluate whether tourism is any better or worse than other sectors regarding economic development. For the purposes of comprehensive development, however, it is important to know how different sectors compare and how they can be coordinated. Therefore, it would be **useful** to also carry out case study research on other **sectoral** projects in the north, and compare them to the Pangnirtung Tourism Program. For example, the fisheries program recently started in Pangnirtung could provide an excellent opportunity to do a comparative analysis of the relative benefits of fishing versus tourism for economic development in Pangnirtung. In this way, the relative benefits and weaknesses of tourism as compared to other industries could be brought more into perspective, and guidelines for **inter-sector** coordination could be developed.

Lastly, there is a need for more systematically collected data on tourism in Pangnirtung, and better distribution of documented information on the program. Much of the analysis in this research was hampered because of poor availability of information, and without this information it is impossible to know in detail what the impacts of tourism are. Therefore, there are still many unanswered questions regarding tourism in the community.

If the program is to act as the valuable research tool it was set out to be, a systematic monitoring and evaluation process which involves participants and local residents should be established. As well, to be more effective as a demonstration model, information about the program should be documented and made readily available to communities and tourism planners elsewhere. In this way, more people will be able to learn more about the program and its accomplishments.

## 9.2 LESSONS TO BE LEARNED FROM THE PANGNIRTUNG PROGRAM

Even though there are several remaining questions regarding the Pangnirtung Tourism Program, much can be learned from the case study. The research points to a number of conclusions and observations that form valuable lessons for tourism development in the north. These lessons and their implications for northern tourism development are briefly summarized in this section.

It should be noted, however, that in applying these lessons to situations elsewhere, each community has its own set of conditions, constraints and

opportunities. Therefore, something that worked in Pangsirtung may not necessarily work in another community. Each situation has to be evaluated on its own merits and appropriate action taken accordingly.

#### 9.2.1 Developing an Appropriate Tourism Planning and Implementation Process

A number of factors were important in the planning and implementation process in Pangsirtung.

##### 9.2.1.1 Local Involvement and Control

Local involvement and control in the program was the single most important factor in determining the success of the program. Local involvement started with public meetings and the Tourism Committee during planning. It was strengthened in implementation through local involvement in jobs and projects, local ownership of businesses, and the management role over the program by the Tourism Committee throughout.

This local involvement and control put development in the hands of the community, so the community could guide the program for its own benefits. It helped strengthen local organizational development and local ownership so that locals could control and enjoy more of the economic benefits of tourism. It also encouraged individual community members to become involved so that people could learn more about development in their community and take part in its future.

Although local involvement and control was important and effective, it could have been made still stronger. Improved measures could have included improved public input and awareness programs, improved training programs at the outset, greater involvement of the private sector during planning, more human resource development and skill building, increased organizational development with the Committee, and improved contact between the Committee and community members on an ongoing basis.

#### 9.2.1.2 Timing and Scale of Development

Appropriate timing and scale of development were also important for the success of the program. For the most part, the program has progressed at **a scale** and speed which community members can follow and take part in. Occasionally, in the planning phase, the consultants and GNWT wanted to speed things up, but this caused problems and local people had to insist it slow down. In implementation, projects are directed by the local Tourism Committee, so projects have proceeded at a pace which match local time tables and the development of skills and awareness in the **community**.

Appropriate **scale** of development was also important. At the outset, many people in the community were not familiar with tourism, so it was important to begin with smaller projects that local people had the skills to deal with, such as Committee organization, hosting, and **smaller** construction projects in and around the community. As skills and awarenesses have grown over the past five years, so has the scale of the projects. **The** Committee has become progressively stronger, hosting



programs have become larger, outfitters are more organized, a visitors' centre has been constructed, and more recently, the majority ownership of the hotel has changed to a group of local residents. This has helped local people to maintain control in the program and manage it for their own benefit. With this five years of experience, the community is now much better prepared to deal with the current large increase in tourism than before the program.

#### 9.2.1.3 Development Support

Support for the program through funding, government resources and training, was also important. Very little, if any, of the program would have been possible without government funding. Training supplied by the AEDO and the GNWT was important in developing skills and capacity for development. The availability of these resources and willingness of people to help greatly strengthened tourism development in the community.

It must be emphasized, however, that government support also ~~carries~~ with it a danger of increasing dependence on government. Therefore, the support must be oriented to building local capacity for development. In this sense, the support must be coordinated with local goals, help in organizational and skill development, and assist in the development of an industry which is economically, viable on a long-term basis.

#### 9.2.1.4 Human Resource Development

Human resource development was also important. Building skills in dealing with outside people and tourism management were essential for local control in the program. Committee organization through the AEDO, and training programs with the outfitters, were important in this regard.

The current lack of awareness and skills is still one of the major problems in tourism development however. For this reason, human resource development should have been more emphasized earlier in the program, and should be given a high priority now.

#### 9.2.1.5 Flexibility and Ongoing Monitoring and Follow-up

Flexibility, monitoring and follow-up were also important. The original five-year plan was too rigid and static, it did not allow for monitoring and changes in the program as tourism developed. The Committee had to change the projects and schedule of the program as it progressed, but felt it did not know how to adjust or improve the program from a strategic point of view. For these reasons, the five-year plan should have been more flexible, and should have included a regular program of monitoring and professional planning follow-up.

#### 9.2.2 Tourism as a Vehicle for Economic Development

The program showed that tourism can be effective in strengthening certain aspects of economic development in the north. Public and private jobs

were created, and this resulted in a net increase in community income. The program also assisted in local involvement and ownership in businesses, hence the local benefits of tourism development were improved. Tourism development also created new opportunities in a sector which was previously underdeveloped, and does not seem to have displaced workers from any other viable sectors.

As already noted, however, public sector jobs and incomes in tourism are considerably higher than private sector ones. This raises the question as to whether tourism has encouraged self-reliance or has only reinforced government dependence. This should be closely monitored in the future.

### 9.2.3 Tourism as a Vehicle for Social Development

The program also showed that tourism can be reasonably successful in fitting in with local lifestyles and helping local people achieve their social objectives. In Pagnirtung, many tourism activities were activities that people were involved in as part of their normal lives anyway, and most enjoyed the tourists. The cultural tourism projects also helped strengthen local culture and heritage, and local people strongly supported these projects. Many residents felt a sense of pride when tourists were interested in their history and heritage.

