

# VULNERABILITY IN CANADA'S NORTH

Understanding a Northern Community's Adaptation to Climate Change and Tourism

Development

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### **Abstract**

This thesis focuses on community perspectives of tourism development and climate change in the community of Nain, Newfoundland and Labrador. It employed a conceptual model of vulnerability developed by Ford, Smit and Wandel (2006) as a macro-framework to assess the community's ability to adapt over time to both phenomena of tourism development and climate change. For the purpose of this research, tourism developments focused on Indigenous tourism, as this is the desired development direction the community tourism planners wish to pursue. To assess the resident opinions of this form of tourism Smith's (1996) four "Hs" of Indigenous tourism development (habitat, history, heritage, and handicrafts) was used as a micro-framework within the macro-framework. Resident attitudes regarding tourism and climate change were gathered over the course of 29 one-on-one semi-structured interviews with a total of 35 participants, as well as field observations and field notes. Interviews were transcribed and coded using a two staged thematic coding procedure. Results indicated that the majority of residents have seen an increase in tourism development over time and are in favour of such development primarily for the economic benefits, with Indigenous tourism development being well-regarded. Furthermore, few connections were made by participants between tourism and climate change, although important tourism assets as perceived by participants may be affected by climate change-related impacts to their region.

Keywords: Arctic; Labrador; Indigenous Tourism; Climate Change; Adaptation

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An enormous thank you is also in order for those people in Nain who were willing to devote their time and knowledge to the topic(s) of this thesis, and also the friends I made during my time there. These people made my stay in the community more than enjoyable.

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## Chapter 1: Introduction

Climate related changes to the natural environments in the Canadian Arctic such as warming atmosphere, changing animal patterns and vegetation, as well as, melting sea ice and sea level rise have taken place and are expected to increase in severity in the near future (ACIA, 2004; Johnston, 2006; UNWTO, 2008). Such changes may have drastic effects on the people who reside in the region, for example, less predictable migration patterns of animals traditionally harvested by local Inuit may impede the harvesting process (Gunn, 1995) and economic developments like tourism. Tourism development in this project refers to the planning, management, and support for the aspects of the tourism industry necessary to make it sustainable (Garcia-Falcon & Medina-Munoz, 1999). Furthermore, this is important as one of the indirect outcomes of these changes may be an increase in Arctic tourism development due to a longer tourism season and less ice cover, making the waters easier to navigate (Johnston, 2006). On the other hand, with climate change come hazards and barriers that can decrease the potential for tourism development in the very same regions (Stewart, Howell, Draper, Yackel, & Tivy, 2007). In some instances, these changes may be less attractive wildlife to visitors (Stewart & Draper, 2007), or more dangerous/ rougher waters, which are less navigable (Johnston, 2006). Most important, as Simpson, Gossling, Scott, Hall, and Gladin (2008) point out, destination communities need to be well situated (economically, socially, and environmentally) in order to adapt and benefit from these changes, whether they be positive or negative.

As tourism in Canada's North is not an entirely new phenomenon, it does remain one of the fastest growing economic sectors in relation to Arctic economies and the tourism industry as a whole (Snyder & Stonehouse, 2007; Hall, 2001). While some growth is predicted in polar

tourism it is expected to be affected by trends in climate change including, but not limited to, a longer tourism season and easier access to tourism locations (Stonehouse & Snyder, 2007).

While others see climate change as a challenge to tourism growth in the Arctic, as ice dependent wildlife lose their habitat as it melts away (Stewart, Tivy, Howell, Dawson, & Draper, 2009).

Communities in northern Canada need to be able to adapt to both climate and tourism change in a sustainable manner so that positive impacts such as employment, can be maximized, while negative impacts such as, environmental degradation and cultural commodification are minimized. To understand a community's adaptive needs in relation to possible changes it is important to assess its level of exposure and adaptive capacity at present in order to learn of its vulnerability (Ford & Smit, 2004; Ford, Smit & Wandel, 2006). Doing this is intended to provide the community with, at the minimum, a substantiated idea as to areas (social, economic, environmental) which may or may not require attention in the form of governmental and/or economic support so that the community can benefit from possible tourism development.

### **Connection to Larger Research Project**

This study is a case study connected to the Tourism Vulnerability and Resilience in the Arctic (TVRA) project (for further information see Appendix B). This larger, multi-case-study project involved six northern communities in Canada: Pond Inlet, Cambridge Bay, Gjoa Haven, and Ulukhaktok (Nunavut); Kuujjuaq, Quebec (Nunavik), and; Nain, NL (Nunatsiavut). The main goal of the TRVA project was to identify community-level adaptation strategies to be utilized by local stakeholders and decision makers in the face of possible tourism changes. The TVRA project used Ford and Smit's (2004) as well as Ford, Smit and Wandel's (2006) vulnerability framework, in-order to understand the relationship between tourism and climate change. This framework allowed the researchers to examine and document past and present

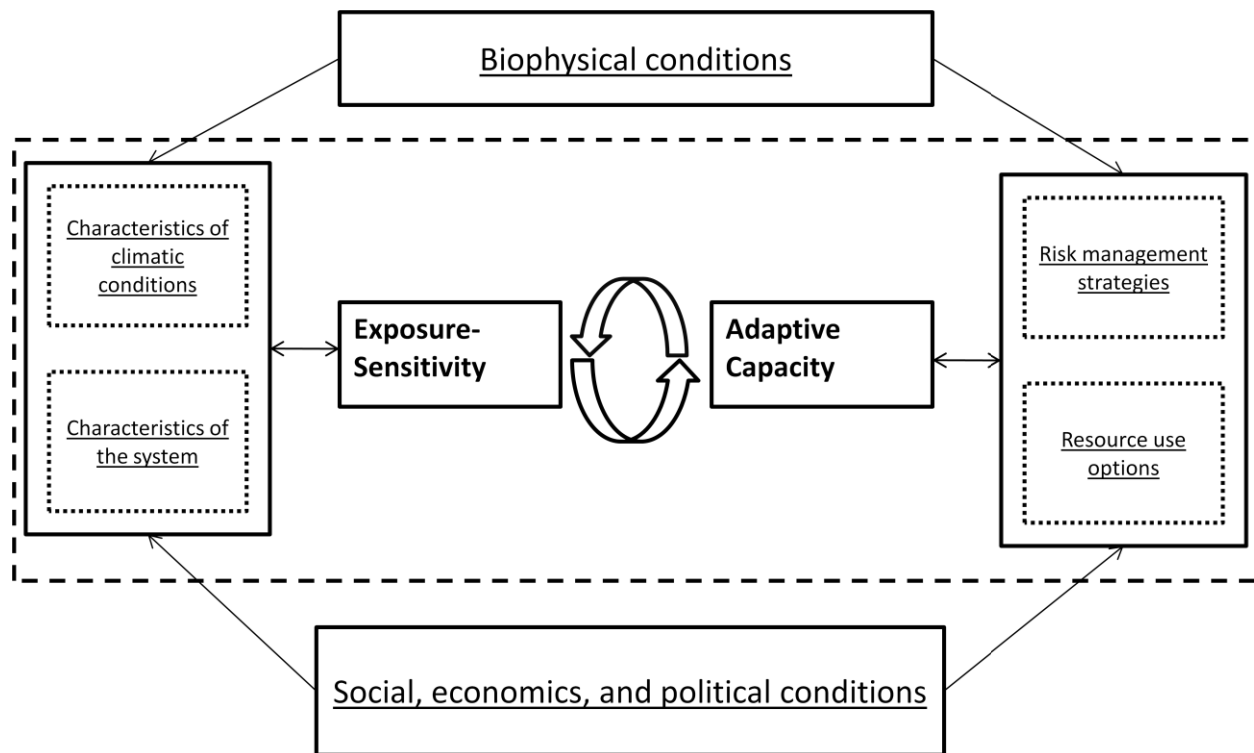
exposures and adaptation strategies to climate change and tourism. The project has produced community reports (available in PDF), three publications, and various conference presentations. The results from this particular study as well as the larger TVRA have been presented at the 3<sup>rd</sup> Conference of the International Polar Tourism Research Network. "From talk to action: How tourism is changing the polar regions" (April 16-21, 2012), which was held in Nain, Nunastivut.

Climate change and vulnerability assessments are emerging fields of Arctic research (Carina & Keskitalo, 2008; Ford & Smit, 2004; Ford, Smit & Wandel, 2006). The prevalence of this approach to climate change research as suggested by Ford, Smit and Wandel (2006) is a result of its explicit mention in the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change. The levels of vulnerability are determined by, "...the capacity of individuals or groups to anticipate, cope with, resist, and recover from the impact of a natural hazard" (Ford & Smit, 2004, p. 393). Smit and Wandel (2006, p. 147) emphasize the role(s) of, "livelihoods, access to resources, and power relations," within the aforementioned definition. Furthermore, vulnerability should be understood as being a result of a community's adaptive capacity in relation to its level of exposure. An/the exposure of a community takes into account particular characteristics of the community in their relation to the biophysical environment (such as depending on natural food sources) and adaptive capacity in the community's ability to address, plan for and adapt to such exposure(s) (Ford & Smit, 2004; Ford, Smit & Wandel, 2006).

Some determinants of adaptive capacity are mainly local (e.g. the presence of a strong kinship network which will absorb stress) while others reflect more general socio-economic and political systems (e.g. the availability of state subsidized crop insurance or, perhaps, the promotion of tourism operations). Furthermore, exposure and sensitivity can be seen as

inseparable properties of a community and are dependent on the interaction between the characteristics of the system and on the attributes of the climate stimulus. The exposure and sensitivity of a community to an environmental change risk (e.g. drought) reflect the likelihood of the system experiencing the particular conditions and the occupancy and livelihood characteristics of the community that influence its sensitivity to such exposure. For the purpose of this research, one should view tourism as a growing social and economic force in multiple communities across Canada's north, and may affect communities' sensitivity and vulnerability to climate stimuli.

Within this conceptualization of vulnerability, exposure, and adaptive capacity, natural disasters should be understood as being biophysical processes which are socially constructed, meaning the notion of a "disaster" is a social construct. Existing socio-political processes manage and attempt to mitigate risk and exposure to disasters (Ford, Smit & Wandel, 2006) (Figure 1). The ability to undertake adaptations can be influenced by such factors as, but not limited to: managerial ability; access to financial, technological and information resources; infrastructure; the institutional environment within which adaptations occur; political influence, and; kinship networks. Meaning, the affects of the natural disaster are often a result of the community's adaptive capacity rather than the characteristics of the disaster itself.



*Figure 1.* A conceptual model of vulnerability. Adapted from, “Vulnerability to climate change in the Arctic: A case study from Arctic Bay, Canada” by Ford, J.D., Smit, B. & Wandel, J. 2006, *Global Environmental Change*, 16, 147.

Studies examining climate change in Newfoundland and Labrador include examples from Furgal and Sequin (2006) and Furgal, Martin and Gosslin (2002); however, neither study examined the potential impacts of climate change on tourism. This thesis differs in that it examines community members’ views and attitudes towards both tourism and climate change, including the interaction of these factors in order to assess the community’s adaptive capacity in relation to exposure to those factors. This study was also conducted in order to establish a baseline understanding of the community views of tourism development and climate change in Nain and the greater region of Nunatsiavut. This understanding will be based on the views held by residents with varying levels of involvement with tourism in the community as well as operators and community decision makers.

**Case Study Area: Community of Nain and the Newly-formed Nunatsiavut Inuit****Government**

Established by Moravian missionaries in the late 18<sup>th</sup> century, Nain, NL, sits on the shore of Unity Bay (Labrador Sea), is the most northerly community in Labrador and is accessible only by boat or plane (Figure 2). Nain (pop. 1188 circa 2011) is the administrative capital and largest community in the recently created provincial territory of Nunatsiavut (“our beautiful land” in Inuktitut). Nunatsiavut as a region consists of four communities other than Nain: Hopedale, Makkovik, Rigolet, and Postville. These five communities have a combined population of 4800 (Furgal & Sequin, 2006). As a whole, there are 6500 beneficiaries of Nunatsiavut, many of which live outside of the region. There is a large middle-aged and senior population throughout the Nunatsiavut communities (Rodon & Grey, 2009), yet according to Statistics Canada (2011) Nain’s largest age cohort(s) are between 15 and 19 years, 20 – 24 years, and 25 – 29, all with 110 to 115 individuals respectively. Nunatsiavut has the lowest employment rates among Canada’s Inuit territories, but also has the highest education levels. The employment present in Nunatsiavut is largely resource based with a large nickel mine at Voisey’s Bay being the single largest employer in the territory (Nunatsiavut Government, n.d.). Otherwise, residents may work for the regional government, the fishing industry, or other public service organizations. Essentially, the town has two residential areas, one is in the lower part of town connected to the town dock, and the second being the newer part of town which is mostly residential, built within the past ten years. In the lower part of town, one can find a hotel, high school and elementary school, arena and community centre, hospital, government buildings, two department stores, church, fishing plant, wharf, and other buildings such as variety stores. The Park Canada office and the OK Society radio station are also located here.



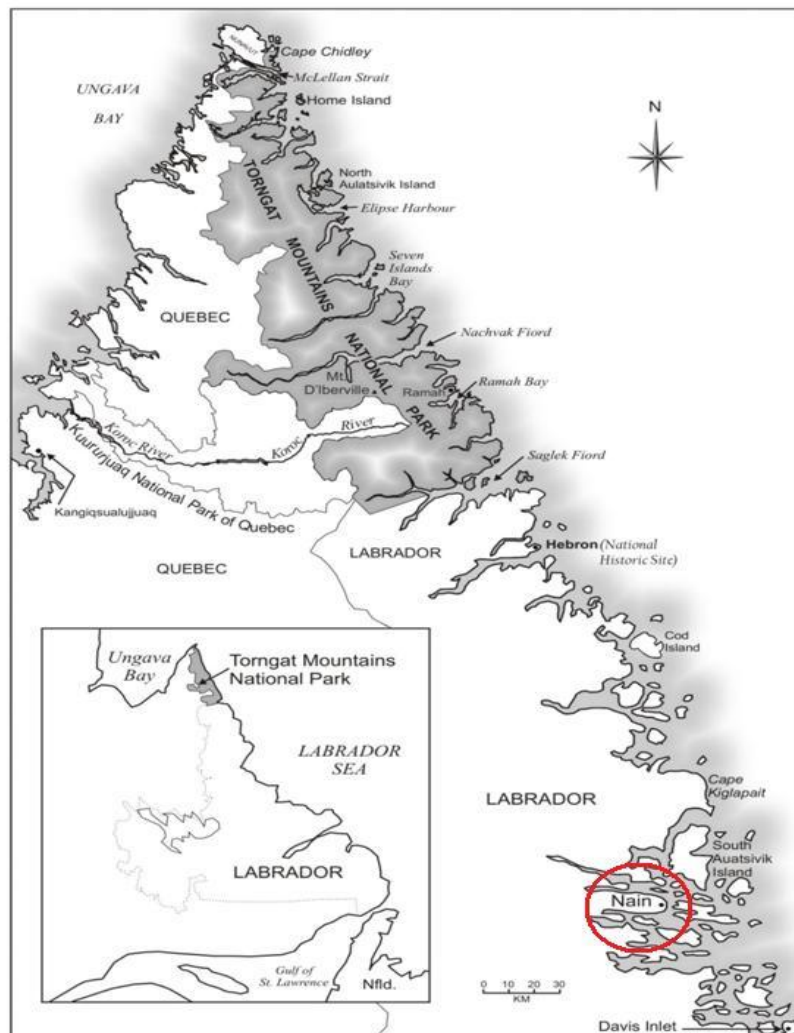


Figure 2. Map of Labrador with the northern portion of Nunatsiavut magnified, Torngat Mountains National Park shaded in dark gray, and community of Nain circled in red. Adapted from, “Northern exposure: Opportunities and challenges for tourism development in Torngat Mountains National Park, Labrador, Canada” by Maher, P.T. & Lemelin, R.H., 2010, *Polar Record*.

One last characteristic that sets apart Nunatsiavut from all other Inuit territories in Canada is its community members’ knowledge of Inuktitut: Of all the Inuit regions of Canada, Nunatsiavut has the fewest speakers of Inuktitut. According to Rodon and Grey (2009) only 27% of the population can sustain conversation, 22% consider it their mother tongue, and only 7% speak it at home. Furthermore, these statistics have remained rather stable in the past decade, while in Nunavut, knowledge of Inuktitut has increased (Rodon & Grey, 2009). Reason for the

relatively low knowledge of Inuktitut in Nunatsiavut likely lies in its historic context. There are multiple reasons for this unique characteristic, but it is namely a result of high exposure to European culture. Labrador had been much more exposed in the pre-confederation times (i.e. before 1867) than other Inuit regions and was furthermore influenced by Moravian missionaries (Armitage, 2003). These missionaries originated in central Europe and settled within Labrador's Inuit communities where they were responsible for health, education, and trading services (Rodon & Grey, 2009). This influence lasted from the late 18<sup>th</sup> century until the mid-20<sup>th</sup> century when the newly formed province of Newfoundland and Labrador took over the essential services. Another result of the provincial power transfer was a major resettlement of the community of Hebron, which was north of Nain. In 1959, the province closed Hebron and resettled its residents throughout other Labrador and Northern Quebec Inuit communities (CBC News, 2009, July 24). The effects of this resettlement are still felt in communities such as Nain, where former Hebron residents had, and still have, economic difficulties integrating into their new communities (G. Baikie, personal communication, July 23, 2009).