The program also showed, however, that tourism can cause negative social impacts. A number of problems were noted, including loss of privacy and community atmosphere, lack of respect for local customs, disruption of traditional lifestyles, alcohol abuse and a feeling of insecurity because of

not being able to communicate with the tourists. With increasing visitation, these problems may well become major, and this situation should be monitored closely in Pangnirtung.

#### 9.2.4 **Tourism as a Vehicle for Capacity Building in Community Development**

The program also showed that tourism can be effective in building capacity for local community development. In Pangirtung, people have become more aware of development opportunities and concepts, and have become more involved in building development skills in their community. The program also illustrated the importance of having a central community based committee with which to organize and control development. In Pangnirtung, the Tourism Committee was the main vehicle whereby local skills and experience were built and local control was maintained.

The program was not as effective as it should have been in this regard though. Despite the capacity that was built, local people still felt they lacked the ability to manage the program strategically. For this reason, the program should have placed a greater emphasis on organizational development with the Tourism Committee, and human resource development in the areas of business management, program planning, and strategic planning.

#### 9.2.5 **The Roles of Auquittuq National Park Reserve and Local Historic Sites**

The program also showed that national parks and historic sites can contribute greatly to local development. They provide jobs, attract

tourists to the area, and provide valuable visitor services. Their management structure also **allows** for limited local input and control.

Participants felt the park and local historic sites should be developed to fit within the tourism program, and that local people should have management control over them. Historic sites should also be protected and managed with interpretive facilities for the benefit of both tourists and local people.

### 9.3 IMPLICATIONS FOR TOURISM DEVELOPMENT ELSEWHERE IN THE NORTH

Tourism planners and other northern communities have much to learn from the Pangnirtung program. The program has shown that tourism development can be successful in achieving certain economic and social development objectives in the north. It can help increase jobs and boost the local economy, and it can fit in with local native lifestyles and cultures.

It should be emphasized, however, that in planning tourism each community is different. Each has its own special set of circumstances which may determine whether or not tourism could be successful, or what kind of tourism would be appropriate. Just because tourism worked in Pangnirtung does not mean it will be successful in all other northern communities. For example, Pangnirtung has resources, skills and attractions that many other communities do not have. **All** these factors were important in contributing to the success of the program. In pursuing tourism, communities must

identify their particular attractions, opportunities and constraints, and develop appropriate and realistic tourism programs of their own.

Communities can learn much from the planning and implementation process followed in Pangnirtung. As detailed in the previous section, facilitating local awareness, involvement and control in tourism is essential in developing an effective program. The development of a local tourism committee to manage development is key. Appropriate timing that fits in with local schedules, and an appropriate scale of development that fits in with local abilities are also important. Support from funding agencies and people with technical expertise is required. Human resource development and training is a priority and is needed to build required local skills. To be effective, the program should also be flexible enough to incorporate changes as they develop, and should have provision for program monitoring and professional follow-up to help with ongoing strategic planning. Lastly, the development programs should initiate action oriented projects that can be used as vehicles for involvement, and building awareness, skills and experience.

Committees should also be aware of tourism's limitations. Although it can provide jobs and income, it is also usually seasonal, caters toward a specific market, and it may not be that easy to get started. It may also have detrimental social impacts in isolated communities. These limitations should be closely considered by communities wishing to develop tourism.

#### 9.4 CONCLUSION

In conclusion, the **Pangnirtung** Tourism Program was successful in accomplishing most of its objectives. Although the planning process followed had some problems, the program emphasized local input, and has resulted in a tourism industry which is largely owned and managed by local people for the benefit of local people. It has helped increase jobs and incomes in the community, and has helped build local skills in tourism development and dealing with government and outside people. For the most part, it has also facilitated tourism development which has fitted in with local lifestyles and helped achieve the community's social goals.

The program also has some major weaknesses and problems, however. There was no significant local input during project initiation, awareness programs have been poor, the community did not understand the process very well, and there has been no follow-up from the planning consultants during implementation. The Committee felt limited in its ability to manage the program from a strategic point of view. As well, even though the program was established as a pilot study test case, no systematic monitoring, evaluation, or distribution of information about it has ever been done by the community or the GNWT. This seriously limits the value of the program as a learning tool and demonstration project for northern tourism development.

It is also questionable whether the tourism program is increasing or decreasing government dependence in the community. To date, the majority of new jobs and income created have been in the public rather

than the private sector. With increased tourist visitation, however, this will likely change. The long-term economic impacts of the program are still not known, and they should be monitored closely to ensure that local economic goals are maintained rather than lost.

Social impacts are also a concern. Tourism visitation is increasing rapidly in the community, and it is possible that too many tourists in the community could have serious social impacts. Visitation and impacts should be closely monitored to ensure that community social goals are maintained in the program.

Community management and control is also a concern. Although local people have become involved in setting up businesses and managing the program, a lack of local business awareness, financial resources and management skills is still a major problem in establishing locally owned and controlled development. Therefore, strengthening financial and human resources should be made a priority for the future of the program.

Lastly, it is not known how tourism compares with other sectors. This research deals only with tourism, which has been shown to be a highly seasonal and often part-time industry. It is important, therefore, that because of these limitations, tourism not be considered the only industry worth developing in northern communities. Tourism should be coordinated with other sectors in the north within a comprehensive development strategy that includes a diversity of programs and projects. It is important to do further research on these other sectors to determine how



tourism compares to them as a development **strategy**, and to determine how tourism can best be coordinated with these other sectors for the benefit of the communities involved.

Despite these questions and concerns, the program is still seen as a major success by most of its participants, including local residents as well as outside participants who have been involved in the program. The important ingredient in this success was the involvement, commitment and control local people took in the program. Through the central involvement and guidance of the **Pangnirtung** Tourism Committee, the program grew and developed in a way that local people could appreciate and learn from. Projects started small and tourism development grew as people's commitment, skills and awareness grew. In this way, the program has always been in touch with the community and managed to benefit the community.

Tourism planners and other northern communities have much to learn from Pangnirtung. By following its example in establishing local involvement and control in development projects, communities can create programs that are sensitive to their needs and help them achieve their social and economic goals. Only with local people becoming involved, committed, and taking the lead in these projects, will tourism development be truly community based and controlled by the community for the benefit of the community. By pioneering and demonstrating this approach in the north, the **Pangnirtung** program has contributed significantly to facilitating community based tourism development in the north.



Figure 16: The author with Rosie Okpik, interpreter.

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Figure 17: Local hunter and artist.

APPENDIX A  
RESEARCH QUESTIONS AND RESPONSES



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Lo **INTRODUCTION AND NOTE ON READING THE RESULTS**

This Appendix identifies the questions concentrated on during research, and responses received. Responses were elicited through both personal interviews, and a review of the written documentation available as identified in Chapter 10, 'References'.

In this Appendix, each section starts with one of the major topics that was brought up during interviews. Where appropriate, sub-questions which relate to the topic were also asked and are identified.

The responses to the questions asked are listed directly below the questions. responses are listed in order of how many respondents gave that particular answer to a question, in either the verbal interviews or the written documentation reviewed. The numbers in the left-hand columns identify the number of respondents that gave that response to the question asked. Column symbols identify the type of respondent as follows:

	<u>Total No. of Respondents in Each Category</u>
<b>T</b> - Total number of respondents	101
<b>Pa</b> - Pangnirtung residents	53
<b>G</b> - Government of Northwest Territories staff.	16
<b>F</b> - Federal Government staff	8
<b>P</b> - Parks Canada staff	12
<b>T</b> - Tourism industry representatives	10
<b>c</b> - Study consultants	2

Although the numbers of respondents that mentioned particular points is recorded in these field data results, these numbers should be interpreted as general indicators only. This is because the interviews were conducted in an informal and open-ended way. Not all respondents answered all questions, and while taking notes the researcher did not have time to write down each detailed point the respondent mentioned. Therefore, the numbers in the field data results are approximate only, and in most cases, are lower than they would be, had all respondents answered all questions and had all points mentioned been written down exactly. These numbers do, however, indicate a relative strength of how often things were mentioned and how strongly respondents held certain views.

The responses listed in this Appendix are **only** brief summaries of the points mentioned by participants. Participants often responded with considerable detail and depth to some questions. These more in-depth responses and comments are incorporated into the body of this report under the appropriate sections.

2.0 **QUESTIONS AND RESPONSES**

2.1 **WHY WAS THE PROGRAM STARTED?**

The purpose of this question was to identify the problems, issues, and needs that led to the project's initiation in the beginning.

**Responses**

T	Pa	G	F	P	I	C	
2	6	1	9	3	1	3	High unemployment - the need for new jobs.
7	4	3					Existing tourism did not benefit the community.
4	4						Lack of knowledge of tourism potentials or problems in the area - a need for learning by all involved.
3	2	1					Social problems in the community and a lack of things to do.
3	2	1					Over-dependence on the welfare state - there was a need to encourage entrepreneurship and a transition to the wage economy.

2.2 **WHAT WERE THE INITIAL OBJECTIVES OF THE PROGRAM?**

This question was asked to identify the initial purpose of the program, from "the point of view of the participants. Five broad categories of objectives were identified. More current goals and objectives identified for the program are included in question 2.11, page 218.

**Responses**

T	Pa	G	F	P	I	C	
<u>Economic Developments</u>							
1	1	1	4	3	1	1	1 - To strengthen and diversify the economy.
6	4	1				1	- To increase local benefits and reduce economic leakages.
5	2	1		1	1		- To create new jobs and businesses.
3	2	1					To encourage long-term self-sufficiency of the community.

Responses (Cent'd)

---

T Pa G F P I C

---

Pilot Study Learning Objectives

7	1	4	1		1	To learn about community-based tourism and its potentials and problems.
5		2	1		2	To create new planning and implementation methods that could be used elsewhere.
5		4	1			To assess the need for new governmental policies and programs.
4		4				To help identify the costs and benefits of arctic tourism.
2		2				To use the program as a demonstration project.

Planning and Implementation Objectives

6		4	1		1	- To work with the community in planning and establishing a program.
6		4			2	- To identify tourism infrastructure requirements.
5		4			1	- To identify marketing requirements.
4		2			2	- To assess local tourism resources and potentials.
4		3			1	- To set clear strategies for tourism development in the community.

Social Objectives

14		5	4	2	1	2	- To fit within local lifestyles and cultures.
8	3	3	1			1	- To help the community achieve its social goals.
4		3	1				- To encourage entrepreneurship and transition to wage economy.
3		1	2				- To facilitate cross-cultural learning and local skills in dealing with people.
1		1					To create community facilities with local social benefits.

Community Development Objectives

12	3	4	2	2		1	To facilitate local control and management over tourism.
5		3	1			1	- To develop local awareness about tourism.
2		2					- To develop local tourism and business skills through training.
2		1	1				- To help develop local decision making and planning skills.

2.3 WHAT PROBLEMS AND OPPORTUNITIES FACED THE PROGRAM AT THE OUTSET?

The question was asked to identify what participants saw as the main opportunities for the program at the outset, as well as what the main constraints or problems were that had to be overcome or dealt with.

Responses

---

<b>T P a G F P I C</b>									
<u>Opportunities</u>									
1	3	3	3	1	4	1	1	- Natural attractiveness of <b>Pangnirtung</b> : the landscape, Auyuituq <b>Park</b> and <b>Inuit</b> culture.	
5	2	1				1	1	- Existing history of tourism in <b>Pangnirtung</b> .	
5	2	2				1		- A positive attitude by locals toward tourism.	
<u>Constraints and Problems</u>									
1	9	4	5	4	3	1	2	- Lack of tourism awareness and skills in the community.	
6	3	2	1					Negative local attitudes toward tourism because of previous bad experiences.	
5		1	1	2	1			- Remoteness and high cost of travel. ,	
4		11		2				- Short tourist season.	
2			1		1			- Low environmental and social carrying <b>capacity</b> of the community.	