### **Context of tourism**

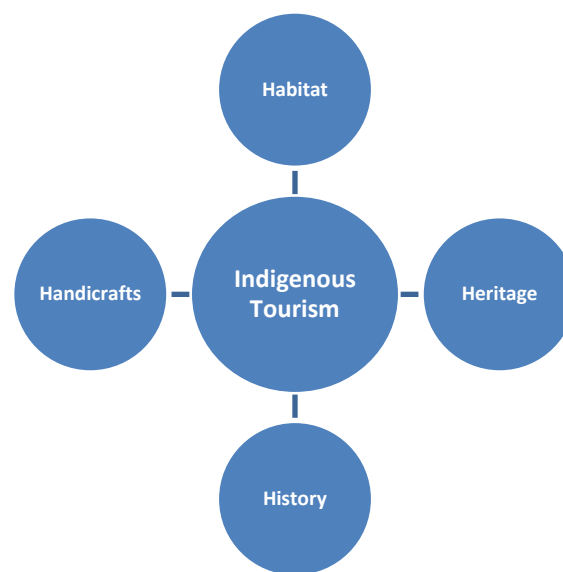
As William Anderson III, former president of Nunatsiavut stated, tourism is the “fastest growing renewable resource in Newfoundland and Labrador...[and] is an important economic force” (Nunatsiavut, 2006, p. 3). With the recent establishment of Torngat Mountains National Park, along with the Nunatsiavut tourism strategy, largely based on Indigenous and cultural tourism, visitation is expected to increase in the region. Issues important to the community regarding tourism development range from the integration of values and tradition, to cooperation with different communities and the involvement of youth (Nunatsiavut, 2006). A major issue raised in 2006 by Gary Baikie, a Nain resident, a Parks Canada employee and an important

contact for this research, has been an explicit concern for lack of involvement of Labrador Inuit in cruise ship planning. Ultimately, Nunatsiavut and Nain are expecting and preparing for an increase in tourism, but the resident involvement, integration of community culture, cooperation between communities, and involvement of youth remain of concern, for many residents.

During the initial establishment of the regional government, tourism became one of several economic and social sectors to be addressed by the new policy makers and planners (Nunatsiavut, 2006). More specifically, the community wishes to develop and benefit from its tourism assets in an economically, socially, and culturally sustainable manner (Nunatsiavut, 2006). Furthermore, in direct consultation with Nunatsiavut's tourism director, Kristy Sheppard (personal communication, July, 2009), the researcher was informed that Indigenous tourism and the promotion of local Labrador Inuit culture is the primary focus of tourism development in the region. For this reason, the Nunatsiavut portion of the TVRA project has an explicit focus on Indigenous tourism, while still taking into account other forms of tourism. This was done to maintain concurrence with the principles of community based research, which explicitly states that a research topic's relevance must be identified and verified by community members, be deemed pragmatically beneficial, and conducted in the community setting (Centre for Community-based Research, n.d.). On this note, one may see this as limiting the over-all scope of the study, which may be true. However, by focusing on this relevant form of tourism a better understanding may be obtained than would have been if all forms of tourism and aspects of climate change were studied: i.e. depth is more important than breadth.

The definition of Indigenous tourism, for the purpose of this study refers to a form of tourism where the primary focus of the traveller is to learn about and experience the local Indigenous culture of a host community (Butler & Hinch, 1996). Community ownership

whether in part or in entirety of these tourism enterprises is according to Kapashesit and colleagues (2011), crucial. Smith (1996) has developed a model for assessing the potentials (i.e. elements) of Indigenous tourism as the four Hs, habitat, heritage, history and, handicrafts (Figure 3). The four Hs ultimately refer to the elements of Indigenous tourism a community needs to possess in order to be a successful (socially, economically, environmentally) Indigenous tourism location.



*Figure 3.* Smith's four Hs of successful Indigenous tourism development. Adapted from *Indigenous tourism: The four Hs* (P. 288), by V.L. Smith, 1996, London: International Thomson Business Press.

- Habitat: The biophysical setting a community is situated, including the relation between that biophysical setting and the human population, i.e. traditional subsistence activities.
- Heritage: The ethno-cultural heritage of the host population. In the case of Nain, this would traditionally refer to the Inuit heritage of the community.
- History: The history of interaction between the community and Euro-Canadian society.
- Handicrafts: The availability of locally created and culturally relevant items for purchase as souvenirs.

Furthermore, the development of such a form of tourism can be sustainable when the local community maintains control of and approves the development/marketing efforts of each element (Smith, 1996).

Smith's (1996) four Hs of Indigenous tourism development will be of use to this research study as a micro-framework employed within the macro-framework of Ford and Smit's (2004) conceptual model of vulnerability. The macro-framework is used to make connections between tourism development and climate change in the case of Nain, Newfoundland and Labrador. Within this, as illustrated in Figure 1 and corresponding discussion, one takes into account the greater social, economic and environmental realities that draw connections between tourism and climate change. On the micro level, the four Hs help one understand the characteristics of the system (in reference to tourism) that ultimately constitute, in combination with the characteristics of the climatic system, the exposure-sensitivity of the community (Figure 4).

From a regional perspective, sustainable tourism refers to the appreciation and stewardship of the economic, cultural and environmental elements of development (Nunatsiavut, 2006). In the more specific context of Indigenous tourism development, from Smith's (1996) perspective, aspects of host control and approval are integral to the success and sustainability of this specific form of tourism. Smith's four Hs, for that matter, allow the researcher to break down Indigenous tourism to assess the sustainability of each element, as well as understand how each can change and be affected by climate and tourism change. This understanding is important to the macro-framework as the sustainability of tourism ultimately constitutes its impact, positive or negative, on the community's vulnerability and/or adaptability in the focus areas of this study.

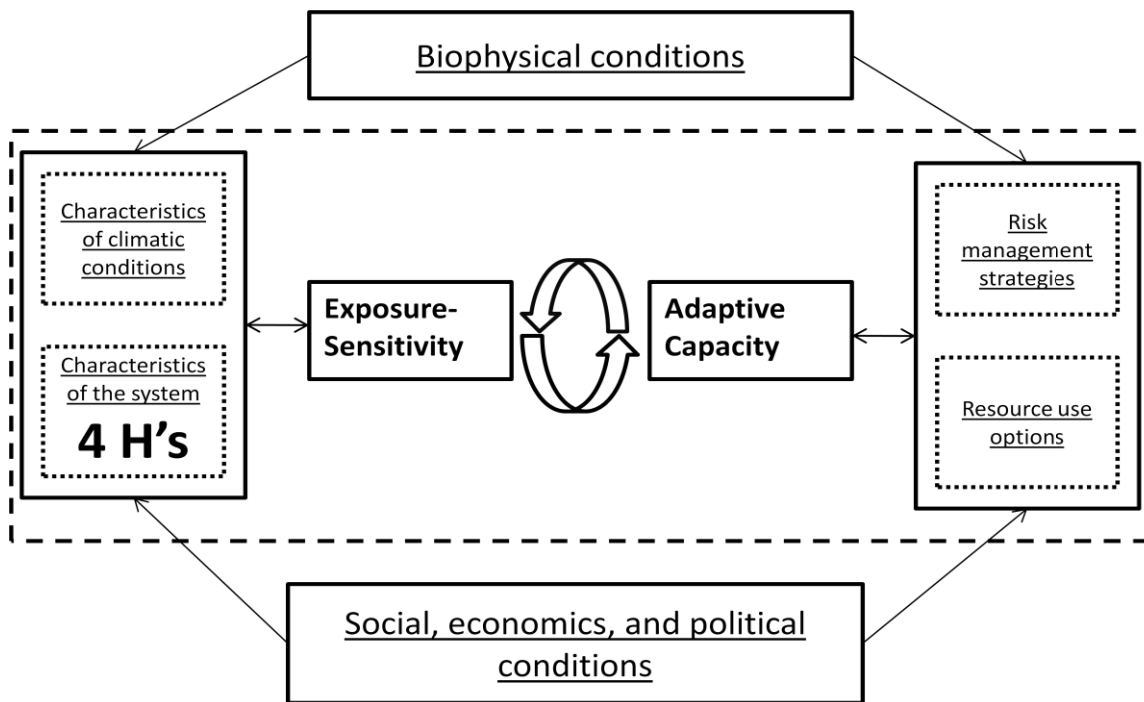


Figure 4. A conceptual model of vulnerability highlighting the four Hs as relevant 'Characteristics of the system'. Adapted from, "Vulnerability to climate change in the Arctic: A case study from Arctic Bay, Canada" by Ford, J.D., Smit, B. & Wandel, J. 2006, *Global Environmental Change*, 16, 147.

### **Goals and Objectives**

The purpose of this study was to assess the relationship(s) between local residents, climate change, and tourism development in the presence and level of current/future physical and social vulnerabilities. The following five objectives were developed in order to achieve the above mentioned purpose:

- Determine resident attitudes toward tourism and related phenomena in their community, e.g. whether or not tourism development will be accepted and for what reasons.
- Assess the relationship(s) between lifestyle, heritage, habitat, and climate change.
- Determine lifestyle characteristics that are at risk of exposure to tourism development and climate change.
- Define adaptation techniques (both personal and communal) to social, economic, and/or environmental changes.
- Determine nature of vulnerability in the context of climate change and tourism.

## Chapter 2: Literature Review

### Introduction

To understand Nain's vulnerability to tourism and climate change, one needs to understand the tourism and environmental context in which the community is situated. The first section introduces the polar Norths and more specifically sub-Arctic context of which Nain, NL is a part. Following this introduction to the polar region is an overview of the related history and progression of tourism in this region. The second section discusses polar tourism by presenting the types, trends, and other factors vital to understanding this industry throughout Northern Canada and more specifically Nain, NL. The focus on Indigenous and cultural tourism is assisted through the framework provided by Smith's (1996) four Hs (habitat, heritage, history and handicrafts). These four Hs are integral characteristics of a sustainable Indigenous tourism destination.

Thirdly, climate change and tourism literature are explored; both positive and negative changes such as decline and/or increasing wildlife populations are examined. Included in this section, the researcher examines opportunities presented by "last chance tourism", which is a trend in the tourism industry resulting from the marketing of environments and attractions as vanishing as a result of climate change (Lemelin, Dawson, Stewart, Maher, & Luck, 2010; Lemelin, Dawson, & Stewart, 2011). Fourth, the researcher will examine the impacts of one of Canada's most recently established national parks: The Torngat Mountains National Park (TMNP). This park is one example of co-operative management in action, where regional decisions-processes are emphasized and validated. Unfortunately TMPN is one of the exceptions in the Canadian parks system, since most decision vis-à-vis parks management



remain highly centralized with management/policy decisions resulting from deliberation made by a select few individuals within the park management rather than community as a whole (Plummer & FitzGibbon, 2004; Igoe, 2004). In this particular instance, TMNP is also a trans-boundary park, sharing its western border with a provincial park, Kuururjuaq Parc Nationale du Québec (KPNQ). Since Nain is considered the gateway community to TMNP, the establishments of these two parks may very well have an impact on future tourism strategies. Fifth, there will be an exploration of research in vulnerability, adaptation, and climate change in the Arctic. At this stage, the reader will be exposed to Ford, Smit and Wandel's (2006) vulnerability assessment framework that will ultimately apply to the research of this study as macro-framework. Lastly, resident perspectives and attitudes of tourism as topics within the literature will be introduced as a precursor to the following section on methods. Resident attitudes and views towards climate change and tourism development relate directly to the framework because this is, as previously discussed, a major focus of the study.

### **Arctic Regions: Geography and Climate**

There are multiple ways of perceiving the Earth's Polar Regions. Using lines of latitudes or summer/winter mean temperatures to define the polar regions are often "rejected on their artificial nature and irrelevance to: atmospheric and hydrospheric circulation, faunal distribution, climate change, the tree line or limits of permafrost, and to general isotherm patterns" (Dunbar, as cited in, Chaturvedi, 1996, p. 13). This study takes the dynamic and multidimensional view on the topic in that the Arctic can be referred to as the areas above the tree line where there is a continuous presence of permafrost (Dawson, Maher, & Slocombe, 2007; Chaturvedi, 1996), and from a social perspective, the regions traditionally and presently (mainly) inhabited by the Inuit and Innu (in Canada). The sub-Arctic, located directly south of the tree line where some

coniferous forest survives but also where winters are long and cold, will also be included. In the Canadian context, these parameters take into account the geographic areas of the Yukon, sections of Northwest Territories (NWT) and Nunavut, and the northern regions of Manitoba, Quebec, Ontario, and Newfoundland/Labrador (Figure 5).

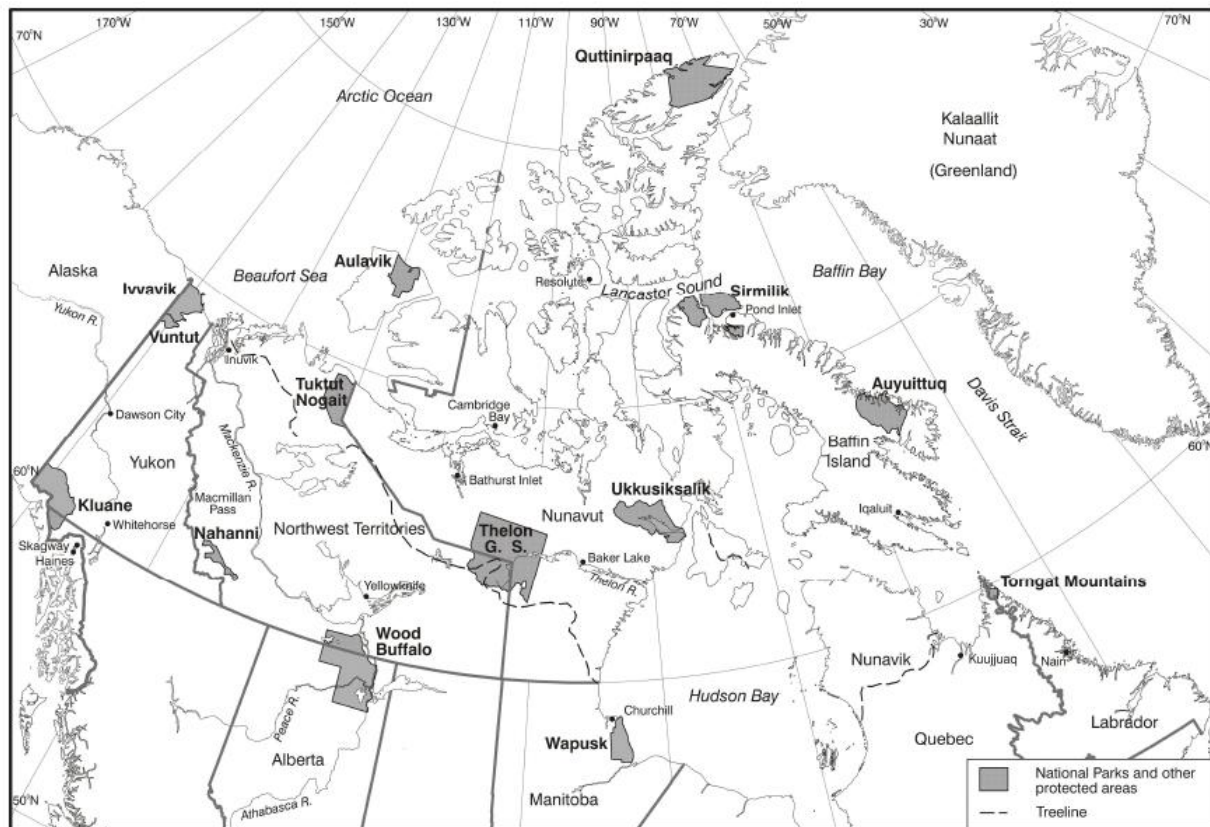


Figure 5. Map of Canadian Arctic regions including Alaska, Greenland, and the Canadian provinces and territories of the Arctic and sub-Arctic. Reprinted from, "Climate change, marine tourism, and sustainability in the Canadian Arctic: Contributions for systems and complexity approaches," by Dawson, J., Maher, P.T. & Slocombe, S., 2007, *Tourism in Marine Environments*, 4, 71.

### Sub-regions and climate

Within these geographic areas one will observe different environments: the sub-Arctic interior, the alpine transition area, and the Arctic Coast (Ferguson, 1995). The sub-Arctic interior includes much of the Yukon, Alaskan interior, south and central Mackenzie Basin (NWT), southern portions of Nunavut, and the northern sections of all aforementioned provinces

excluding Labrador. This area traditionally experiences less snowfall than the other two Arctic regions resulting in discontinuous permafrost and more vegetative growth (Ferguson, 1995). The alpine transition zone is labelled as such because it is influenced by both Pacific and Arctic climate patterns. Last and most relevant to this study is the Arctic coast climate zone. This area covers the northern sections of: Alaska, Yukon, NWT, Nunavut, Nunavik, and Nunatsiavut. This last zone displays far more complexity than the first two zones because the ocean currents are constantly changing on both the micro and macro scale (Roberts, Simon, & Deering, 2006). In the case of Nunatsiavut, which is a coastal area, there are zones closest to the coast where small tree growth can occur, while a few kilometres inland, the environment is closer to tundra where tree growth is severely limited (Roberts, Simon, & Deering, 2006).