---

2.4 WHAT PLANNING AND IMPLEMENTATION PROCESS WAS FOLLOWED BY THE PROGRAM?

**(A BRIEF HISTORY OF THE PROGRAM)**

This question was asked to obtain a clear chronological history of the program and the process followed.

Responses are detailed in Chapter 3.0, 'History of the Tourism Program'.

2.5 WHAT WERE THE SUCCESSES AND PROBLEMS OF THE PLANNING AND IMPLEMENTATION PROCESS?

This question was to determine, from the participants' point of view, what parts of the process were effective and which were ineffective in terms of helping the program achieve its objectives.

Responses

<u>T P a G F P I C</u>		
		<u>Successes</u>
1 2 5 3 2	2	- Good public consultation and involvement.
1 1 4 3 2	2	- Establishment of a local Tourism Committee.
7 2 2 1	2	- It produced a finished study which was used as a guide for implementation and funding.
6 1 4	1	- Good skills and rapport built by consultants.
4 1 2	1	- <b>Field</b> work by consultants.
3 2	1	- Good coordination with the AEDO in Pangnirtung.
		<u>Problems</u>
1 2 8 3	1	- Poor public involvement in and awareness of the planning process.
9 4 3 1 1		Inadequate tourism awareness program.
1 1 2 4 2 3		Marketing component not specific enough.
7 6	1	- Alternative strategies process not well understood.
7 2 4 1		Lack of continuity between planning and implementation.
7 3 2 1 1		The decision-making process was too rushed for the local community.
6 3 2 1		Five-year implementation plan too static and not realistic.
6 3 2	1	- Not enough professional follow-up for implementation.

(Cont'd)



**Responses (Cent'd)**

<b>T</b>	<b>P</b>	<b>a</b>	<b>G</b>	<b>F</b>	<b>P</b>	<b>I</b>	<b>C</b>	
5	3		1		1			- The study focus was too narrow and biased toward capital tourism projects.
4	2	1	1					Consultants' <b>field</b> visits were too short.
4	2	2						Funding process was too slow and beaurocratic.
4	2	2						Not enough management training for local control.
3					3			- Didn't involve the private sector.

**2.6 HOW COULD THE PLANNING AND IMPLEMENTATION PROCESS HAVE BEEN IMPROVED?**

**Responses**

<b>T</b>	<b>P</b>	<b>a</b>	<b>G</b>	<b>F</b>	<b>P</b>	<b>I</b>	<b>C</b>	
1045				1				Increase public participation.
9	1	3	1	2	1	1		- Improve continuity with more action planning and improved funding.
6	2	3				1		- Increase public awareness.
5	2	2				1		- Increase professional follow-up, organizational development, and management training.
5	1	2	1	1				- Broaden the study focus.
4		11				2		- Make the plan more flexible.
4	2					2		- Increase tourist industry participation.

2.7 **PERSONAL INVOLVEMENT IN TOURISM**

A number of different questions were asked regarding personal involvement in tourism for Pangnirtung. Only residents of Pangnirtung were asked these questions.

2.7.1 **What Kind of Involvement Have You Had?**

**Responses**

**Total**

- 15 Sell skins, carvings or handicrafts to the tourists.
- 9 Unlicensed outfitter - take people out occasionally.
- 5 Licenced outfitter.
- 4 Member of the Tourism Committee

**Comments**

Tourism is a significant activity for Pangnirtung in the summer. Part-time and full-time employment statistics for 1984 include:

Licenced Outfitters	12 jobs
Fishing Camps	10
Tourism Committee Projects	18
Peyton Lodge	10
National Park	6
Archaeological Development	12
Trail Development	6
Territorial Park	1
<b>Total</b>	<b>75 jobs</b>

2.7.2 **What are the Advantages or Opportunities for Getting Involved in Tourism in Pangnirtung?**

**Responses**

**Total**

- 5 Tourists are relatively easy to deal with.
- 5 Outfitting fits with the traditional lifestyle and is enjoyable.
- 4 Outfitting doesn't require extensive capital start-up funds.
- 4 Outfitting gives good financial returns if you are organized.
- 4 The Tourism Committee provides summer work jobs for locals.

### 2.7.3 What are the Problems of Getting Involved in Tourism?

#### Responses

#### Total

- |    |  |
|----|--|
| 18 | Lack of awareness, business knowledge, and tourism skills. |
| 8  | Language problems.   |
| 6  | Outfitter licencing is difficult.                          |
| 6  | There is only a limited market and demand for services.    |
| 5  | Tourism jobs interfere with traditional lifestyle.         |
| 5  | Lack of existing facilities.                               |
| 5  | Disorganization of the outfitting business.                |
| 5  | Short tourism season leaves only limited opportunities.    |

### 2.7.4 How Could Involvement in Tourism be Improved?

#### Responses

#### Total

- |   |  |
|---|--|
| 9 | Do more awareness and training programs.                           |
| 7 | Create an outfitters association.                                  |
| 5 | Improve facilities and diversify activities.                       |
| 4 | Change licencing regulations.                                      |
| 4 | Create a full-time tourism officer position in Pangnirtung.        |
| 3 | Create a development corporation.                                  |
| 2 | Have the Tourism Committee take on a stronger organizational role. |

### 2.8 **WHAT IMPACTS HAS TOURISM HAD ON PANGNIRTUNG?**

Questions asked in this regard included: "What have some of the good or bad impacts of tourism been on Pangnirtung?" and to many Pangnirtung residents, "Is tourism good or bad for Pangnirtung?", and "why or why not?". Responses were received in regard to economics, social concerns, community development, and learning objectives.

2.8.1 Economic Impacts

Responses

---

<u>T</u>	<u>Pa</u>	<u>G</u>	<u>F</u>	<u>P</u>	<u>I</u>	<u>C</u>	
							<u>Beneficial Impacts</u>
3	6	3	2	2	1	1	- A lot of jobs have been created.
2	9	2	1	4	2	2	- <b>Opportunities</b> for small business and selling have been created.
1	2	5	3	1	1	2	- <b>Tourism</b> brings money into the community.
9	5	3	1				- Tourism spending benefits the whole community in <b>general</b> .
8	4	2	1	1			- <b>Tourism</b> diversifies the economic base.
6	3	3					- <b>Business training and</b> skills are being developed.
							<u>Problem Impacts</u>
9	9						- <b>Only a few</b> jobs have been created.
4	2	2					- Most jobs are government funded, not private.
3	1	2					- Tourism has narrowed the economic base, not diversified it.
4	4						- Tourism spending only benefits certain people.

---

2.8.2 Social Impacts

Responses

<u>T</u>	<u>Pa</u>	<u>G</u>	<u>F</u>	<u>P</u>	<u>I</u>	<u>C</u>		
							<u>Beneficial Impacts</u>	
17	17						- Locals enjoy seeing tourists in town - they're friendly.	
8	4	4					- Helps <b>cross-cultural</b> learning between whites and <b>Inuit</b> .	
7	6	1					- Helps develop cultural pride among locals.	
6	4	2					- Provides jobs for a wide range of people.	
6	4	2					- Fits <b>in</b> with local lifestyles and culture.	
1	1						- Provides hope for the future.	
							<u>Problems</u>	
23	23						- Tourism doesn't create any real social problems in <b>Pangnirtung</b> .	
1	7	1	0	3	1	1	1	- Some tourists are obnoxious, rude and invade privacy.
8	5	3						- Tourists don't respect local customs.
8	8							- Language problems create insecurities <b>among</b> locals.
6	4	2						- Tourism <b>helps</b> erode the traditional culture.
4	4							- Tourists bring alcohol into the community.
3	2	1						- <b>Inuits</b> are <b>losing</b> their independence.

### 2.8.3 Community Development Impacts

#### Responses

<u>T</u>	<u>P</u>	<u>a</u>	<u>G</u>	<u>F</u>	<u>P</u>	<u>I</u>	<u>C</u>
<u>Beneficial Impacts</u>							
2	0	9	6	1	2	2	- Tourism awareness, skills and learning is increasing.
4	2	2					- Management and planning skills are being developed.
3	1	1				1	Business and entrepreneurial role models are developing.
<u>Problem Impacts</u>							
6	2	2	1	1			- Tourism focuses attention away from other sectors.

### 2.8.4 Case Study Learning

#### Responses

<u>T</u>	<u>P</u>	<u>a</u>	<u>G</u>	<u>F</u>	<u>P</u>	<u>I</u>	<u>C</u>
<u>Beneficial Impacts</u>							
1	5	4	5	3	1	2	<b>Tourism</b> has been a valuable learning experience for all involved.
9	3	4	1			1	<b>Pangnirtung</b> is "exporting" its knowledge through the activities of the Tourism Committee.
6	2	2				2	The tourism planning process developed in <b>Pangnirtung</b> is being used elsewhere.
3	2	1					Locals have learned how to deal with governments and funding agencies.
<u>Problems</u>							
5	1	2	1			1	- Learning has only been in one sector.
4	2	2					- No formal evaluations or monitoring have been <b>done</b> .
4	2	2					- <b>Many</b> problems are still not understood.

2.9 **WHAT IMPACTS HAS THE TOURISM PROGRAM HAD ON TOURISM DEVELOPMENT IN PANGNIRTUNG?**

Responses were received in all five areas of economics, social concern, community development, case study learning and planning and implementation. Responses on planning and implementation have been incorporated in Section 2.5

2.9.1 Economics

Responses

---

T Pa G F P I C

---

Beneficial Impacts

- 8 5 3                      Extra funding and jobs have been created because of the program.
- 6 4 2                      Job skills and training have been increased.
- 4 3 1                      More locals are being hired as outfitters.

Problems

- 5 2 2 1                    - Job creation has been mainly government funded.
- 

2.9.2 Social Concerns

Responses

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T Pa G F P I C

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Beneficial Impacts

- 11 10 1                    - Tourism has been more controlled to minize social problems.
- 1 1 9 2                    - The program has encouraged more local cultural learning and pride.
- 5 3 2                      - The program has increased awareness of tourism.

Problems

- 7 2 2 1                    - The program has raised personal expectations falsely.
-

2.9.3 Community Development

Responses

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**T Pa G F P I C**

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Beneficial Impacts

- |            |   |   |
|------------|---|---|
| 26 12 10 2 | 2 | - The program increased <b>local</b> control through the Tourism Committee. |
| 1 1 7 3 1  |   | - Outfitting has become more organized.                                     |
| 4 2 2      |   | - The program got things started in the community.                          |

Problems

- |             |  |   |
|-------------|--|---|
| 1 0 3 4 2 1 |  | - The program has created unrealistic development expectations.   |
| 4 1 1 1 1   |  | - Program funding has been all government, which only prolongs dependency.                                |
| 4 1 1 1 1   |  | - The program has not encouraged people to look at other forms of development.                            |
| 4 1 1 1 1   |  | - The program has focused attention on capital projects rather than organizational community development. |
-



2.10 **WHAT ARE THE CURRENT PROBLEMS OR OPPORTUNITIES FOR TOURISM IN PANGNIRTUNG?**

Responses

---

T Pa G F P I C

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Opportunities

- |                 |   |
|-----------------|---|
| 1 6 1 0 3 2 1   | - Local people support tourism development.                   |
| 1 1 3 4 4       | - Tourism is a priority with government funding programs.     |
| 1 1 3 3 1 2 1 1 | - Pangnirtung has many attractions and resources for tourism. |
| 9 3 2 2 1 1     | - Tourism fits with the local lifestyle and culture.          |

Problems

- |                     |   |
|---------------------|---|
| 2 0 9 6 1 2 1 1     | Lack of tourism awareness and skills.                         |
| 1 0 2 4 2 1 1       | Substandard hotel.  |
| 1 0 3 3 2 2         | Infrastructure is lacking.                                    |
| 1 0 3 2 3 1 1       | Costs of construction and transportation are too high.        |
| <b>10 3 3 1 1 2</b> | The market is limited because of remoteness and short season. |
| 7 2 2 1 1 1         | Capital for local investment is lacking.                      |
| 5 2 3               | Funding is too slow and restrictive.                          |
| 5 2 3               | Training is inadequate and too narrow.                        |
- 

2.11 **WHAT ARE SOME IMPORTANT CURRENT GOALS AND RECOMMENDATIONS FOR THE PROGRAM IN PANGNIRTUNG?**

Questions asked in this regard included: "What would you like to see the program achieve now?", "How could the present situation be improved?", "What would you like to see maintained, and what **would you** like to see changed?", and "What specific things to you think should be done to make the tourism program better in Pangnirtung?"