### **Arctic Tourism: History and Progression**

At the most basic level, Arctic tourism can be generally defined as activities of travellers from areas outside the particular Arctic region of reference for the purpose of leisure and/or recreation (Hall & Johnston, 1995). However, there are many different facets of Arctic tourism that are at play within such a definition including but not limited to, mass and independent tourism, cruise tourism, ecotourism, extractive tourism, and many more. Snyder (2007) cites several examples of both independent and mass tourism across the 19<sup>th</sup> century as the American frontier closed as a destination for adventure (Armitage, 2004). A notable mention would be that of the Hayes/Bradford expedition which was described by *Harper's Weekly* in 1871 as a summer-long pleasure cruise around Greenland and Baffin Bay. Cultural and adventure tourism in the eastern Arctic, including northern Labrador, was increasing at approximately the turn of the century, however the tourists at this time were more likely referred to as gentleman explorers (Armitage, 2004). One of these "gentleman" explorers was Hesketh Prichard who is described by

Armitage (2004) as an individual yearning to explore the wilderness and ways of the Indigenous people who lived in the lands just west of Nain circa 1910. After Prichard's expeditions and following WWI, individuals like Dick White, his wife Ruth Townley, Wilfred Grenfell, and popular fiction books all promoted Labrador's tourism potentials through marketing, infrastructures, and transportations (Rompkey, 2003)

In recent decades, several barriers to entry have been lifted to allow for an increase in tourism to the Arctic (Lundgren, 1995). A major barrier up until the mid-20<sup>th</sup> century was lack of access. Not only did ice-cover make Arctic waters virtually impossible to navigate for the average ship, but many remote locations lacked comprehensive maps and scientific information of the regions (Snyder & Stonehouse, 2007). Of course, the region was not entirely inaccessible, with military operations beginning in the turn of the century, as well as the establishment of the DEW line in the 1950's. Simple advancements in clothing and other technologies have made the polar environments much more comfortable for tourists coming from more temperate climates. Another important factor that increased tourism development was an affluent middle class that could afford polar trips which took less time as they did in the past as well as became more affordable than in previous years/decades (Snyder & Stonehouse, 2007; Hall & Johnston, 1995). More specifically, as Lundgren (1995, p. 54) confirms, accessing the north became less expensive as road access as well as major development in air transport happened in the mid-late 20<sup>th</sup> century causing the "tourist frontier to move north very quickly." Most recently there has been a growing trend in polar tourism that some researchers have termed last chance tourism. This type of tourism refers to a pattern among tourists' motivations where seeking out vanishing landscapes and cultures before they are gone becomes the main drive for their choice in

destination (Dawson et al., 2010; Lemelin, et al., 2012). The opening of certain ice passage-ways has also indirectly facilitated last chance tourism.

### **Types of Tourism in the Canadian North**

Multiple forms of tourism take place in the Canadian Arctic and sub-arctic region(s). These include: cruise, both expedition and luxury; wildlife viewing and hunting; adventure, and; heritage and education, also known as cultural (Snyder & Stonehouse, 2007; Hall & Johnston, 1995). In the context of Nain and Nunatsiavut at present, the region is focusing on cruise tourism, cultural tourism and adventure tourism (Nunatsiavut, 2006). There is expedition cruising, consumptive and non-consumptive wildlife tourism, adventure tourism, all contributing to an increased interest in developing the destination as a cultural tourism attraction.

In consultation with the tourism director of Nunatsiavut, Kristy Sheppard, before this study began, the researcher was made aware that the community and region as a whole will be investing in their Indigenous tourism assets. This sub-type of tourism can be understood as a form of cultural tourism with a particularly strong emphasis on control by those whose (Indigenous) culture is being promoted as part of the tourist experience (Butler & Hinch, 1996). As previously stated in the introduction, because Nunatsiavut is focusing on Indigenous tourism development, this research will pay more attention to this form of tourism than the previously mentioned ones. The following sub-sections each introduce a corresponding form of tourism, followed by the relevance each form of tourism has to the context of this study using specific/current examples, and an overview of the research surrounding that particular form of tourism.

### **Cruise tourism**

There are two forms of cruise tourism that take place in the Arctic. The first is the luxury cruise boats carrying thousands of passengers who are typically passive observers when on shore. The second is expedition-style cruise tourism, which is presently the only form that occurs in Nunatsiavut. Expedition-style cruising involves gaining access to hard-to-reach places (often by zodiac), an emphasis on education (including on-board lecture and high quality interpretation), all with passengers who are usually well educated and have above-average incomes (Kriwoken, Ellis & Holms, 2006; Thomson & Thomson, 2006). With the exception of Hull (2001), Hull and Milne, (2010) and Maher and Lemelin (2011), few researchers have examined cruise tourism in this region of Canada. According to Maher and Lemelin (2010), Torngat Mountains National Park (TMNP) has seen a rise from 2 cruise ship visitations in 2006 to 6 in 2008, going from 272 visitors in 2006 to 565 in 2008 (1321 over three years), representing a steep rise in visitation to the area of Nunatsiavut as a whole, although unfortunately, more recent data is not available.

According to Snyder and Stonehouse (2007), cruise tourism, in sheer numbers of tourists and economic impact, is the largest form of tourism in the Arctic, which may not be too surprising considering Marsh and Staple's (1995) predictions regarding cruise industry growth in the Canadian Arctic. Although there has been some research conducted on the social effects of cruise tourism in Nunavut communities (Grekin & Milne, 1996; Marquez & Eagles, 2007) and general reflections on the Canadian Arctic cruise industry as a whole (Thompson & Thompson, 2006), some have found that research on the topic is somewhat limited, and "...based on anecdotal reports and speculation" (Stewart, et al., 2007, p. 372). One such anecdote, as stated earlier, is when Nain hosted cruise passengers in the summer of 2009, with food and

entertainment, which was in their eyes a highly successful event for the tourists and for the community members who joined in the festivities (Molly Shiwak [Business Development Officer], personal communication, July 23, 2009). It should be mentioned that some of these passengers purchased soapstone carvings made by a resident carver, thus contributing to the local economy. In terms of planning for future cruise landings, community planners are presently looking to attract more cruise operators to their community (Martin Karlsen [Polar Star Expeditions], personal communication, July 23, 2009).

### **Wildlife tourism**

Non-consumptive wildlife tourism is generally described as a subset of nature-based tourism where tourists actively seek out encounters and/or observations of wildlife (Reynolds & Braitwaite, 2001). There is also the presence of well-developed consumptive wildlife tourism activities in Northern Canada (Freeman & Wenzel, 2006). Consumptive differs in that it is heavily focused on the extraction of wildlife resources (Nolvelli, Barnes, & Humavindu, 2006), rather than the act of viewing and photography. In the specific context of Nain and Nunatsiavut, tourists can expect to see an abundance of wildlife, particularly polar bear and caribou (Lemelin & Maher, 2009). Lastly, Nunatsiavut (2006) has identified both consumptive and non-consumptive wildlife tourism as potential markets to focus on in tourism planning.

In the sub-Arctic, there have been multiple studies on polar bear viewing and the impacts of it in Churchill, Manitoba (Dyck & Baydack, 2004; Clark, 2003; Lemelin & Wiersma, 2007; Dawson, et al., 2009). Wildlife viewing has been a growing market in Arctic tourism (Johnston, 1995; Notzke, 1999) sports hunting and fishing remains an important tourism industry in the Canadian Arctic (Freeman & Wenzel, 2006; Snyder, 2007) and Labrador (Hull, 1999). Snyder (2007) notes that many local communities embrace sport hunting and fishing as a form of

tourism because it not only allows for local people to get out on the land, but can also have a low rate of revenue leakage. Revenue leakage, in this case, refers to money that leaks from a destination's economy, such as when food purchased by tourists is imported from a different destination than the one they are visiting (Mill & Morrison, 2002). This idea has been reiterated by Freeman and Wenzel (2006) and Dowsley (2009) regarding polar bear hunting in Nunavut, where successful social and economic benefits are generated from polar bear hunts in the high Arctic. Unfortunately, however, little research has been done regarding the potential effects of such tourism in the context of Labrador, leaving this information to be somewhat anecdotal.

### **Adventure tourism**

The third form of tourism to be discussed is that of adventure tourism. Adventure tourism consists of activities where individuals experience interplay of both competence and risk (Martin & Priest, as cited in, Weber, 2001). Furthermore, this definition has been expanded upon to include a quest for insight and knowledge common in such tourism experiences (Weber, 2001). Nain has recently become a jumping point for adventure tourists looking to experience the extreme geography of the region. One example would be Clark's (2010) self-documented backcountry ski trip in the TMNP. Speaking of his trip, Clark (2010, n.p.) says,

...the geography on the Northern coast is very rugged and mountainous, and that's where we were headed. Fjords from the Atlantic cut deep fingers into glaciated mountains, giving them a dramatic steep appearance, which is obviously why we went!

A second example would be the kayak trip documented in *Canadian Geographic* magazine. In his article, Kobalenko (2007, p.40) describes his mindset when kayaking the coast of the Torngat Mountains, "[t]he prospect gave me pre-trip nightmares. It takes more than good sea judgement and a bombproof Eskimo roll to tackle this coastline." Furthermore, Kobalenko (2007) describes



the conclusion of his adventure as stopping in Nain where he will catch a flight home. As for Clark, a section of his backcountry ski report is devoted to his time (including cultural experiences) in the town of Nain before he departed for his excursion. These two accounts of adventure tourism in the context of Nunatsiavut and Nain represent what may be a growing pattern in the region's tourism development.

From reading the experiences of some adventure tourists to the region, it should be obvious that the remoteness, topography, and climate of the Nunatsiavut region are able to offer risks to those who wish to seek them. Other adventure tourism activities that could take place in the region may include, but are not limited to, trekking, white water canoeing, and/or mountain climbing (Parks Canada, 2010). Adventure tourists differ from other types of tourists because of the individualistic/intrinsic rewards that are common among many adventure seekers (Snyder, 2007; Fluker & Turner, 2000). Also, adventure tourists often do not require or prefer not to have the same services other types of tourists do, such as the participation in cultural activities or the availability of souvenirs. Lastly, they can be difficult to manage because this type of tourism often takes place in remote areas where the management presence is low and risk is high (Snyder, 2007; Lemelin & Maher, 2009). Understanding adventure tourism will better allow tourism planners in the region and community to draw in and accommodate these visitors.

### **Cultural tourism**

For this study, culture is defined as, "shared acquired patterns of behaviour and meanings that are constructed and transmitted within social-life contexts for the purpose of promoting individual and group survival, adaption and adjustment" (Marsella, Dubanoski, Hamada, & Morse, 2000, p. 50). In the Canadian Arctic specifically, there is both the current presence and historical evidence of the Indigenous populations who have inhabited the region for thousands of

years (Balikci, 1970). There is no one definition of Indigenous people, but for the purpose of this paper Indigenous societies are defined as those that have:

...historical continuity with pre-settler societies, close links with particular territories and their natural resources, distinct socio-economic systems and cultures, non-dominant status within a society and resolution to maintain and perpetuate aspects of ancestral culture and lifestyle as distinctive communities (United Nations Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues, as cited in, Weaver, 2009, p. 43).

Cultural tourism in the context of Nunatsiavut and Nain may more appropriately be referred to as Indigenous tourism, as it will be the Indigenous characteristic(s) of the communities that make it a draw for tourists. Furthermore, when in consultation with Nunatsiavut's tourism director, Kristy Sheppard (Personal communication, October 20, 2009), it has been brought to the author's attention that the region wishes to eventually market itself as an Indigenous tourism destination. Butler and Hinch (1996, p. 9) refer to Indigenous tourism as, "tourism activity in which Indigenous people are directly involved either through control and/or by having their culture serve as the essence of attraction."

Nain is particularly well set up for Indigenous tourism development because it possesses Smith's (1996) four Hs: Heritage; Handicrafts; Habitat, and History. More specifically, Nain has rich heritage in the form of Inuit, Moravian, European settlers, and the fusion of all these cultures, handicrafts in the soapstone carving found for sale throughout the community, habitat in its relation to the Torngat Mountains, and a history going back to the original settlement of the area by peoples other than the Inuit of today (i.e. Paleo-Eskimo, Pre-Dorset, and Dorset). Table 1 will further help explain to the reader what each related category represents. Smith (1996) states that habitat (i.e. the greater natural environment in which the community situated) is the

underlying platform of the four Hs, because a societal group's culture is highly, if not solely, dependent on the environment of which that group exists (James, as cited in, Smith, 1996).

Table 1

*Analysis of the four Hs of Indigenous Tourism*

Habitat	Heritage	History	Handicrafts
Access	Museum	Decision-makers	Heritage craft
Appeal	Ceremonials	Conflict Resolution	Innovation
Proximity	Experiential	Modern showcase	Marketing
Diversity		Marginal men	
Resources			
Marketing			

Source: Smith, 1996, p. 287

Despite significant natural (i.e., the tallest mountains east of the Rockies are located in Labrador and charismatic mega-fauna) and cultural (Inuit culture) heritage, the fact that Nain is only accessible by water or air will limit the amount of potential visitors to the area.

As for marketing, the Torngat Mountains have recently been showcased in a Newfoundland and Labrador tourism commercial that has been reportedly viewed by millions of television viewers worldwide. In addition, although the Nain community is not located inside the park, it has already been defined as a gateway community and used as a starting/ending point for park visitors (Kobalenko, 2007). Market readiness will be an important factor in the success of Nain as a successful Indigenous tourism destination. Maher and Lemelin (2010) identified the market readiness of the tourism product(s) in Nunatsiavut, and TMNP as a challenge to its tourism development.

Heritage refers to the ethno-cultural history and traditions of the people who live in the community (Smith 1996), which in this case would refer to the Labrador Inuit. This includes the traditional activities that date to before contact with Euro-Canadian cultures. Such activities, in

the context of the Labrador Inuit would include traditional tool and clothing production, harvesting techniques, song and dance, as well as non-Christian specific spiritual practices. History, on the other hand (in relation to the 4 Hs) refers to the community's past beginning with contact from western culture. In Nain's case this would begin with the settlement of Moravian missionaries and the practices they instilled on the Labrador Inuit, such as Christianity and literacy, but also the influence from whalers, trappers and, provincial and/or federal governments.

The 4 Hs were originally intended as a tool for analyzing the potentials of Indigenous tourism (Smith, 1996). As one can read in the preceding paragraphs Nain certainly does possess characteristics of the 4Hs as determined by Smith. This thesis however goes further in that it uses the 4 Hs as a micro-framework to understand resident attitudes and beliefs regarding different facets of each "H".

Indigenous tourism is a relatively well-studied topic within tourism and anthropological literature (Ryan, 2005; Butler & Hinch, 1996; Ryan & Aiken, 2005; Zeppel, 2006). Furthermore, it has been studied in relative detail in the context of the Arctic (in general) with a common focus being on Inuit and Gwich'in of Canada and/or Sami of Scandinavia (Notzke, 1999; Hinch, 1995; Weaver, 2009; Muller & Huuva, 2009; Viken, 2006; Notzke, 2006). Although Indigenous tourism developments in the western Canadian Arctic (Yukon, NWT, Nunavut) has been relatively well documented (Dressler, Berkes, & Mathias, 2001; Notzke, 1999; Smith, 1996; Stewart, et al., 2007), our knowledge of tourism developments in the Eastern Arctic (Nunavik and Nunatsiavut) and is much more recent (Belanger, 2009, Hull, Lemelin & Maher, 2009; Lemelin et al., 2012; Maher & Lemelin, 2011).

### **Impacts of Arctic Tourism**

The impacts of polar tourism were left until the end of this section because they do not result from each form of Arctic tourism in isolation. For example, the same social and economic impacts can result from both cruise and Indigenous tourism. Therefore, the impacts of tourism as a whole in the Arctic will be broken down into the sub-topics of environmental, social and economic impacts (including cultural impacts).

Environmental impacts and impact assessments are some of the most studied topics in the field of tourism. They have been studied not only on the macro-scale, taking into account the effects and perceptions of CO<sub>2</sub> emissions made by visitors travelling to Churchill, Manitoba to view polar bears (Dawson, Stewart, Lemelin, & Scott, 2010), but also on the micro-scale, which takes into account smaller impacts, such as trail erosion and disruption of animal behaviour (Bratton, Hickler, & Graves, 1979; Newsome & Davies, 2009; Rodger, Moore, & Newson, 2009). The environmental impacts of tourism in the Arctic differ from the process of impacting other biophysical environments: Although the same processes take place on the micro-scale (trail erosion and wildlife disturbance) in regions across the globe, the Arctic environment is much different, and in many ways is much more vulnerable to tourism activities (Mason, 1997). The two contributing factors to this vulnerability are the slow regeneration of trampled vegetation due to the short growing season, and the seasonality of tourism visitation resulting in high levels of visitors in a short period of time (Jones & Scott, 2006). Lastly, although Stonehouse and Snyder (2007) point out that environmental impacts of polar cruise tourists are smaller than those of other tourists because of a reported environmental ethic and strict guidelines common among polar tourists, some may call this view naïve and overly optimistic.

Social and economic impacts are present to varying degrees across Canada's Arctic. Economically, tourism can have both positive and/or negative impacts. For example, Marsh and de la Barre (2006) acknowledge that game hunters in Banks Island, NWT, spend tens of thousands of dollars that, for the most part, remain in the community. Apart from the sale of handicrafts to visitors, Nain with limited infrastructures appears at this stage, unable to derive much direct economic benefits from tourism (Nunatsiavut, 2006). The challenge remains in expanding this industry while working with local operators and owners to increase tourism revenues while minimizing potential economic leakages from the region (Milne et al., as cited in, Marsh & de la Barre, 2006; Snyder, 2007).

The social or cultural impacts of tourism are inherently difficult to measure, but are extremely important to study due to the interest that Nunatsiavut has in developing its cultural tourism assets, thus creating more potential for impacts to occur. The impacts of cultural tourism are in many ways a mixed blessing. Cultural commodification is defined as marketing one's culture as a commodity to be sold and is a popular topic within anthropological and tourism research (Igoe, 2004; George & Reid, 2005; McIntosh & Johnson, 2005). Commodification is often found to be a negative consequence of cultural tourism development, where the commodified culture can become mummified, i.e. static in its growth (George & Reid, 2005). Others have found that cultural commodification is a source of pride and identity for local people (Cole, 2007). A perceived loss of local control has in other locations resulted in the increasing commodification of local cultures and arts and crafts (Kirtsoglou & Theodossopolous, 2004). Therefore, commodification and related impacts are a key negative impact of cultural tourism, perhaps control over cultural tourism development will help minimize that negative impact, while maximizing the positive impacts of increasing cultural pride and identity.