Responses were received in all five areas of: general tourism development, economics, social concerns, community development, and case study learning.

### 2.11.1 General Tourism Development

#### Responses

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T P a G F P I C

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#### General

2 0 1 3 3 2 1 1	A museum and interpretation center should be built.
2 0 1 1 4 1 2 1	Outfitting services should be expanded.
2 0 1 0 5 2 1 2	Tourism facilities, infrastructure, and services should be improved.
20 9 3 3 2 3	Hotel should be upgraded or replaced.
1 6 8 3 1 2 2	Facilities services should be diversified to accommodate new activities.
1 2 6 2 1 2 1	The tourist season should be expanded to the shoulder seasons and winter.
6 3 2 1 1	Economical accommodation should be expanded.

#### Growth of Tourism

1 7 1 1 3 1 1 1	- Keep growth under control by locals.
7 7	- Increase the number of tourists in Pangnirtung.
3 3	- Maintain the present number of tourists. "--
1 1	- Reduce the number of tourists.

#### Tourism and Business Skill Development

1 7 6 5 2 2 2	- Tourism skills should be improved.
1 7 5 4 3 2 3	- Training should be expanded and improved.

#### Funding

6 3 2 1	- Funding should be made secure on a long-term basis, rather than just short-term.
3 2 1	- Funding should be increased.

#### Marketing

1 6 6 4 2 2 2	- Marketing skills and programs should be improved.
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### 2.11.2 Economics

#### Responses

T	P	a	G	F	P	I	C	
1	0	8	2					Continue to provide jobs through the Tourism Committee.
1	0	5	2	1	1	1		- Encourage more local hiring.
7	4	2					1	- Local economic benefits should be increased.
6	3	2	1					Establish more businesses run by <b>Inuits</b> .
4		21					1	- Tourism should become self-supporting.
4	1	2					1	- Facilitate increased local investment.

### 2.11.3 Social Concerns

#### Responses

T	P	a	G	F	P	I	C	
1	2	6	3	1	2			- <b>Social</b> and cultural tourism programs should be maintained.
1	2	5	5	1	1			- Tourism awareness should be improved.
6	3	2					1	- Local customs should be more respected by locals.
6	3	2					1	- Tourists should be made more aware of local traditions.
4	4							The Tourism Committee should continue to hire a wide variety of people for its summer programs.

#### 2.11.4 Community Development

##### Responses

<u>T</u>	<u>P</u>	<u>a</u>	<u>G</u>	<u>F</u>	<u>P</u>	<u>I</u>	<u>C</u>	
<u>Local Control and Management</u>								
15	6	5	2	1	1			- Local program control and management should be maintained and strengthened.
8	4	2		1	1			- Improve local involvement in tourism.
7	3	1		1	1	1		- Improve professional follow-up and management training.
6	3	2				1		- Set up a local development corporation.
5	3	2						- Hire a full-time tourism officer for Pangnirtung.
<u>Overall Community Development</u>								
12	10			1	1			- Support Inuit land claims.
8	1	3	2	1		1		- Encourage development in non-tourism sectors.

#### 2.11.5 Case Study Learning

##### Responses

<u>T</u>	<u>P</u>	<u>a</u>	<u>G</u>	<u>F</u>	<u>P</u>	<u>I</u>	<u>C</u>	
7	3	3				1		- The program should be more closely monitored and evaluated to learn from it.

2.12 WHAT OTHER TYPES OF DEVELOPMENT ARE SUITABLE FOR PANGNIRTUNG?

Responses

T	P	a	G	F	P	I	C	
1	4	1	1	1	1	1	1	Don't know - but somebody <b>should find out.</b>
9	4		3		1		1	- <b>Expanded arts and crafts production.</b>
8	5		1		1		1	- Country food store for local and intersettlement markets.
7	5	1		1				A fish processing facility.
6	3	2		1				Expanded local contracting companies for local construction.
3	3							A restaurant for local use.
2	2							<b>Local</b> gardening with greenhouses etc.

2.13 HOW DOES THE PANGNIRTUNG EXPERIENCE RELATE TO TOURISM OPPORTUNITIES IN OTHER COMMUNITIES?

Responses

T	P	a	G	F	P	I	C	
11	2	3	1	2	2	1		- <b>Pangnirtung</b> has many advantages because of its attractiveness and the proximity of the National Park.
1	0	3	3	2	1	1		- Every community has its own unique problems and opportunities.
1	0	2	4	2			2	- The planning process has been a valuable learning experience.
5		2	1		1	1		- <b>Pangnirtung</b> is more socially and politically sophisticated than many other arctic communities.

**2.14 AUYUITTUQ NATIONAL PARK RESERVE**

The main questions were asked regarding the National Park are detailed below. Most responses were received from National park employees.

**2.14.1 What are the Problems and Opportunities for Integrating the National Park with the Tourism Program?**

**Responses**

<b>T P a G F P I C</b>					
<u>Opportunities</u>					
1	7	5	3	1 5 2 1	Auyuittuq Park attracts many tourists to the area and provides facilities for them.
6	1	1	4		The park creates jobs and skill development for local people.
5			5		Local input to park operations is encouraged through the Local Advisory Committee.
4			4		National Parks are giving tourism development a higher planning priority than before.
4			4		The proposed Management Plan planning process will provide opportunities for local input.
<u>Problems</u>					
9	2	2	5		National Park conservation objectives are-often incompatible with tourism objectives.
6	3	1	2		The National Park has raised unrealistic expectations regarding jobs and economic benefits.
5	2		3		The Local Advisory Committee is ineffective.
4			4		The environmental carrying capacity of the park is low.

2.14.2 What Goals and Recommendations are Appropriate for the Future of the Auyuittuq Park?

Responses

T P a		G F P I C			
1752			10		- Increase local <b>participation</b> , involvement, and <b>responsibilities</b> in park management.
8	2	1	5		Hire local people for park jobs.
8		3	5		Integrate National Park programs with regional development goals.
7	3	2	2		Improve park awareness programs.
4			4		Continue with the plan to institute a Park Management Plan.

2.15 **KEKERTON WHALING STATION AND LOCAL HISTORIC SITES**

Kekerton Island is a historic whaling station in the Cumberland Sound, approximately 4 hours by boat from Pangnirtung. At present, archaeological work is proceeding on the island under the direction of a GNWT archaeologist, Marc Stevenson. The GNWT is developing it as a historic site.

Pangnirtung itself also has several buildings that are historic and date back to the whaling era. Community concern was also expressed in regard to these sites.

Two main questions were asked in regard to Kekerton and local historic sites.

**2.15.1 What are the Problems or Opportunities of Integrating Kekerton and Local Historic Sites into the Tourism Program?**

**Responses**

<b>T</b>	<b>Pa</b>	<b>G</b>	<b>F</b>	<b>P</b>	<b>I</b>	<b>C</b>
<u>Opportunities</u>						
17	10	3		3	1	- Kekerton has important cultural value for locals.
1	6	8	4	3	1	- Kekerton is a potentially major attraction for tourists and has important historical value.
13	10	2		1		- Historic sites in <b>Pangnirtung</b> are also attractive to tourists <b>and</b> highly valued by locals.
5				5		- Cost sharing between Parks Canada and other agencies is possible.
<u>Problems</u>						
7		4		3		Tourism development and archaeological conservation <b>goals</b> are not always compatible.
6	2	2		2		Historic sites in <b>Pangnirtung</b> are in poor repair and expensive to up-keep.
4		2		2		Poorly defined jurisdiction and coordination exists between Parks Canada and different territorial departments.
4				4		Parks Canada is under budget constraints. '-



**2.15.2 How Should Kekerton and Local Historic Sites be Managed?**

**Responses**

		<b>T</b>	<b>Pa</b>	<b>G</b>	<b>F</b>	<b>P</b>	<b>I</b>	<b>C</b>	
<b>1364</b>						<b>3</b>			<b>Kekerton</b> and local historic sites should be developed for controlled tourism and cultural heritage.
<b>1262</b>						<b>6</b>			Artifacts and buildings should be protected and researched.
<b>1062</b>						<b>2</b>			Locals should control and manage development.
<b>1032</b>						<b>5</b>			Improve interpretation facilities.
<b>1032</b>						<b>5</b>			Cooperation and joint management should be improved.
<b>7</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>2</b>					<b>1</b>		Kekerton should be managed as per the guidelines contained in Marc Stevenson's 1984 Kekerton report.
<b>6</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>1</b>					<b>3</b>		Cost sharing and alternative funding should be improved.

**2.16 MARKETING**

Questions in the area of marketing included the following:

**2.16.1 What are Existing Tourist Markets for Pangnirtung?**

(As this data was mainly factual, rather than evaluative, number of responses for each item are not recorded.)

Visitor profile: Existing visitors consist primarily of the following groups: young well-to-do world travelers; naturalist backpackers; well-to-do over 50 international travelers; and sports fishermen and hunters.

Visitor interests: Activities that these visitors were interested in include: wilderness camping, hiking, mountain climbing, educational activities, Inuit cultural activities, being adventurous, sport fishing, sport hunting, and photography.

**2.16.2 What are the problems and Opportunities for Tourism Marketing in Pangnirtung?**

**Responses**

<b>T P a G F P I C</b>								
							<u>Opportunities</u>	
9	1	2	1	4	1		- There is considerable growth potential for developing existing markets.	
9	3	2	1	2			- More markets could be developed with diversification of activities.	
							<u>Problems</u>	
1	2	5	3	1	3		Marketing is poorly done.	
1	0	3	3	1	1	2	Marketing roles and responsibilities are poorly defined and uncoordinated.	
8	2	1				5	Local contact with the travel industry is poor.	
7	3	2				2	Market target groups are not well defined.	
7		2				4	1	Growth potential is limited.
7	3	2				2		Local operators have poor awareness and skills in marketing.
4	1	1				2		Marketing studies and seminars have been poor.

### 2.16.3 How Could Marketing be Improved for Pangnirtung?

#### Responses

<u>T</u>	<u>Pa</u>	<u>G</u>	<u>F</u>	<u>P</u>	<u>I</u>	<u>C</u>
9	3	2	1	3	-	Marketing roles and responsibilities should be better defined and coordinated.
7	1			6	-	Information to wholesalers and potential customers should be improved.
6	4	1		1	-	Marketing awareness and training should be improved.
5	1	1		3	-	Locals should work more with private industry.
4	1			3	-	Saleable products should be developed and packaged better.

### 2.17 TOURISM COMMITTEE

A number of questions were asked about the Tourism Committee and its programs. Mainly Pangnirtung residents were asked these questions, as they were the most familiar with the Tourism Committee, hence, only the total number of responses are indicated.

#### 2.17.1 What are the Strengths and Weaknesses of the Pangnirtung Tourism Committee?

##### Responses

##### Total

##### Strengths

- 13 The committee is doing a good job.
- 10 It helps control tourism development in the community.
- 7 It provides a good information centre.
- 6 It provides jobs for local people.
- 5 The hosting program is good.
- 5 It does a good job of organizing outfitters.
- 5 Its programs help reinforce the cultural identity of the community.
- 2 It maintains good contact with other organizations and the community at large.
- 2 It helps build skills and provides good role models for others to follow.