A separate and emerging key issue in the topic of cultural commodification is that of authenticity. More specifically, Meethan (as cited in, Hollinshead, 2007) proposes that within the tourism discourse a false dichotomy has been drawn whereby tourism will always be seen as yet another arm of globalisation that, when coming into contact with other “pre modern” societies, has negative impacts on that society’s level of authenticity. In other words, this dichotomy assumes that community members are nothing more than passive recipients: this is why the community’s control over development, as cited in Butler and Hinch’s (1996) definition of Indigenous tourism, is crucial. Furthermore, according to Meethan (2002), this dichotomy is based on the false premise that these societies are not already connected to the global society and are therefore more susceptible to having their authenticity impacted by tourism. The major issue for Meethan (2002, p. 163, 112) is that of the simplicity of authenticity as a concept is being described as “shallow”, “dualistic”, and “binary”. Hollinshead (2007) points out that understanding commodification and authenticity as false premises leads one to believe that tourism can actually be a strong driving force of cultural preservation, a view shared by other researchers such as Cole (2007).

In the context of the Canadian Arctic, issues surrounding cultural tourism have been studied by Milne, Ward, and Wenzel (1995). In this particular study, it was found that residents in Cape Dorset expressed concern regarding negative cultural impacts of tourism development, including the debasing of local art. Furthermore, carvers sometimes felt uncomfortable, as if they were on display for the tourists, though thankful for the income received from those same tourists. Again, this study found that local people and tourism planners need to better engage those members of the culture (community) in charge of the cultural tourism development.

A study from the western Arctic by Dressler, Berkes and Mathias (2001) found that many elders throughout multiple communities were very concerned regarding the impacts of cultural insensitivities tourists may have. Some of the examples given by respondents included concerns regarding photos being taken of their daily lives, misrepresentation of hunting and fishing used by environmental groups, and commodification. However, this study fails to clearly explain how the elders felt that commodification was explicitly a problem. Even though there has been some research on the impacts of cultural tourism in the Arctic, the research specifically addressing tourism and culture is limited (Stewart, et al., 2007) and is even scarcer in the context of Nunatsiavut, where Inuit, as previously mentioned, differ radically in culture from other Inuit regions (Rodon & Grey, 2009).

### **Polar Tourism in the Context of Climate Change**

Climate change, although a global issue, is of particular importance in the Arctic as the warming trends associated with it are expected to be felt earliest and strongest in that region (Ford & Smit, 2004; ACIA, 2004). For a more complete, though not entirely comprehensive, list of climate change impacts in relation to tourism, see Table 2. For the purpose of this thesis, the importance is placed on how the specific changes that are predicted to take place in the Arctic could affect tourism development in Nunatsiavut. One of the first climate-related changes that will affect tourism will be the enhanced access visitors may have to the region. There is agreement among scientists and local Inuit/non-Inuit alike that the Arctic is seeing and should expect to see in the near future a general decrease in Arctic sea-ice cover (Dawson, Maher, & Slowcombe, 2007; Laidler, 2006; ACIA, 2004; Nickels, Furgal, Buell, & Moquin, 2006).



Table 2

*Possible Effects of Global Climate Change (by Category) on Tourism in Polar Regions*

<b>Effects on Access</b>
Decline in sea-ice extent leads to extended shipping season
Glacier melting leads to increased iceberg hazards
Shorter seasonal river ice duration leads to access difficulties related to winter roads
Earlier and greater spring floods leads to access hazards
Greater snow accumulation leads to access difficulties
Northward movement of permafrost line leads to increased access through road construction
<b>Effects on Infrastructure</b>
Increased open water leads to increased storm surges and shoreline erosion
Permafrost melting/land instability leads to construction and engineering problems and structural damage
<b>Effects on Attractions</b>
Greater snow accumulation leads to new opportunities for snow-based activities
Shorter snow duration leads to seasonal challenges for some activities
Warmer summer and winter temperatures lead to extension of seasonal activities
Warmer summer temperatures lead to increased insect challenge
Warmer winter temperatures lead to new opportunities
Ecosystem changes lead to alterations in distribution and abundance of existing animal species
Ecosystem changes lead to appearance of new species in north
Environmental changes alter local activity possibilities
Scenic values altered through environmental changes locally and regionally

Source: Johnston, 2006, p. 44.

This decrease will result in a longer tourism season and better access to particular locations, but at the same time, the decrease in sea-ice cover is a decrease of one of the Arctic's main attractions. Therefore, a longer navigable season may increase the amount of time for marine tourism traffic, but could also decrease the attractiveness (i.e. amount of icebergs) of certain destinations, making the change, either increase or decrease, hard to predict and adapt to.

Secondly, there has been and are expected to be more wildlife changes. In terms of marine environment, many have predicted declines in polar bear populations due to lack of sea ice to hunt prey on (Tynan & DeMaster, 1997; Stonehouse & Snyder, 2007; Stirling & Parkinson, 2006). Having said that, sightings of polar bear within the Davis-Strait population

remain relatively high comparative to other polar bear populations of Canada's Arctic (Stirling & Parkinson, 2006). Also, due to the increase human activity and run off of pollutants from Arctic rivers (Tynan & Demaster, 1997; Beaugrand et al., 2002), there is great uncertainty of what will happen to the whale populations that depend on the Arctic environment. If whale and polar bear populations decrease, arctic wildlife tourism may see a decrease in numbers, though there may be an initial spike of "last-chance" tourists (Lemelin, et al., 2012).

In terms of terrestrial animal populations, different trends are expected to occur than that of the marine ecosystem. One example that may have implications for tourism is the expected increase in insects, including biting flies, which may have a negative impact on those tourists who wish to avoid the annoyance of such insects. (Dawson, Maher & Slocombe, 2007; Stonehouse & Snyder, 2007). As for other terrestrial flora and fauna such as caribou, arctic fox, and multiple species of birds, the effects of climate change are quite uncertain (Dawson, Maher, & Slocombe, 2007; Ims & Fuglei, 2005; Furgal & Seguin, 2006). The uncertainty of these shifts may be cause for concern among tourism planners in the Arctic. This issue is specific to Nunatsiavut, as planning to develop a wildlife tourism market may be a risk if changing animal planners make it difficult for operators to ensure satisfaction, which is dependent on encounters (Reynolds & Braithwaite, 2001)

Climate change has also affected tourists' perceptions of the north. Namely, there has been great media attention given to the Arctic environment as a disappearing landscape (i.e. Al Gore's "An Inconvenient Truth"). As stated earlier, the effects of this media attention may be twofold in terms of tourism in the Arctic. Initially, the visual representation seen in popular media formats (television, theatre) may entice tourists to see the majestic landscapes and wildlife in person. Also, they may feel a need to see those same landscapes and wildlife before it

vanishes, which could even be referred to as extinction tourism (Lemelin, et al., 2010; Eigelaar, Thaper & Peeters, 2010). In this sense, climate change may be a positive economic scenario for tourism developments in Nain, at least for the short-term.

### **Last chance tourism**

Last chance tourism is an emerging concept among tourism academics and operators alike (Dawson et al. 2011; Lemelin, et. al., 2010; Lemelin et al., 2012). Also referred to as disappearing tourism, doom tourism, “see it before it’s gone”, or climate tourism, last chance tourism is defined as, “a niche tourism market where tourists explicitly seek vanishing landscapes or seascapes, and/or disappearing natural and/or social heritage” (Lemelin, et al., 2010, P. 2). Such a form of tourism are epitomized by the increasing number of visits to the Galapagos Islands or great barrier reefs due to the media attention those destinations received through the description as endangered or disappearing. According to Burns and Bibbens (2009) the double-edged sword of such a tourism trend is that raising the awareness that such destinations or species are threatened by climate change increases the behaviour, e.g. air travel, that in-part cause climate change. Furthermore, it also entices people to visit sensitive ecosystems putting them more at risk by the possibility of bringing in alien species or impacting the ecosystems in other ways. Since climate change media often has a focus on the north (Antilla, 2005), some tourism operators have taken advantage of this using last chance tourism as a motivation for tourists to visit the Arctic (Lemelin, et al., 2010).

### **Protected Area Context and Co-operative Management**

Protected area tourism, though not explicitly linked to polar tourism, is an important aspect of tourism development for the community of Nain, especially with the recent creation of

TMNP. For the purpose of this paper, protect-area tourism refers to any tourist activities that take place in or as a direct result of the protected area in question: It specifically refers to the designation-effect from the creation of protected areas. This form of tourism is important to Nain because of the establishment of Torngat Mountains National Park (TMNP) in 2005. The community is considered the gateway community for the park, and as a result, the community is preparing for an increase in tourism (Nunatsiavut, 2006).

Unlike most other Canadian national parks, this park is managed under a seven member co-operative board made up of community members who are stakeholders in the park's development. The board is arranged as such:

- Two members from Nunatsiavut
- Two members from Makivik Corporation (representing Nunavik Inuit and KPNQ)
- Two members from Parks Canada
- One member elected by the other three parties to act as director of the board

Transboundary protected area like TMNP and KPNQ explains Sandwith, Shine, Hamilton and Sheppard (2001) can generate numerous benefits including:

- The promotion of international co-operation at different levels;
- The enhancement of environmental protection across ecosystems;
- The facilitation of more effective research;
- The generation and subsequent distribution of economic benefits to local and national economies, and;
- Ensuring better cross-border control of problems such as fire, pests, poaching, marine pollution, and smuggling.

As per the first benefit, in the context of TMNP, multiple governments are being brought together including: Nunatsiavut, Nunavik, Canada's federal government, Quebec, and the province of Newfoundland and Labrador. The second benefit is expressed through protecting the habitat of animals such as the George River caribou herd in a more holistic way (CircumArctic Rangifer Monitoring and Assessment Network, 2010). Thirdly, in discussion with park employees, there does seem to be an effort made to connect KPNQ with the research base that has been set-up on the periphery on TMNP. During summer pre-field season, it was apparent that residents of both Nunavik and Nunatsiavut gained employment through the establishment of the parks, bringing economic benefit to their host communities. Lastly, regional cooperative tourism strategies are also being developed (Nunastiaavut, 2006).

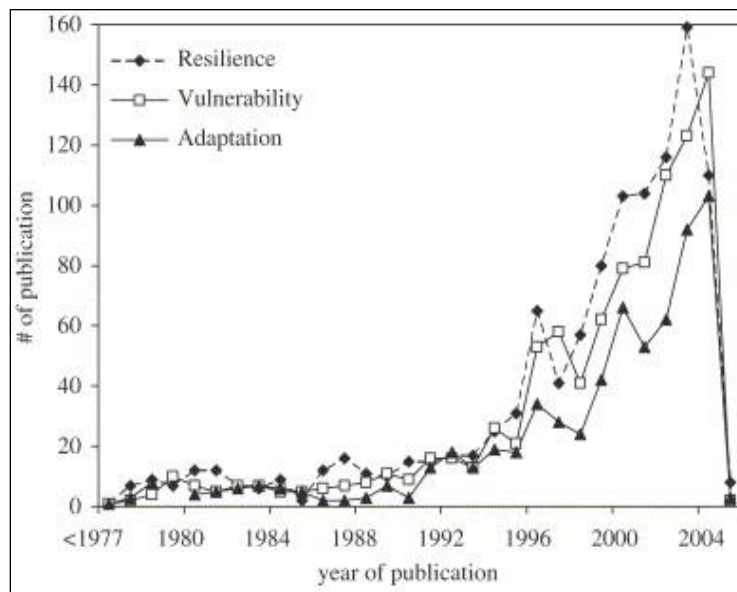
Although TMNP and the co-operative management board for the park may be an integral part in Nain's success as a tourism destination, there is a long and relatively contentious history of the relationship between Indigenous peoples and national parks - one often signified by expropriation (McNamee, 2002; Igoe, 2004). Parks, in the past, and to a large degree at present, have been established under a Euro-Canadian conservation model. Under this model, Indigenous lifestyles and traditions often conflicted with the goals of conservation and protected areas (Igoe, 2004; Adams & Hutton, 2007). The current co-operative management board which includes various members of the community can help to alleviate some of the marginalization.

Ultimately, the establishment of this park will influence the direction of tourism development in the community. It is expected to increase the level of tourism, as well as bring in new types of tourists, such as adventure seekers (Maher & Lemelin, 2010). By the establishment of a seven member co-operative management board, Parks Canada (representing the federal government) has decentralized some of the decision making power to community members.

Also, Parks Canada has made it possible to alleviate some of the social inequality in the community of Nain by specifically including former Hebron residents, while simultaneously promoting economic development, through employment and regional tourism strategies.

### **Vulnerability and Adaptive Capacity of Arctic Communities**

Nain and all Arctic communities will need to adapt to the changes in tourism and climate that have and are expected to occur in the near future. Adaptation, for the purpose of this study, fits into a conceptual model of vulnerability of which adaptation is an element, along with exposure and sensitivity (Ford & Wandel, 2006). The determinants of these different elements are affected by broad social, economic and environmental forces and vary over time, type, and place (Smit and Wandel, 2006). For the purpose of this study, adaptation is of interest because improving the community's adaptive capacity is an integral part of the study's goal. Community adaptation is one of the fastest growing research fields in the context of the Arctic at present (Carina & Keskitalo, 2008; Janssen, Schoon, Weimao & Borner, 2006; Johnston, 2006; Duerden, Ford, Goose, & Kataoyak, 2010). Furthermore, in the literature, vulnerability, resilience and adaptation are also used and considered to be closely related (Figure 7), though a strong consensus on a strategy for assessing their related elements (exposure, sensitivity) is yet to be developed. That said, resilience is believed to have a stronger background in ecology and mathematics, whereas adaptation and vulnerability are more closely linked to climatic change (Janssen, et al, 2006). Therefore, since the purpose of this study is heavily focused on climate change, vulnerability/adaptation research will be in focus throughout this section.

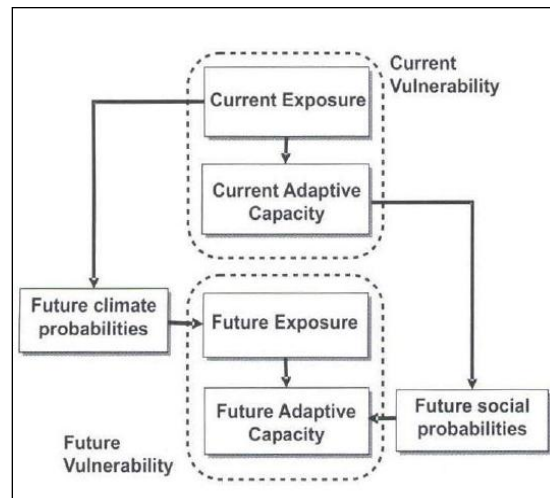


*Figure 6.* Number of publications regarding resiliency, vulnerability, and adaptation to climate change. Reprinted from, “Scholarly networks on resilience, vulnerability and adaptation within the human dimensions of global environmental change,” by Janssen, et al., 2006, *Global Environmental Change*, 16, 243.

By definition, vulnerability refers to the exposure of a community to climatic stresses and the adaptive capacity to cope with those stresses (Ford & Smit, 2004). There are two approaches to vulnerability, that of the biophysical and that of the social. The biophysical approach to vulnerability determines vulnerability based on the biophysical state in which the community is located. The social approach focuses on the political structures and policies in place within a community (Ford & Smit, 2004). For example, if a community is vulnerable to a tsunami, the biophysical approach would look at factors to do with that tsunami, such as the wave height, or seismic level of earth quake. The social approach focuses on the social infrastructures in place that will determine the impact of the tsunami such as access to emergency services. At present, it is far more common to use the social approach over the biophysical to determine community vulnerability (Carina & Keskitalo, 2008; Smit & Wandel, 2006; Ford, Smit & Wandel, 2006).

In the context of climate change, adaptation has been studied in opposition to mitigation. Mitigation is one response to climate change that has received much attention from governments and policy makers who feel that slowing the rate of CO<sub>2</sub> emissions across the globe is the answer to climate change (Burton, as cited in, Ford & Smit, 2004). However, many researchers have chosen to study adaptation as the best response to climate change over mitigation (Smit, Burton, Klein, & Street, 1999; Ford, Smit & Wandel, 2006; Klein, Nicholls, & Mimura, 1999). Adaptation refers to consciously planned adjustments in a system to reduce or moderate expected negative effects of climate change or external stimuli in general (Ford & Smit, 2004; Ford, Smit & Wandel, 2006). The standard approach to the analysis of adaptation to climate change, according to Ford and Smit (2004) begins with figuring out what the future average trends and the expected impacts will be, followed by the application of several adaptation scenarios that would be presumed to minimize the impacts. Ford and Smit (2004) point out that even though standard approach has been useful, it treats adaptation in a hypothetical manner and does not take into account current social conditions that will influence how decisions are made at present and in the future. In reaction, the authors have developed a framework for vulnerability assessment (Figure 6). The framework, originally presented by Ford and Smit (2004) and further revised by Ford, Smit and Wandel (2006), breaks down vulnerability into current and future trends. Current vulnerability is further broken down into current exposure and current adaptive capacity. Studying a community's current exposure takes place by analyzing and documenting the community's experience with climatic risks.





*Figure 7.* Framework for vulnerability assessment: Current and future exposure/adaptive capacity. Reprinted from “A framework for assessing the vulnerability of communities in the Canadian Arctic to risks associated with climate change,” by J.D. Ford & B. Smit, 2004, *Arctic*, 57, p. 396.