Total

Weaknesses

- |    |  |
|----|--|
| 15 | The community doesn't know much about the committee.                         |
| 8  | There is a lack of communication with local people about committee programs. |
| 5  | There is a lack of tourism expertise and awareness on the committee.         |
| 5  | There is a lack of effective management and follow-through.                  |
| 3  | Awareness programs are ineffective.  |

**2.17.2 How Could the Tourism Committee and its Programs be Improved?**

Responses

Total

- |    |  |
|----|--|
| 15 | Improve community contact and information.                     |
| 5  | Have more tourism related people in the committee.             |
| 5  | Become more freely elected and independent.                    |
| 4  | Involve more local people in program monitoring and planning.  |
| 3  | Improve the centre as an information centre for residents.     |
| 3  | Expand the cultural programs.                                  |
| 3  | Do more training and awareness programs for committee members. |
| 3  | Create a full-time tourism officer position.                   |
| 2  | Create a tourism development corporation.                      |



Figure 18: Dog Team

**APPENDIX B**  
**OVERVIEW OF IMPLEMENTATION STRATEGY**

Source: Marshall, Macklin, Monaghan, 1982

OVERVIEW OF IMPLEMENTATION STRATEGY • CAPITAL PHASING PROGRAM (Planning And Capital Development)					
PROJECT / PROGRAM	YEAR	START-UP	I	IV	V
A. ATTRACTIONS/TOURS/EVENTS					
1. Duval River Interpretive Hike			●		
2. Mt. Duval Scenic Hike			●		
3. Kolik River Hike			●		
4. Anlasiviktuk Overnight Camp			●		
5. Kingardjuak Tourist Summer Camp			●		
6. Usualluk Whaling Station Tour			●		
7. Kokerten Whaling Station Tour			●		
8. Cumberland Sound Sea Hunt			●		
9. Char Fishing Activity				●	
10. Overland Day				●	
11. Winter/Spring Snowmobile Tour					●
12. Arctic Cross-Country Tour					●
13. Kingnait Fjord Hike					●
13A Arts and Crafts Program			●		
13B. Incentive Weather Activities			●		
13C. Film Library			●		
B. HOSPITALITY					
ION					

- 14. Community Host Program
- 15. Community Information
- 16. Industry Awareness/Marketing
- 17. Tour Group Outfitting
- 18. Community Improvement Program

C. INFRASTRUCTURE

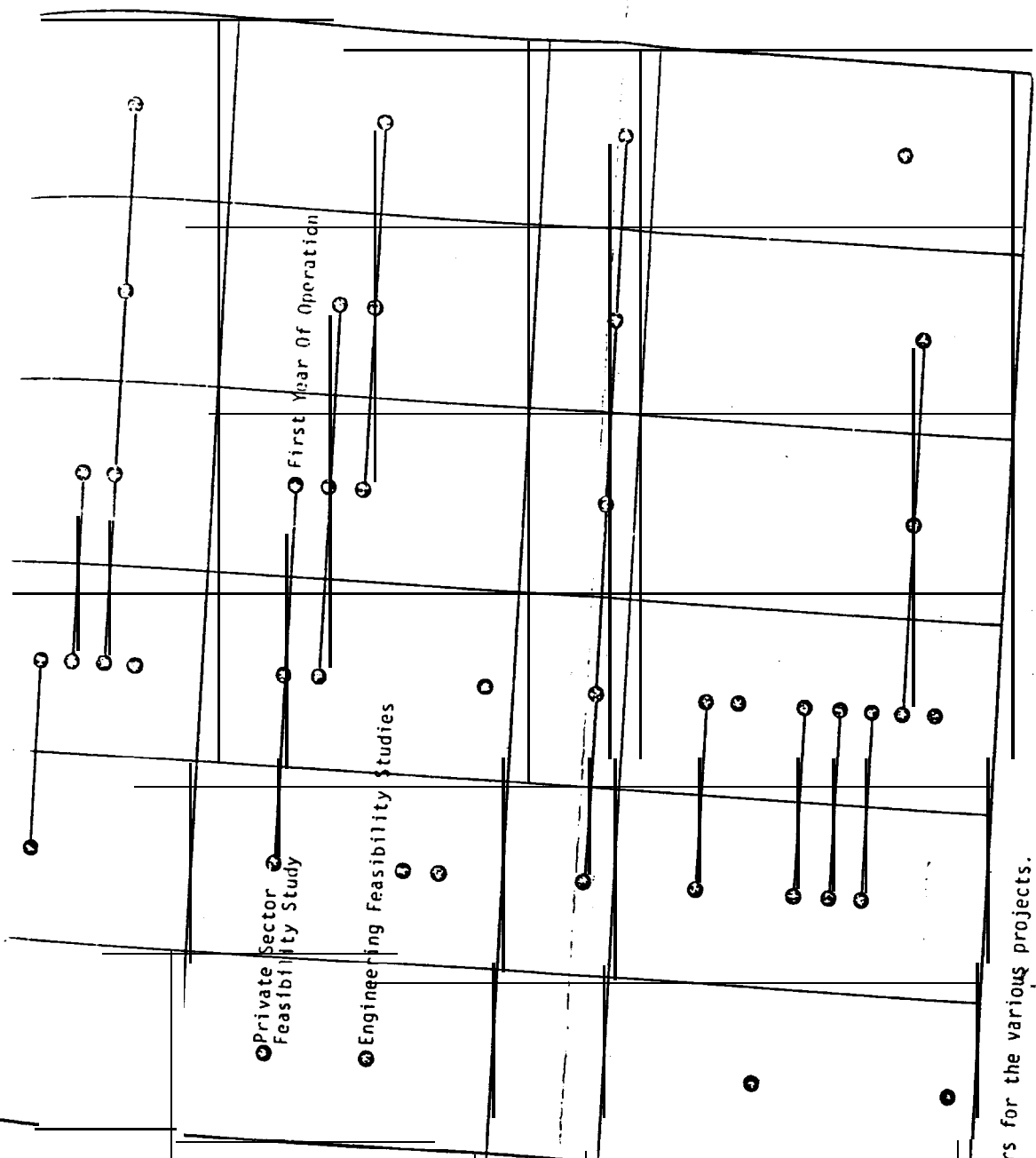
- 19. Visitor Accommodation
- 20. Airport Facilities Upgrade
- 21. Dock/Wharfing Facilities
- 22. Utility Services
- 23. Charter Flight Program
- 24. Upgrade Territorial Park
- 25. Search and Rescue Program

D. INDUSTRY ORGANIZATION

- 26. Community Tourist Board

E. TRAINING PROGRAMS

- 27. Awareness Training
- 28. Interpretive Training
- 29. Trail Construction/Management
- 30. Search and Rescue Training
- 31. Hotel Management
- 32. Service Industry Training
- 33. Small Business Management
- 34. Tour Wholesaler Familiarization
- 35. Educational Tours



\*Denotes initiation and completion years for the various projects.