The current adaptive capacity would refer to social factors in the form of adaptive options and management practises employed to manage and address those risks. By utilizing the rich traditional and customary knowledge, many members of Arctic communities can understand how past generations dealt with issues of adaptation. For the purpose of this paper, traditional knowledge and the understanding of it refers to the

...cumulative body of knowledge, practice, and belief, evolving by adaptive processes and handed down through generations by cultural transmission, about the relationship of living beings (including humans) with one another and with their environment (Berkes, Colding, & Folke, 2000, p. 1252).

Future exposure and adaptive capacity are analyzed in a slightly different manner. For future exposure, researchers will need to work with climate scientists and others to determine what changes may be likely. In terms of future adaptive capacity, researchers need to look to the past for adaptive responses as well as asking community members to identify their adaptive options (Ford and Smit, 2004; Smit & Wandel, 2006).

The above mentioned framework has been used in a case study in the Canadian Arctic community of Arctic Bay by Ford, Smit, and Wandel (2006). These researchers were using the community as a case study to determine current and future vulnerabilities associated with resource harvesting. By using this framework the researchers were able to determine the causes for decrease in the community's adaptive capacity. The change was found to be caused by a breakdown in knowledge transfer between the elders and youth, as well as social networks being weakened by a rise in wage-economies (Ford, Smit, & Wandel, 2006). This study outlines why it is important to study vulnerability of Arctic communities to climate change. More specifically, by determining the causes for community's decrease in adaptive capacity, community planners and decision makers are able to address their adaptive needs in order to decrease their level of vulnerability.

### **Resident Views of and Attitudes towards Tourism Development**

As previously stated, this research project studies the views among those living in Nain, NL regarding both tourism and climate change in the context of exposure and adaptive capacity. Similar approaches at understanding resident views of tourism development were conducted by Andereck and Vogt (2000) and/or Nunkoo and Ramkissoo (2010). These approaches were undertaken due to the strong connection found between positive host attitudes towards tourism and successful sustainable development (Jamal & Getz, 1995). Furthermore, the nature of the tourism development can be the sole factor in the level of positive attitudes found within the community (Andereck & Vogt, 2000). Therefore, in the case of Nain, NL, resident views of Indigenous tourism development in terms of negative or positive attitudes are telling of the community's level of exposure/adaptive capacity to such development. Additionally, the heterogeneity or lack thereof within the community may also have an effect of resident attitudes.

Understanding the perspectives of and attitudes towards Indigenous tourism is done by breaking down Indigenous tourism into Smith's 4 Hs of habitat, history, heritage, and handicrafts. Engaging in this process helps to understand the particular attitudes associated with each element of Indigenous tourism the community possesses. For example, the community has an attractive natural environment (habitat), but resident attitudes regarding what is acceptable behaviour in these environments, as well as marketing of that habitat needs to be well understood to assess any potential issues of sustainability (via host acceptance) of that particular element. This relationship between host attitudes (nature of acceptance) and Indigenous tourism (the 4 Hs) is what connects the micro-framework to the macro-framework of this thesis: The sustainability (nature of acceptance) of each element of Indigenous tourism has an effect on the community's ability to benefit from (adaptive capacity) tourism development.

Connected to attitudes are the resident views of tourism development, including but not limited to those regarding the 4 Hs. Attitudes refer to value-laden beliefs residents have (positive or negative) (Andereck & Vogt, 2000), whereas views can refer to perceived benefits, dis-benefits, changes (over time) or other non value-based beliefs (Besculides, Lee, & McCormick, 2002). Thus a resident can have a view *and* attitude towards the same tourism or climate-related phenomena. For example, hypothetically, a respondent may perceive an impact of Indigenous tourism as being the sale of handicrafts (view), which may or may not have increased over time (view), while furthermore having the attitude that this is *positive* for the community or individual selling the carving (attitude). Therefore, in context of sustainability based on host acceptance, attitudes reflect adaptive capacity and views reflect exposure and sensitivity (Figure 9), making views and attitudes the intermediaries between the micro and macro framework.

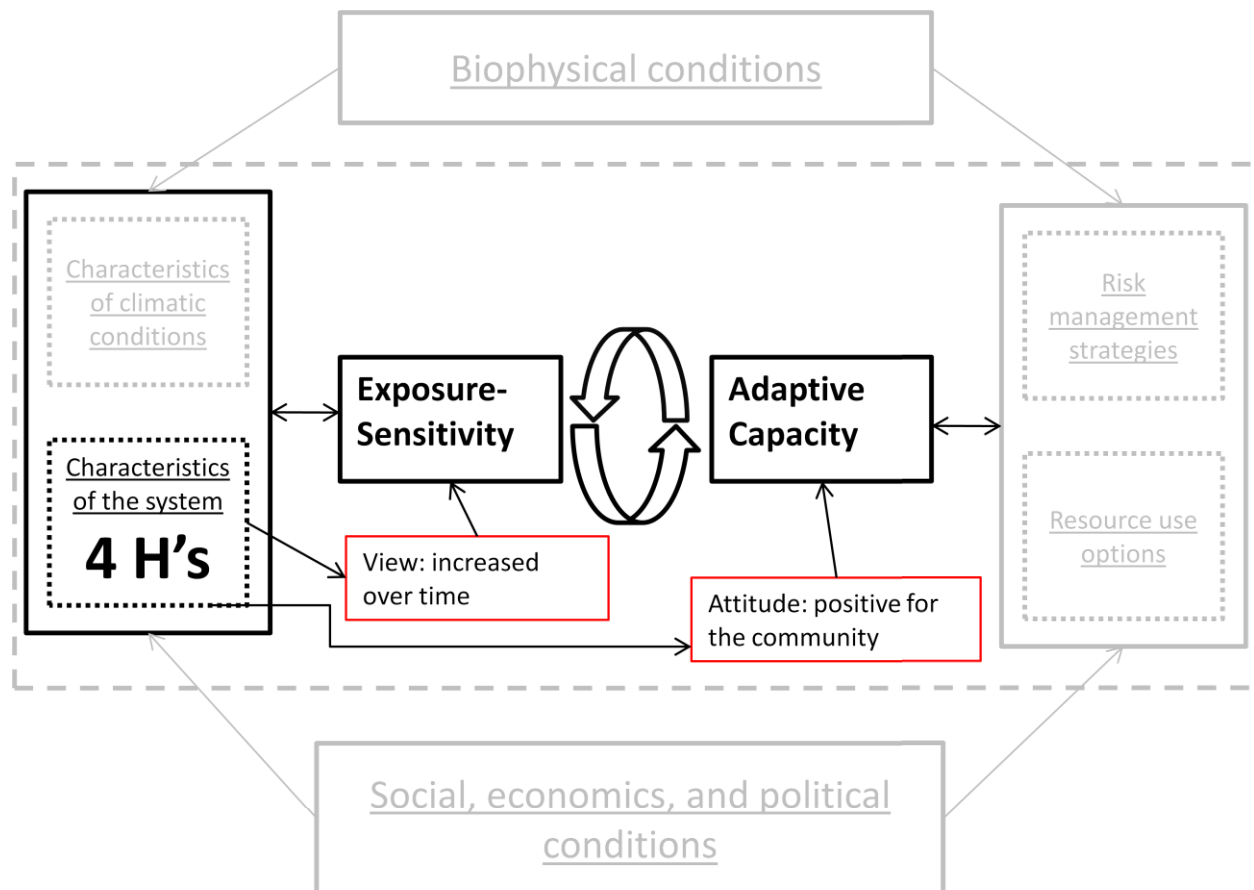


Figure 8. A conceptual model of vulnerability illustrating the connection between the 4 Hs and exposure-sensitivity via resident views, and the 4 Hs and adaptive capacity via resident attitudes. Adapted from, "Vulnerability to climate change in the Arctic: A case study from Arctic Bay, Canada" by Ford, J.D., Smit, B. & Wandel, J. 2006, *Global Environmental Change*, 16, 147.

Generally, studying resident views and attitudes in relation to tourism development has been done in a quantitative manner where residents fill out a series of agreement scales regarding tourism development and/or impacts (Andereck & Vogt, 2000). One of the earliest and most influential studies in this particular subject came from Doxey (1975) and his resident irritation index, where it is claimed that as tourism numbers increase over time as does the amount of overall/general irritation held by residents toward tourists and their behaviour ranges from euphoria to antagonism. However, as stated by Mason and Cheyne (2000, p. 392),

There are few studies on the perceived impacts of tourism either prior to any development or when it is not yet seen to be a significant economic area of activity for a region. The majority of research since the mid-70s, however, has

been in the form of "snapshots" taken at a particular time, in a particular location, with most of the studies taking place where it was already economically important.

On this note, it is important to point out that this research is taking into account the resident perspectives of tourism development in a community where tourism, while not entirely foreign, is still nevertheless not fully integrated in regional economies. This can be observed in the lack of infrastructure and small amount of employment in the tourism field(s) as discussed in the community profile.

In a recent Arctic-relevant study, the resident view was determined as an important stage in community-based tourism research (DeLamos, as cited in Stewart & Draper, 2009), but cannot stand alone as the sole comparison of community involvement (Stewart & Draper, 2009). This is because it actively engages and involves the community, which may or may not be suffering from "research fatigue", which has become a problem common to communities of the north where research has been exhaustive yet not beneficial in the community's perspective (Stewart & Draper, 2009). However, as the authors point out, reporting back to the community is just as if not more important in the research process. Through personal communication with the Nunatsiavut government and on the recommendation made by Stewart and Draper (2009), an important part of this research project will include, but not be limited to, community interactions beyond the interviews using local radio broadcasting and community meetings. Lastly, and most relevant to the importance of this study in Nain, NL, Stewart and Draper (2007) found that there were no studies that focused on tourism development in the context of contemporary issues such as, climate change, from the resident perspective in Northern Canada. Therefore, this study provides an important overview of this current research gap.

### **Chapter 3: Research Methodology**

The section will begin by explaining the researcher's worldview. Secondly, the process of data selection will be laid out in detail including, instrument, field notes and memo writing, and establishing rapport. The third major subsection is that of content analysis, which focuses on the coding procedures used in analyzing data. Fourth, the verification of data and analysis will be explored from a qualitative perspective. Lastly, there will be an explanation as to how the research will be disseminated.

#### **Worldview**

This thesis was developed through a social constructionist worldview. Social constructionism "views discourse about the world not as a reflection or map of the world but as an artefact of communal interchange" (Gregan, 1985, p. 266). According to Crotty (1998), there are three fundamental principles that guide this worldview.

1. Individuals construct meaning of the world in which they live through their experiences in the world.
2. The meanings of the world individuals may come up with are heavily based on the historical and social context of which they are a part of.
3. The generation of meanings are always social, in the sense that they arise directly or indirectly from the interaction with others.

Furthermore, under this worldview it is assumed that knowledge and truth are not absolute, but do have some grounding in the shared social and cultural contexts of which we all live (Shank, 2006; Crotty, 1998).

When humans find meaning in the world that surrounds them, whether it is in the early, adolescent, or later years of life, those meanings are inevitably observed through the lenses of the culture in which they were raised (Crotty, 1998). This is an important perspective to consider when understanding this research process because the meanings of the objective, scientific, and otherwise observable phenomena, depend on how the individual perceives them (Giddens, as cited in, Crotty, 1998). In other words, this suggests that climate change may scientifically mean increasing the average temperature of the Arctic (ACIA, 2004), but the meaning individuals and communities apply to such change may not be scientifically-grounded or viable because these interpretations depend upon cultural relationship with the environment which are dynamic and evolving. More specifically, if an increase in temperature results in the increase of certain types of fish for example, then climate change may be seen in a positive light, in another scenario the decline of an iconic species may be perceived brought about through climate change may be perceived in a negative light. Even though this research project takes into account objective research on the relevant topics, the core focus is resident perspectives of, and attitudes towards, climate change and tourism development, which will inevitably be shaped by the cultural context of participants.

In the context of the research project, the researcher feels it inappropriate to assign his own set of moral standards to a community of which the researcher is not a member (see Donnelly, as cited in, Healy, 2007). However, the research does not ignore marginalization in the community and addressed possible forms of marginalization in the write-up where appropriate/relevant. More specifically, such marginalization can add to the social vulnerability the community possesses. Therefore, the research is not entirely based in cultural relativism but

can be found on the cultural relativist side of the universalism-cultural relativism spectrum as presented below (Figure 10).

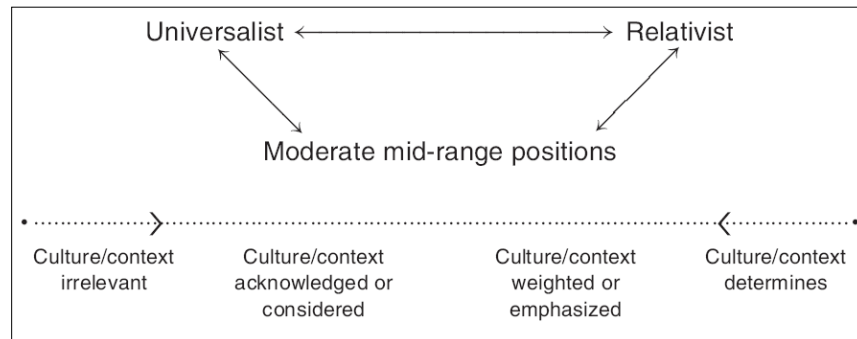


Figure 9. Continuum between universalism and cultural relativism. Reprinted from, "Universalism and cultural relativism in social work ethics," by L.M. Healy, 2007, *International Social Work*, 50, p. 12.

The figure above is used to illustrate the connection social constructionism has to cultural relativism. One should also pay attention to the bottom right where the culture/context is emphasized. More specifically, the community's vulnerability to climate change and tourism developments in Nain will be determined through understanding the viewpoints of participants who perceive the world through their own cultural lenses. This means that traditions and stories passed down through generations will be relevant to understanding the meaning participants have put on climate changes and issues of tourism development, particularly Indigenous tourism development. However, the views, although not necessarily universal, are certainly real (Fish, as cited in, Crotty, 1998).

In the social constructionist worldview it is appropriate to approach research design in a qualitative manner with the use of open-ended interview questions (King, 2004; Creswell, 2009). The specific aspects of that world the participants will be questioned on will heavily relate, in some way, to climate change and/or tourism. Questions pertaining to environmental changes associated with a changing climate will relate back to Ford and Smit's (2004) framework



regarding exposure(s) and adaptive capacity. Questions pertaining to tourism development will have specific probes based on the Smith's (1996) four Hs essential to Indigenous tourism development. By integrating these two question categories, each interview will illuminate the participants view on climate change via exposure and adaptive capacity and Indigenous tourism development via the four Hs.

### **Social constructionism in relevant literature**

This worldview has been applied to some degree in similar studies to this thesis. One example comes from Dressler, Berkes, and Mathias's (2001) study regarding nature-based tourism development in several communities in the Inuvialuit Region of the western Arctic. The method of their study consisted of interviewing local residents and tour operators throughout the region. The local residents were interviewed using a semi-structured interview technique with open-ended and close-ended questions. The questions were designed to, "uncover elders' perspective on how tourism development affected their day-to-day...cultural activities interaction with the environment" (Dressler, Berkes, & Mathias, 2001, p 38). A second example from Milne, Ward, and Wenzel (1995) studied a very similar topic in Cape Dorset, Nunavut. Although their study was not totally clear on the methods used to gather data, the researchers interviewed and attained explanations as to why and how residents perceive tourism development as it related to their community culture. As Nickels, Furgal, Buell, and Moquin (2006) suggest in their study of Canadian Arctic communities, the meanings Inuit give to climate change are influenced by their distinct heritage, environment, and culture (Nickels, Furgal, Buell, & Moquin, 2006, p. 55-57). These three examples represent two dimensions of the study, tourism development and climate change, but do not focus precisely on vulnerability and adaptation to those aspects.

### **Process of Data Collection**

Field observations occurred in the summer of 2009 in the community of Nain and in the tourist destination of TMNP. These field observations were particularly useful in familiarizing the researcher with possible issues regarding potential Indigenous and cruise tourism development. It should also be noted that my supervisor has been working with the TMNP since 2008, thereby establishing further research links with the community.

Upon the approval of the University Ethics Board as well as the Nunatsiavut Interim Research Board, the study commenced with a qualitative semi-structured interview (Appendix) approach under the guidelines set by Ford, Smit and Wandel (2006). They suggest using an ethnographic in-community research approach, which includes, but is not limited to, the use of information from semi-structured interviews (local residents and local/regional decision makers), field observations, and other sources such as, published materials on climate change vulnerability. The interview process began in late June 2010 and ended in mid August 2010; altogether, 60 days were spend in the field. This applied qualitative approach has been found to be particularly useful in the context of research in Canada's Inuit communities (Dressler, Berkes, & Mathias, 2001; Nickels, Furgal, Buell, & Moquin, 2006). The interview used in the study is formatted to be similar among each case study community within the larger project this study is based on. Therefore, questions particular to the community of Nain were in the form of probes to the more generalized questions.

A semi-structured interview consisting of open-ended questions is a useful form of research instrument under the social constructionist worldview as it relates to this specific study. The method allows for the participant to present meanings that are varied and multiple, allowing for the researcher to examine the answers for their complexity rather than finding

specific/isolated details (Johnson, 2002). More particularly, in this study, the researcher examined the complex multidimensional relationship local individuals have within the context of climate change and tourism development. Furthermore, the research was more concerned with the views held by the participants, not whether or not those views are shared by scientists and other experts (Ford, Smit & Wandel, 2006), which fits into Crotty's (1998) three fundamental principles.

Participants for the study were selected using purposive sampling methods (Creswell, 2009; Warren, 2002; Miles & Huberman, 1984), as well as snowball sampling (Biernacki & Waldorf, 1981). A list of potential contacts were provided by some community members involved in the TVRA tourism project, many of whom the researcher had met in 2009.

Participants were contacted via telephone or in person at their homes. In the end, participants represented as many different perspectives regarding climate change and tourism as pragmatically possible (i.e. those over the age of 18 and available for interview during the field season). The research attempted to incorporate an even distribution of participants based on their affiliation with the tourism industry. More specifically, 50% of participants had direct involvement in the tourism industry (i.e. Parks Canada employee, hotel managers, guides, etc.) and the remaining participants had little or no involvement. This representation allowed for more varied perspectives on tourism development and its effects on an individual's life. Furthermore, to accurately understand the community's perspective of tourism one cannot only look at those knowledgeable of tourism because those people only represent a select minority of residents. Ultimately, a relatively diverse sample was acquired.

Considering the context of this particular community (i.e., population and current tourism initiatives), there was expected to be a minimum of 20 interviews that were each to take

approximately one to three hours to complete based on the researcher's past experience doing semi-structured interviews on a similar topic. In reality, the number of interviews ended up being 28 with a total of 35 participants. By the 25th interview the researcher began to see the data going towards social issues beyond the scope of this particular study, such as alcoholism or suicide; it was at this point the researcher decided that saturation was achieved. Saturation occurs when,

...no additional data are being found whereby the (researcher) can develop properties of the category. As he sees similar instances over and over again, the researcher becomes empirically confident that a category is saturated . . . when one category is saturated, nothing remains but to go on to new groups for data on other categories, and attempt to saturate these categories also (Glaser & Strauss, 1967, 65).

Essentially, this was interpreted to mean that when no new data that constitutes or requires the creation of a new thematic category emerges from the transcripts saturation is reached. However, as this definition entails, there is an element of personal confidence that the researcher needs to feel before ending data collection. More specifically, it was not so much that a new thematic category could not be developed, i.e. 'effects of social issues on tourism development', it was that the researcher believed it was near impossible to analyze such an important and complex category in this thesis because of its limits within length, scope, and time. For that matter, such an issue is indeed evidence that further research is required to fully understand the topic.

After the participant chose the time and location that best suited their needs the interview could be conducted. The interviews began with an exchange of pleasantries to establish some trust and relax the atmosphere. At this time, the interviewer explained the purpose of the study to the participant and the interview was audio recorded upon consent (see Johnson, 2002). After the interview was complete, the interviewer asked the participant to clarify any details needed. Also,

during this time, the researcher took detailed field notes to account for any relationships within the particular interview points or among any separate interviews.

### **Field notes**

Whether done in the first or in the analysis stage of research, field note taking is an integral part of the qualitative research process (Schatzman & Strauss, 1973; Hughes, 1994; Strauss, 1987). Schatzman and Strauss (1973) state there are three different types of field notes: Observational notes (ON); theoretical notes (TN), and; methodological notes (MN). These three types of field notes are presented in the order they are used and also their importance to the methodological process.

Observational field notes were taken during the interview process and beyond. These notes have little interpretation within them and relate directly to statements made by the participant that the researcher feels salient to the character of the individual being interviewed or the topic being discussed. Such points are recorded in a way that they can stand alone as an individual datum (Schatzman & Strauss, 1973).

The theoretical field notes were made after the interview had finished as part of the analysis, or if there was a break during the interview. Working from the ONs the researcher added his statements regarding the underlying issues that may have been presented. Such statements may have been in the form of inferences, interpretations, hypothesises, or conjectures. At this stage the researcher began proposing new concepts and/or linkages between older ones (Schatzman & Strauss, 1973). Methodological notes (MN), though following TN, are important to develop during the research process. After the very first interview the researcher began to make suggestions based on the ONs and TNs, on how to change the wording or subject of a question to better reveal the desired information. Therefore, the research made several MN to

him or herself in order to adapt the questions. Furthermore, it was required that the interviewer ask the participants for any direct feedback on how to change the interview for future participants.

### **Establishing rapport**

Establishing a relationship with the community and specific individuals participating in the study is essential to going beyond polite conversation with participants to a meaningful exchange of ideas (Ryen, 2002). The major challenge to establishing such a rapport is the relatively short period of time the researcher had in the community. Casley and Lury (as cited in, Ryen, 2002) recommended that any researcher looking to gain rapport and trust within a community be, open and frank, participate in community activities and, retain independence on local disputes and controversies. A second challenge to establishing a rapport was the simple insider-outsider dilemma that often confronts researchers doing fieldwork in the cross-cultural context, similar to this study. Combating such a dilemma is a complex matter, and in many ways cannot be entirely solved (Ryen, 2002). For example, one does not want to dress like a government official in a suit and tie, but one also does not want to dress completely like an insider because community members will accuse one of misrepresenting one's self. Therefore, going back to one of the original recommendations to establishing rapport (Ryen, 2002), the researcher decided to be genuine and honest in his dress and interactions with community members.

In 2009, the researcher visited the community and base camp of TMNP (where several community members worked) for approximately two weeks. During this time the researcher met several people who work for the community government, the Nunatsiavut government, and Parks Canada, as well as many community residents not directly affiliated with the aforementioned

organizations. Although this may illustrate the establishment of rapport, the short period of time spent with individuals was likely not enough to say that rapport had officially been established, and re-establishing rapport with many of them was certainly a priority.

Also, the research process involved the use of multiple community research assistants. The community research assistant serves three main functions (Ryen, 2002). The first is through their networking abilities in that they introduced the researcher to possible participants. Second, the first community research assistant was fluent in both English and Inuktitut, so could translate interviews when necessary. Thirdly, and most importantly, the community research assistants were of use in limiting and mitigating cultural misunderstandings. The first assistant was also the second participant in the study. She was in her early 50s and was fluent in English and Inuktitut. She was very helpful in setting up interviews with elders, translating when needed, and advising the researcher of appropriate behaviour when in participants' homes. The other assistants were student employees with NG, who were able to set up interviews with several participants who worked for the regional government.

### **Data Analysis**

For the purpose of this study the data analysis will refer to the systematic and objective identification of specific messages and characteristics found in the data (Holsti, as cited in, Berg, 2007). To accomplish this form of data analysis there is the assumption that some objectivity can be maintained through establishing criteria of selection, which, in this case are based on the Smith's (1996) four Hs, and Smit and Ford's (2004) vulnerability framework. Basing potential categories and themes on the same topics of which the interview questions are designed follows a design recommended by Schatzman and Strauss (1973). Furthermore, to avoid limiting the analysis, there was also an inductive aspect to the analysis where other themes and categories

were able to emerge. In other words, there was an interplay between inductive (thematic analysis) and deductive thinking within the analysis with a result of increasing the researcher's knowledge on the subject (Witzel, 2000). Following the researcher's worldview this study is being approached from, the inductive aspects represent the social realities of the participants whereas the deductive thinking will come in connecting those realities to the literature (Smith's [1996] four Hs, and Ford and Smit's [2004] vulnerability framework) so they can be more broadly understood.

Categories and themes are based on the community's past, current, and future adaptive capacity and exposure/sensitivity, which is an approach that stems from the vulnerability framework. Those categories and themes were integrated with issues relating heritage, history, handicrafts, and habitat. The broadness of these categories may make them easily relatable to adaptive capacity and exposure. For example, a participant's response may illustrate a past adaptation or exposure to tourism or climate changes, such as the sale of handicrafts, or training to be an artisan, which may be interpreted as a community's adaptive capacity to recent tourism development through the integration of the historic production of soapstone tools and artworks.

### **Coding**

Coding can be done either by hand or by computer using a program such as Atlas.ti, MAXQDA, or NVivo (Saldana, 2009). As suggested by Creswell (2009), the research coded by hand, which although more time consuming, leaves less room for error by creating a technological barrier between the researcher and data. Coding is done to organize the data into sections that will be easier to manage, understand, and describe. Furthermore, by coding the researcher will be pointing out the interesting and relevant pieces of information found in the participant responses (Shank, 2006). The codes were developed in a two staged approach after



the analysis had began in order to take into account all of the interviews that, at this point, were read several times. During, and to some degree before, the coding was the development of themes. In the thematic analysis the researcher took the details organized previously during the coding process, and created generalized themes from those codes (Shank, 2006). Within that was a description of the significant people, places, and other factors important to the purpose of this study.

The last and most important stage was interpretation. Through interpretation the researcher developed the lessons learned from the description as they relate to the four Hs of Indigenous tourism and exposure and adaptive capacity in the community. From that, the researcher made the connections to the literature and theory regarding vulnerability to climate change in Arctic communities. In other words, after developing themes based on both the literature and data (second stage coding), the researcher interpreted the strongest connections and most relevant issues. Lastly, the interpretation will allow the researcher to formulate future research questions in terms of the community's adaptive needs.

### ***First stage of coding***

The first stage of coding has been described by Strauss (1987) as open coding. This stage of coding roughly correlates to what Saldana (2009) refers to as first cycle coding. However, Saldana is more specific than Strauss in that he breaks the first stage of coding into several different types that are useful for research and researchers in several different contexts. For that reason, the first coding procedure(s) used for this research was that of initial coding and values coding (Saldana, 2009). Saldana suggests that initial coding is particularly well suited for the novice researcher analysing data in the form of interview transcripts. Through the initial coding procedure, the research was given a stronger direction of where to take the study based on leads

provided in the initial data (Saldana, 2009). Within initial coding the researcher observed processes that may have linked the separate codes as they emerged. These processes were also made note of via the field notes that were taken. Two purely hypothetical responses to a general question regarding climate change appear below to demonstrate the above procedural information:

Respondent: *"I don't know what those scientists or biologists are finding out there, but it seems we have several more caribou than they are reporting..."*

Respondent: *"I am out on the land 90 days a year, they [wildlife biologists] are here two weeks of the year... I don't know why you hear so much of them on the CBC..."*

**Code:** Scientists    **Process:** Disbelieving

Values coding is similar to initial coding in that it takes place early in the coding procedure but differs because it has a particular focus whereas initial coding is open to all pieces of data. The specific focus of values coding are the "participant's values, attitudes, and beliefs representing his or her perspectives or worldview," (Saldana, 2009, p. 89). Saldana (2009) states that values coding is particularly useful for analyzing data where cultural values as well as inter and intrapersonal relationships are important. This is relevant to the study because of the emphasis put on worldviews rather than hard scientific data (i.e. residents views and attitudes). As Saldana (2009) recommends, the codes are categorized based on values (importance placed on subject), attitudes (personal feelings toward subject), and beliefs (mix of prior two based on respondent's previous knowledge and experience). Below is another example to demonstrate procedure using a hypothetical response:

Respondent: *"I think the artwork this community produces is beautiful, but I don't think tourists can appreciate it in the same way I or my friends and family can. On the other hand, I have no objections to people trying to make a living by selling such pieces of art."*

**Attitude:** Beautiful art

**Value:** Making a living

**Belief:** Tourist's can't appreciate

As one may realize, Saldana includes the terms values and beliefs whereas this project focuses on 'views' and 'attitudes'. It should be understood that Saldana is being far more specific in the use of these terms to better understand the coding process, whereas this study's focus is slightly more broad in focus so that the results are more easily understood. That said, attitudes were previously defined as value-laden beliefs regarding general views of phenomena. Saldana breaks attitudes down further so that coding can be more precise, whereas the explanation of results does not require such a specific breakdown. Therefore, the results and discussion of this study combine attitudes, values and beliefs, which are referred more plainly to as 'attitudes'.

### *Second stage of coding*

The ultimate goal of this stage in the coding process is to categorically and/or thematically link the codes developed in the first stage of the procedure so that greater conceptions of the information can be made (Saldana, 2009). A useful coding method for accomplishing this task is that of axial coding (Stauss, 1987; Saldana, 2009). During this step in the process the researcher began to integrate codes specifically associated with Smit and Ford's (2004) vulnerability framework and Smith's (1996) four Hs of Indigenous tourism. More specifically, the codes developed through the initial and values coding processes were put into categories as they relate to one another as well as factors in the above mentioned theoretical frameworks. Meaning, such categories will be directly based on the analysis framework. Within that, one needs to be aware that questions asked during the interview were based both on the vulnerability framework as well as the four Hs, so any relating codes that emerged, were intended to do so. Figure 11 illustrates the hierarchical nature of this stage in the coding process.

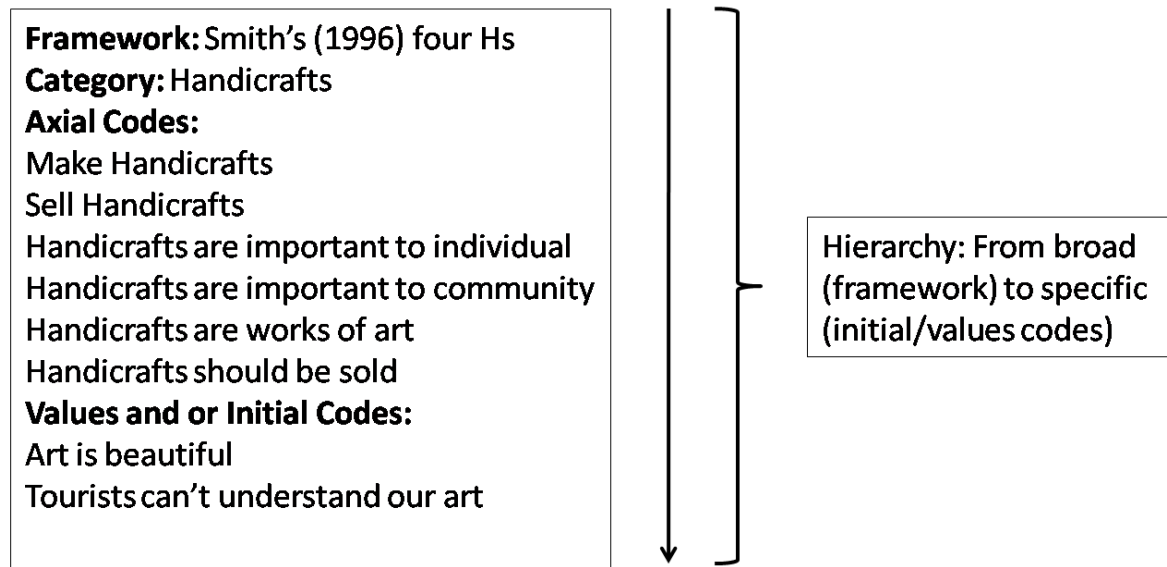


Figure 10. Hierarchical nature of axial code development using a hypothetical example based on the category of handicrafts.

### Verification

Verification within qualitative research is a major issue to be addressed. As Miles and Huberman (1984, p. 230) explain, "...qualitative analysis can be evocative, illuminating, masterful, and downright *wrong*." The nature of qualitative research and analysis allows a researcher's bias to play a role in data interpretation. There are, according to Miles and Huberman (1984) two archetypical biases common in qualitative analysis. The first is the holistic fallacy, which is characterized by the practice of finding patterns between unrelated items by ignoring the loose ends that may separate them. The second is the elite bias, which is when a researcher puts too much emphasis on the information provided by respondents who may be more articulate, well informed, and/or higher status, than the information from those less articulate, ill-informed, or lower in status. By situating the researcher's objectivity, the researcher was better able to identify when such biases were at play in data analysis and collection. On the other hand, it should be disclosed that many of the quotes used in the results and discussion are from those "more articulate" individuals, and may suggest an elite bias in the research. However,

the quotes represent a variety of participants including those, articulate, educated, and those who may have not been as efficient with words, though still suggested the same issues and values.

Furthermore, by following these two archetypes the researcher was able to address more specific issues such as, representativeness, researcher effects, evidence weighting, contrast/comparison, outliers, negative evidence and, feedback from participants (Miles & Huberman, 1984). Representativeness comes into question when the researcher relies too heavily on the data from particular individuals, dramatic events, and plausible answers that seem to complete holistic ideas/patterns. Using the snowballing process it was easy for the researcher to interview more individuals of a similar mind-set and status. Realizing this, when selecting individuals through snowballing the researcher took into account the individual characteristics so as to increase the variability among participants. On the topic of representativeness, during the field season, the researcher realized that residents with an adverse opinion of tourism likely have an adverse opinion to outsiders, such as researchers, in general, and therefore may avoid or deny sitting down to do an interview. This means that there is a strong likelihood that residents with a negative attitude towards tourism may have been under-represented in the results. The researcher feels this to be the primary limitation of the study, though the researcher made every effort during the interview process to avoid appearing as an advocate for or against tourism.

Effects of the researcher on the respondents were likely an issue in this particular study. It is relatively common for respondents to act in a different persona and tell the researcher what he or she wants to hear (Miles & Huberman, 1984; Warren, 2002). Miles and Huberman (1984) suggest staying on site as long as possible and to make an effort to act casually when in town and attempt to fit in. Also, it is recommended to be unobtrusive by doing interviews at times and locations suited to the participants such as, when out hunting or fishing. Both of these

suggestions were taken into account during the research fieldwork. However, the researcher was residing in the Parks Canada staff house and was open about studying tourism issues, it is because of these two facts that the researcher believes participants were under the impression the researcher was an advocate both for the park and tourism, and that participant responses may have been influenced by such impressions. This may be considered a major limitation of the study data, though it was taken into account during analysis, by making a distinct effort to not leave out any critical responses regarding tourism and Parks Canada.

For that matter, the weighting of data can be one of the more complex issues in validation. Some of the issues that affect data weighting can be related to the trust between the respondents and researcher, self deception, and/or ulterior motives (Miles & Huberman, 1984). These issues are inherently hard to accommodate for without being intrusive to the respondent via accusation of lies (indirectly or directly). Douglas (1976) suggests that sharing one's own personal feelings or information with the respondent or by asserting one's own knowledge of the issues may help the respondent open up in an honest way. Comparisons and contrast between individuals, roles, and sites is useful in validating the data. To accommodate this possibility the researcher was not shy to share his own feelings regarding the issues to tourism development and/or park management relevant to the community. Furthermore, some participants even asked outright what the researcher's opinion was on tourism in the region, in that whether or not there is potential, in which case the researcher answered honestly to the best of his knowledge. Such dialogues explain Lemelin, Wiersma and Stewart (2010) are often productive because both participants and researchers "open-up" and reveal opinions they have regarding certain issues or topics.

Outliers can come in the form of respondents, events, and/or settings, that may seemingly “skew” one’s results (Miles & Huberman, 1984). The researcher in this case was interested in such outliers because of the limitation regarding the researcher’s image as a tourism advocate, which may have skewed respondents to be positive towards tourism.

One of the last and most important stages in verification is the corroboration with informants on the data they provided. Within qualitative interviewing it is fairly common place for a researcher to verify his or her understanding of the information received by asking either the respondent or a key informant of the study of the accuracy of his or her understanding (Johnson, 2002). This can be a two stage process. The first may be in the field, in the sense that the researcher may return to participants shortly after that interview to confirm certain details. Also, as suggested by Miles and Huberman (1984) it is advisable to go back to particular informants to confirm important pieces of information. During the analysis the researcher may contact key informants who are knowledgeable of the community and tourism development to confirm the relevance and validity of patterns as they are emerging in the write-up.

### **Dissemination**

The results of this study and others that are a part of the TVRA project will be, or have been communicated back to the communities. This process is standard practice in accordance with the ethical principles regarding research in the North: “On-going explanations of research objectives, methods, findings and their interpretation should be made available to the community” (Association of Canadian Universities for Northern Studies, 2003, p. 6). Firstly, a poster will be made to communicate the entire research process with a focus on the results, and posted in one or several publically accessible places in the community, or perhaps in multiple communities in Nunatsiavut. Such a decision to disseminate the results to other communities in

Nunatsiavut will depend both on applicability and the wishes of the Nunatsiavut government. As stated earlier a website provides information on the TVRA project. A poster and a conference presentation In Nain in April 2012, also provided the opportunity to present the findings and discuss future avenues for tourism in this community. Through these processes of dissemination, the community and those affected by this research will hopefully understand the research itself and its implications.

### **Summary**

Climate change and tourism development are rapidly changing the natural and socio-economic environment of the Arctic. Each community in Canada's Arctic and sub-Arctic region needs to be well prepared in its adaptive strategies to cope with the changes that are expected to come. The research in this study took into account residents' perspectives of the community's adaptive capacity and exposure to climate change historically as well as presently. Historic and current adaptive capacities are useful in determining general adaptability (Ford and Smit, 2004). This constitutes the macro-framework on which this study was based: Ford and Smit's (2004) conceptual model of vulnerability. The micro-framework integrated in the macro-framework was Smith's (1996) four Hs of Indigenous tourism, which further allowed the research to narrow in on perspectives and attitudes towards tourism. Not only are those perspectives and attitudes focused on understanding how they have changed and may change over time, but also whether or not they are positive interpretations and sustainable adaptive strategies.

Methodologically, this research was approached from a social constructionist worldview, which is fitting when one considers that determining residents' perspectives as well as attitudes is the ultimate goal of the study. The research instrument was a semi-structured interview, with questions that were developed in accordance with both Ford, Smit and Wandel's (2006)



framework and Smith's (1996) four Hs. The data was then analyzed using a two staged coding procedure. The first stage consisted of initial and values coding whereas the second stage was that of axial coding. Following this process allowed the researcher to have a full theoretical and conceptual understanding of the residents' perspectives of tourism development and climate change. With this understanding the researcher was able to analyse these findings, and make recommendations based on these findings to the community and the research partners.

## Chapter 4: Findings & Discussion

### Introduction

The results of the research are based on 28 of 29 interviews conducted (with one omitted based on lack of clarity) as well as field records and general observations gathered over the 11 weeks the researcher was in the community. In total, 35 participants are identified in this research project as interviews were occasionally conducted in groups of two or three individuals. Additionally, the researcher draws on guidance and simple observations made in the introductory field season of 2009, hereafter referred to as the pre-field season. Caine, Davinson, and Stewart (2009) suggest that developing familiarization and establishing research partnerships prior to the actual field study is an essential component of community-based research. The participants in this study were defined according to their relation to tourism (in general) and positions in the community (both demographic and occupational). Participant categories were developed by reading through all of the interviews and grouping participants into relatively broad types that made grouping and analysis more manageable for the researcher, yet still protected the participant's anonymity. The respondent categories and sub-categories are presented next (Table 3).

Table 3

*Participant Category break-down*

<b>Demographic</b>	Youth	Any respondent between the ages of 18 to 25.
	Adult	Participants between the ages of 26-60.
	Elder	Refers to any individual defined as an Elder by other community members.
<b>Occupational</b>	Carver	Although involved in tourism (i.e., through the purchase of their handicrafts), carvers in Nain are not solely dependent on the tourism industry for income.
	Public Servant (PS)	Refers to those individuals who are employed by the government (the local municipality of Nain, Nunatsiavut Government, Provincial government of Newfoundland and Labrador, federal government of Canada), and have some understanding of local and regional decision making processes.
	Tourism	Refers to people who are either directly or indirectly involved in the tourism industry through employment (full-time, contract-seasonal). This category does not include such individuals as grocery clerks, who may only have occasional contact with visitors.
<b>Other</b>	Other	Participants in this category were selected based on residency and their involvement in the community. While having little to no direct involvement with tourism, respondents were selected because of their ability to articulate how tourism and climate change are affecting the community and region.

It is also important to note that many participants could be defined under various categories (see Table 4 below). As such, if a participant was considered an Elder and was also employed by a governmental agency, he or she was also categorized as “Public Servant (PS)-Elder.” Some quotes that more holistically describe a certain issue, or describe multiple issues at once from a single participant stand alone in the text, while shorter quotes shown within the text are italicized for readability; these italicized texts represent issues/codes that came up multiple times from multiple participant types. As one will see while reading the quotes, some are changed slightly for readability, as the original was grammatically difficult to understand.

Table 4

*List of Participants*

<b>INTERVIEW NO.</b>	<b>NUMBER OF PARTICIPANTS</b>	<b>CATEGORY</b>
1	2	Carver/ Other
2	1	Tourism
3	3	2 Carvers /1 Other
4	2	Young Person(s)
5	2	Elders
6	1	Tourism
7	1	Elder
8	1	PS
9	1	PS
10	1	PS
11	1	Elder
12	1	Young Person-Tourism
13	1	PS
14	1	Elder-PS
15	2	Young Person-Tourism
16	1	Other
17	1	Other
18	2	Young person
19	1	PS

	20	1	Young person
	21	1	PS
	22	1	PS
	24	1	Other
	25	1	Other
	27	1	Elder
	28	1	PS
	29	1	PS
	30	1	PS
<b>Total</b>	<b>28</b>	<b>35</b>	<b>Public Servant (PS): 11</b> <b>Carver: 3</b> <b>Tourism: 5</b> <b>Youth: 7</b> <b>Other: 6</b> <b>Elder: 6</b>

Participants were initially selected from a list developed by the advisory committee based on his or her affiliation with tourism or public policy (purposive sampling). Additional participants were selected through snowball sampling (Biernacki & Waldorf, 1981), and through various interactions with community members during the field season.

### **Coding in Practice**

Themes, categories and sub-categories were developed using a two staged initial and secondary coding technique. Initial coding took place during the first reading of the interviews. During this stage, interviews were read and important points/issues brought up by participants were highlighted; these could include both general perspectives as well as attitudes. After

reading through the highlighted sections of interviews, themes began to emerge. The themes that emerged were then adjusted, slightly, so that they could fit more sensibly into the following a-priori categories (as determined by the vulnerability and adaptability model): tourism activities (cultural [four Hs], cruise, protected area, and adventure tourism); socio-economic (employment, financing) and socio-political (governance, management) dimensions; and, environmental conditions to make analysis more coherent. As codes were moved into their thematic categories, the values associated with the issues (i.e. personal importance, feelings towards, positive versus negative, etc.), more concisely referred to as attitudes, became more apparent, and thus the second stage of coding was initiated. During the second stage, attention was paid to key quotes and codes which would capture the essence of particular topics discussed by the respondents, this analysis occurred until theme saturation was reached.

Along with the themes of tourism, environmental conditions, governance and socio-economic dimensions, participants also discussed their employment, residency (past and present), and education. The collapse of certain industries such as, cod fishing, trapping (due to lack of demand), and the seasonality and migration of other employment opportunities (fishing, Parks Canada) influenced how respondents described present and potential future tourism opportunities. Many participants also discussed their connections to the former communities of Okak, Zoar, Nutak, Hebron, Ramah, and Kiliniq, and other existing communities throughout Nunatsiavut. These spatial connections and regional affiliations offer support for a regional tourism strategy, rather than a separate plan for each community. Tourism also provides an opportunity for educated beneficiaries to come back and be employed.

### **Tourism Activities**

Tourism activities in Labrador have ranged from hunting and fishing, adventure and cruise tourism, to more recently protected area tourism and cultural tourism (Rompkey, 2003; Hull, 1999). Initially, sport hunting and fishing were the most prominent forms of tourism (Armitage, 2004), although expedition and adventure tourism were soon to follow shortly after the First World War (Rompkey, 2003). This included steam ships that offered Arctic cruises in the north Atlantic, including Labrador (Byrne, 2008). Whereas Labrador continues to provide hunting and fishing opportunities to visitors, consumptive tourism in Nunatsiavut (northern Labrador) has been, apart from a few exceptions, quite rare. As one participant (PS) explained, the hunters *“come in from Goose [Bay] and go direct to camp... It's just easier for them to go hunting 50 miles north of Goose Bay versus 250 miles north of Goose Bay.”*

Steam ships on the other hand, *“used to dock [and] bring tourists... However in the last few years, ever since the establishment of the park, [we] all of a sudden [have more tourists]; a lot more [visitors]”* (Elder-PS). For Nain, the increase in cruise visits, provide opportunities for the community to capitalize on the park gateway designation to TMNP, and showcase particular elements of their culture and their territory.

While the economic impacts from cruise tourism are rather small and difficult to measure, some participants did speak of a docking fee boats had to pay. Employment either as guide or interpreter was often mentioned as a direct benefit from cruise tourism. Other respondents asserted that cruise tourists did not spend very much money in the community, while participant observations suggest that carvers were usually awaiting the arrival of cruise ships in Nain, knowing they will be able to sell their product. Therefore, views regarding the economic impact of cruise tourism were varied.

In the past, government involvement in cruise ship visitation used to be somewhat of a void according to many participants, especially when cruise ship visitors would come through the community unannounced. However, this seems to be changing through the development of a more centralized Nunatsiavut government and tourism agency, as well as cooperation from Parks Canada and local organizations (i.e., cruise ship committees). This sort of cooperation is quite evident in some of the quotes from participants: “*NG is doing what they can do to promote the community here and the country and PC [Parks Canada] is helping out*” (Carver). Other issues that came up include: *funding from tourism department, tourists prepay to get off boat; cruise ship committee’s responsibility, Torngat arts and crafts, park needs to claim responsibility*. The role that Parks Canada needs to play in accommodating cruise ships in the community was evident in the research field season, where the researcher observed, first hand, parks employees being the first to meet and greet tourists getting off a small expedition cruise ship. That being said, the cruise ship committee which represents Nain was not formed until the 2010 season and participants were unaware whether it would be put together again, though most were optimistic nonetheless. Considering that tourists have been coming for decades; the creation of the tourism committee suggest a rather slow response to tourism. However, the committee was formed shortly after the establishment of the park, which likely increased cruise ship visits, in addition to increasing the community’s capacity to manage cruise visits via Parks Canada support. Therefore, the recent formation of the committee suggests that at least some members are prepared to react quickly so that cruise passengers can be accommodated and managed.

Cruise tourism does present opportunities for those wishing to get involved in the industry, though at the same time, there were challenges in getting involved and for development in general. The visitors are “*only here for so many hours, then steam out again, that’s not good...*”



*I like the tourists that fly in and stay overnight or [spend] two or three days. But the tourists on the cruise ships that's different" (Carver). "The people on the boats don't have time...[they stay for a] couple hours then [they are] gone... [They] don't get to see very much" (PS). Tourists are "not allowed to go to shore, they come to shore mostly within the park where there's no Inuit and no one to show them how we live" (PS). Judging from these quotes it appears that the main concern with cruise tourism is that they do not come ashore enough, and that their interactions and economic impacts are minimal. Many participants were eager to share their culture, land, and related activities if for no other reason than the intrinsic satisfaction of sharing, which is a big part of both Labrador Inuit as well as Newfoundland and Labrador cultures. The establishment of Torngat Mountains National Park was deemed as key to this strategy, as well as generating new economic opportunities.*

### **Torngat Mountains National Park**

TMNP is not only a new and prominent tourism attraction in the region but is also a very visible organization (Parks Canada) in the community because of the employment and outside interest (private and public) it brings in. One individual, employed by the park, sums up many of the issues, both positive and negative in the following quote:

I think everyone should go to the park. Even the whole community should be able to go and see that place. But money wise and everything, only certain people can go up, workers and stuff. It's too expensive. But somebody from down south they get to come up here cause they got the money. They can come see it. And we're there, cause I am already employed there. But for young people and my generation to do that.

What this quote captures is the degree of frustration in the perceived economic inequality that the park accentuates in the community. Another quote critical of the park came from a relatively

well connected government employee stating, “*How much [economic benefit] is really going to communities?.. That is the complaint I am hearing*” (PS).

Of course the seasonal employment opportunities providing through the park via the basecamp was mentioned several times: [its] *growing big time*; [the] *service industry is a good thing*, [we] *need training, education and certification*. Information regarding employment via the park was more specific than that of other forms of tourism, where employment was more sporadic and isolated. People realize the park offers employment but are hesitant to speak very highly of it and/or do not realize that those employed by the park, either full time or seasonally, spend money in the community, thus helping support it economically. The park, therefore, compares to other employers like NG, Voisey's Bay nickel mine, and the fishing industry, many of which also provide seasonal contractual positions.

Among the social issues discussed with participants connected to the national park and related tourism activities, there was a strong divide between critical and optimistic comments (attitudes). The integration of the park in the community made it relatively difficult to divide comments based on the previously established subcategories of, government, involvement, acceptance and, history/future. For example, when discussing the government's role in the national park, most spoke somewhat critically in that there is too much emphasis on the park within the region and in Nain. Issues like this resulted in the social subcategories of protected area tourism having an emphasis on involvement. Some of the specific quotes/codes are:

- “Even though there is joint management we have to work on the relationship... management will be handed over... it should be like that... Nunatsiavut Government should fully control region”
  - PS / Elder
- “[There is] no difference between NP and NG: they does what they does”
  - Other

Individuals not involved with government saw little to no difference in the various levels or agencies, while those involved in government, noted various differences, and often expressed a desire for the park management to be fully handed over to NG, meaning that it is not the case that there is “no difference” between the two.

Some participants were quite critical of the park and its role in the community, while other respondents were more pragmatic, and saw it as a work in progress. As for the more personal criticisms coming from a participant (Other), *“north Labrador coast is my home and people from all over the world come and see, and there is people out there who does not like that a bit”, a lot of disappointment, they are on their own, hated people going to Saglek, not fair, confused me and others, don't know how it works, own little thing, angers me, not true that we have control.* The lack of understanding and perceived control in governance issues may be the root of such criticism. On a more pragmatic line of thought participants who had some control of the park had such things to say: *here for day and go direct to park; people have difficulty with it, very little benefit, go by airplane, don't stop here, community isn't set up where people can take advantage.* Although Nain is meant to be a gateway community, as long as the community cannot accommodate those who are supposed to be going to the park, the community will, according to these individuals, derive few benefits. Therefore, where some object to the park and its practices for somewhat personal reasons, others object to the current management practices of the park on a more pragmatic line, and hope that it may change in the near future.

One issue brought up by some participants is the issue of competition with Nunavik. More specifically, some respondents noted that it is cheaper for potential tourists to fly through Nunavik via Montreal and Kuujuaq, than flying through Labrador (via Goose Bay) and stopping in Nain, when accessing the park. Access to the park from Nunavik could potentially mean that

Nain will see far fewer tourists intending to see the park, than Kuujjuaq. In light of these concerns, some participants expressed a need to incorporate Nain into the product, and suggested that an emphasis needs to be placed on cruise tourists who stop in Nain, on their way from or to the park.

Many participants had suggestions or criticisms for the way things are being done in the park: *need to have guide; place names hard to decipher; develop regional strategy; build capacity; strategic vision; advertising; mandatory to have guide; concentrate more on communities; bear monitors; “[should] not [be] ... allowed to go to certain spots”- (Tourism); people don't know who to contact; speak up; more visible in community; “people might be offended if they go wherever they want... people's cabins” – (PS); up to tour operators, proper info on where to go; bad accommodations; no traditional food [at the hotel]; hiking trails; hard to get training.* The researcher felt that these particular issues can be dealt with on a case by case basis through individual initiatives with people involved in the community or regional development such as, trail mapping, advertising, hiring guides, and raising more public awareness. However, on the other hand, training, and community visibility may need to be dealt with by policy makers and those more involved in the industry, which is discussed in more detail later in the discussion.

Other participants spoke highly of the park and were quite proud about it. And it's not only for tourist people, but for young people too, from Labrador because they got chance to visit park area. It's not only for us, it's for all people, especially younger people, hearing stories, church, and stories, happy to know things that used to happen before. (Elder-PS)

This particular individual is involved to some degree in park management, and clearly believes that the park offers a means to bring different people in the community together. In this particular case the respondent is discussing youth who were involved in the summer program

opportunities offered in the park. However, a different participant did bring up the fact that she was frustrated that she never had the opportunity to go to the park as part of that employment program because she was too old by the time the park was established.

The designation of the Torngat Mountains as a national park may also increase as some younger participants noted, visitation to this protected area, in the form of adventure tourism, backcountry hiking, skiing and kayaking. However, participants were quick to point out that guides need to accompany these visitors at all times, which raises the issue of safe traveling among visitors, which came up several times in multiple interviews.

Generally speaking, the park has a definite economic and institutional role in the community with the full and part time employment they provide to residents. This economic role is appreciated by some, expressing a positive attitude toward the jobs in general, though is also criticized for the seasonality and pay those particular jobs entail. Socially, the vast majority of participants felt the park was a positive addition to the community and region, while few participants expressed concern over lack of control in its management, leaving a feeling of alienation. It seems as the park remains and grows with the community it will become more a part of the community as NG takes more control over its management.

### **Cultural Tourism**

When asked “what comes to mind when you think of tourism?” participants provided various perspectives from optimism: “*you know for sure everyone is going to be traveling here in the future and the community is going to grow*” (Youth/Tourism), “*more chances to make a living... [it] can happen all year;*” (Carver), to scepticism: “*If you are going to have tourism, you’re going to have people really proud saying this is where we come from, this is our culture. How are you going to do that if you don’t have basic needs met?*” (Other), “*not sure if everyone*

*can make a living... can't see more than 5 people working full time*" (Not Involved) to being overwhelmed: *"when I think of tourism my head goes in different directions,"* (PS). Since cultural tourism was a particular focus of this study (through the four Hs) and is directly mentioned in the draft tourism plan for the region *Partnerships & Planning for Tourism in Nunatsiavut*, we examine the role of views of this particular type of tourism in Nain.

Within the community there is still a strong emphasis on building culture through promoting the use of Inuktitut among youth and within government, as well as in the performance arts such as drum dancing and throat singing, and in trades like carving. Therefore, cultural tourism is also examined using categories based on Smith's (1996) four Hs.

When asked about tourists coming to learn about the culture of Nain and Nunatsiavut the vast majority of participants responded with enthusiasm. Some participants were enthusiastic to the idea of tourists coming with the intention of learning about residents' current and past cultures, in some cases this learning would be mutual. We *"want to share unique Labrador culture [and] showcase Labrador Inuit"* (Other), *"No matter where you're from, come learn about us. We like to learn about you too,"* (Other). One of the most comprehensive and compelling quotes came from an individual who was involved in tourism in a direct way,

We want people to learn about our culture anyways. Our culture is almost dying here anyways now... Tourism will help. But it all depends on how you want to come up and want be a tourist. Do you want to learn about our culture, like hunting and fishing, or our language? They are already parts of tourism... Or go to the museum? – (Tourism)

This particular quote summarizes some of the major issues brought up by a number of participants, including issues of cultural preservation, tourism motivations, subsistence/traditional activities and, language.

One respondent, involved in the government, spoke enthusiastically about the activities young people are getting into, such as drum dancing and singing, and that they need “...*not just encouragement [but, to be] financially supported*” (PS). Also, one participant looking to be more involved in cultural tourism spoke about “*hitting a brick wall*” when trying to access grants, saying that “*money is the biggest thing [barrier]*”. A third government participant spoke critically about how much funding is available specifically for Aboriginal people and cultural initiatives. This sentiment about access and distribution were the most common issues raised regarding funding.

#### **Four Hs**

As stated previously, Smith's (1996) four Hs of Indigenous tourism feature habitat, history, heritage, and handicrafts. For the purpose of this analysis, heritage and history have been combined to include the socio-cultural dimensions of pre-Inuit, Inuit, and European (i.e., Moravian) settlements. This category will be referred to as heritage.

#### **Habitat**

Habitat represents the participants' relationship(s) to the natural environment in the context of cultural tourism in a broad sense. Habitat, Smith (1996) argues is an integral part of Indigenous culture and Indigenous tourism. This sentiment was supported by the majority of participants and observed during the researcher's time in the community. As one respondent stated, our “*culture and landscape are intertwined... [we] are intimately familiar with it*” (PS). In terms of an attraction, the landscape (habitat) was described as “*pretty damn spectacular;*” *not generic; unique; amazing; extreme; and harsh*. Therefore, it is important to, “*show tourists... how we survive*”.

One Elder spoke at length about his interaction with tourists visiting the park, “[I] used to think white people cannot eat like us, never had char before and they liked it, raw char... [they] like caribou too, [even] vegetarians”. Furthermore, participants were proud when they could showcase their skills and livelihood: “People who don’t hunt or fish want to see it happening”. Generally speaking, this was one of the most well received forms of tourism, where potential tourists could join and learn about the Inuit harvesting activities.

### **Heritage**

Culture and history is a topic of pride within the vast majority of interview transcripts. This was also observed during simple interactions with community members during the field season. The vast majority of residents who participated in the interview were eager to discuss and share their cultural heritage and traditions. Some of the more general quotes that came up regarding heritage and tourism were, “We don’t see tourists coming to learn about that, only archaeologists” (Carver); “...show the world how we live, where we come from, how we used to live... I was born an Eskimo and will die an Eskimo” (PS); “...learn to be ourselves, learn where we came from, appealing to tourists, suggested [Hebron] ambassadors wear traditional clothes, use language, mother tongue” (PS-Elder).

Burial mounds and graves explained some participants, are found along the coastlines, on the islands and throughout the park. The most common issue to be raised by participants regarding graves had to do with physical contact with the graves in that it was inappropriate to touch the graves under any circumstances. However, when asked how appropriate it was for people to take pictures, participants responded relatively positively, in that they had little or no problem with it, and often encouraged it. On the other hand, when asked about photographing bones or skeletal remains some responded by saying that it is disrespectful: “[it] would be like



*digging up a grave and opening the coffin*" (Youth). Generally speaking, however, most participants were not aware that taking pictures of bones would be an issue with some stating that they had taken pictures of bones themselves. Other respondents had suggestions for dealing with issues of tourism impacts around graves: *always have someone [with them], can't have 100 people trooping [around, you] need a plan*. These are important suggestions as the issue of control and use of guides was the most common through the research process. Ultimately, people do not want the graves to be touched whereas photographs are deemed acceptable. The park management plan has responded in the creation of preliminary rules of conduct that include a "hands-off" policy in terms of contact with culturally significant items such as graves or artifacts, and is furthermore inclusive of the sensitivities of photographing (Parks Canada, 2010).

Moravian culture, in the words of one participant (PS), has for the last, *"200 years [been] incorporated into our own part of culture, [and] is a big part of who we are."* Most people had the opinion that the Moravian heritage was a part of although different from the local Inuit culture. Regardless of whether or not participants value Moravian culture as their own, many felt that the historic Moravian presence in Nunatsiavut was a major draw for tourists. This was not surprising as the Moravian settlement of Hebron is one of the more established attractions that has been visited by expedition cruises, unregulated, for at least a decade. Some participants spoke about their perspective as to why tourists visit the region: *want to see the old church; Moravian history is huge, it's why tourists come; Hopedale has Moravian museum and church they opened museums, historical centers, knew tourists would be interested*. Although no specific tourist-motivation research has been done to confirm whether or not these perspectives are accurate, one could conclude that residents do not have a problem with the promotion of European culture and artifacts. The question however remains regarding the best way for

integrating the Moravian heritage into the Inuit histories and traditions from a marketing perspective.

### **Handicrafts**

Nain has a relatively deep history of producing talented soapstone carvers as well as a more recent revival among youth in the performing arts of throat singing and drum dancing. This particular section ended up being relatively comprehensive as participants had a good deal to say regarding carvings and carvers in the community. Many residents spoke with great pride about the achievements of some of the town's carvers. By the 1990s Gilbert Hay and John Terriak were gaining a national reputation for stone carving, while John Goudie "achieved great success with the excellence of his Labradorite jewellery and carvings" (Rompkey, 2003, p. 158). One reason why participants were so willing to discuss carving and other forms of arts and crafts may be the cultural/historic connections present in the community. Participants supported each other in their answers as to how arts and crafts, especially carving, fit into community culture: *part of culture; artistic community, whole lot of history; handicrafts make people proud, painting, jewelry, carving, part of their culture, mother makes, but doesn't sell*. One participant spoke at length, with a small degree of criticism for contemporary carvings:

Carving is a symbol for how Inuit used to live... everybody was carvers... a lot of artists here in town, especially women, sew clothing, [but you] don't see that now a days, men are trying to keep our culture, few men make mukluks, few men know how to make snow house... Carving, it's sort of a way of showing some of our culture. But mostly, for a show lamp, a cooking pot, that was another one that was carved. We never used to make those sculptures, those carvings of polar bears. (Government)

This opinion was supported somewhat by a second participant:

Not every Inuk is a carver/toolmaker... make bows and arrows... so some of them started to learn that you know people are coming in from the outside want to

see different shapes like seal, caribou, fish, whale, and they could make money, they could be paid for it, so Inuit started to do more carvings. (Elder-PS)

Therefore, in the eyes of some, carving and its place in the community has changed, though at the same time, its presence in the community has remained relatively stable. In looking at carvings, for the purpose of sale, this is a tradition within Inuit culture no older and perhaps, quite a deal younger than the introduction of Moravian influence (Hessel, Hessel, & Swinton, 2002), though the skill of soap stone carving itself, is as old as any other Inuit tradition (Balicki, 1970).

Generally speaking, most participants seemed to believe that carvers benefit individually but also felt they fit into the town's greater economy. Two individuals did bring up that too many carvers can saturate the market and bring down prices, especially when the quality of the carvings is questionable. Multiple participants pointed out that only a select few individuals who carve "full time" can make a livelihood from their work as carvers. Such carvers have connections to places where they can move their product more easily, often selling through the internet via social network sites such as Facebook. The art shop also helps fill the important void of a continual market, as tourists, who do make up a sizeable portion of the market, only come through for a very short period of time.

Established within the past 2 - 5 years, the arts and craft shop in Nain is described by most as a relatively new addition to the town, and is well received, for the most part. The shop is important because it provides materials to carvers but also buys their completed work from them for a good price. In visiting the art shop, open once a week (to align with Northern Ranger and other passenger ships' arrival times/dates), the researcher noticed on several occasions that it was just as much, if not more community residents in the shop as there were tourists. These are some

instances of the art shop being brought up by participants throughout the interview process: *really helpful; people depend on selling carving, need continual market for these carvings, everybody benefits, stable income; craft shop changes all the time [hours]; craft shop is kinda new; material bought in craft shop; people from town buy; craft shop, lame, no one goes, nicer place needed; craft shop is plus, employs people, buy locally, handmade, many crafty people, sewing, knitting, carving, jewellery.* Some others were somewhat disappointed in the aesthetics and displays at the craft shop. However, in speaking with some of those who volunteered for the craft shop, funding is a major restriction, and they reserve the vast majority of the funding they do receive in order to pay artists for their work, rather than to present the carving in a more aesthetically appealing environment. Lastly, it should be mentioned there is a new culture centre being built in cooperation between Parks Canada and Nunatsiavut government which may provide a means to display carvings in a more aesthetically pleasing environment. One participant who seemed knowledgeable of the centre's creation described it as such: *theatre, living museum, programming, for everybody, won't be geared [just] towards tourists, for beneficiaries, people will benefit, learn about our culture.*

There was a general agreement with participants that artifacts should not be sold, and are better off in museums: *not for sale; for Inuit; learn from; never sell; can't come from park; considered stealing, don't think they'd be for sale, don't think that's right; [they should be] preserved for everyone.* These opinions represent people who expressed feelings of disdain for the taking and/or selling of artifacts from a perspective more closely linked to morality, whereas some people gravitated towards government policy regarding the matter. Generally speaking, there was little to no correlation between whether individuals thought it was wrong on moral or

legal grounds, and their participants type, i.e. public servants did not feel more than other participant types that it was a legal/government matter, and vice versa.

That said, there were some participants who were somewhat indifferent on the matter or have taken, but not sold artifacts themselves. These participants were mostly unsure of any issues having to do with artifacts: *don't know how that works; never heard about, never seen; didn't know it's illegal; lucky to find, take labradorite/arrowhead same, it's a souvenir; it's (Ramah churt] a rock, not a big deal*. Also, some participants spoke about how they themselves would keep artifacts if they were to find them. The fact that some participants have taken artifacts themselves demonstrates that it can be an issue, especially since it is technically illegal to remove anything from the park. Regardless, most participants felt artifacts should either be left where they are or put into a museum.

### **Overview: Tourism in Nain**

Parks Canada has become a prominent institution in the community because of the support they offer to tourism, and also through employment they offer to the residents. There were both positive and negative impacts of these two influences. On the positive side, people realize that the park showcases their land in a positive light, and there is a sense of pride in that. Also, the employment the park offers is well received in the most part. Lastly, the park adds to the region and community capacity to manage tourists on their arrival, which helps ensure tourists have positive experiences. On the other hand, some participants felt that there is too much emphasis on the park, and that tourism within the community is being overlooked both by managers and policy makers. Furthermore, some were critical of the employment policies, in that residents of a certain age (i.e., middle-aged and older) are usually left out, and the employment that is offered is only seasonal and takes some of the employees far from home. Finally, there

was some degree of resentment that tourists could go and visit the Torngat Mountains, an important feature of Nunatsiavut landscape, while many residents cannot afford to do so. Knowing that these issues are present will hopefully offer a basis for improving any issues of community relations that are in need of attention.

Tourism and tourists that affect the community more directly are a result of expedition cruise ships or the Northern Ranger cargo ship, which let passengers off to explore the community at will. This type of tourism was classified as cultural tourism because of the specific interactions between the tourists and community members, via Smith's (1996) four Hs, habitat, heritage (and history), and handicrafts. Furthermore, cultural tourism was examined in more depth because, as explained by Kristy Sheppard, the Nunatsiavut tourism director, and through the Tourism Strategy document, *Tourism Partnerships and Planning* (Nunatsiavut, 2009), it is the tourism type the region wishes to focus on.

Residents spoke positively of developing the habitat dimension of cultural tourism in their community and region. All had a positive reaction to the idea of taking tourists out on the land to take part in traditional subsistence activities, and were proud of the landscape in which they and their ancestors have lived. The facets of the heritage dimension of cultural tourism, for the purpose of this study included issues relating to the Moravian history and influences in the region, tourist behaviour around Inuit graves, and issues regarding tourist/resident behaviour around artefacts. As stated earlier, the Moravian history of the region was, in the eyes of most participants, a major draw for tourists. Issues regarding visitor behaviour around Inuit graves were examined to gain insight on how resident perspectives of acceptable tourist behaviour aligns with park policy. Park policy, for that matter, states that tourists are allowed to take picture of the outside graves, but not touch or take pictures of any skeletal remains inside, which

is a policy reiterated in participant opinion, although some participants were unaware that it could be an issue. Lastly, artefacts as governed by Canadian Law are not to be removed from their location, in or outside the park. The park management, for that matter, offers the capacity to enforce such laws, at least within its boundaries, and the majority of participants agreed with it in that most believed that artefacts should remain as they are or put into a museum. On the other hand, some residents admitted they had picked up and kept artefacts and/or were unaware that the sale of artefacts to tourists could be an issue as tourism visitation increases over time. This suggests that educational strategies aimed at both visitors and locals may be required.

In conclusion, the community of Nain possess the facets of cultural (Indigenous) tourism as discussed by Smith (1996), is receptive of showcasing those assets, and, for the most part, is aware of the issues and sensitivities within them. Now that we have examined the particular issues regarding tourism in the community, we will look at the broader issues that influence these characteristics.

### **Socio-Political Dimensions**

This was an important sub-category in the research because resident perspective(s) of tourism, particularly levels of acceptance toward tourism/tourists, is long known to be a vital piece of successful sustainable tourism development (Doxey, 1975; Jafari, 1990; Mason & Cheyenne, 2000). Many of the codes in this section can be understood as positive opinions of tourists and tourism, though there is also the inclusion of codes that refer to a lack of acceptance or resistance. Since many people discussed this aspect of the industry, the following provide an overview of the various aspects of tourism acceptance, apathy towards, or opposition to.

These three categories are discussed next, the first is that of acceptance: *good for community; very interesting; like seeing people from different countries; like being asked*

*questions; see how we live; Nain is friendly; really proud; 98% will welcome it.* Generally, many participants see tourism as a way to bring more money into the community. Since tourism is already occurring, and there is very little that the community can do about it, some participants responded rather apathetically to the concept: *doesn't matter to me; can be here if they want; going to come anyhow; people wonder what they're doing; people are used to it; don't talk with too many strangers.* Others were quite negative about it: “[some may say] ‘*Why are you here? What do you want?*’” (Youth), “*Elders hate park... I am pretty sure that if gathered some people they would have the desire and strength to stop people from coming*” (Other) “*Few residents have a ‘this is our land’ [mentality]*” (Youth). While quite negative, it should be noted that the quotes in opposition to tourism/tourists were largely associated with a small number (< 3) of participants.

### **Governance**

In relation to the government's role in tourism, significant differences were noted between those individuals affiliated with governments (through employment or otherwise) and those participants not-affiliated with governments (through employment or otherwise). Not surprisingly, government representatives had generally more to say about tourism development and tended to be more positive regarding these developments: *regional strategy in infancy; foster Inuit-owned companies; train staff; manage park and government.* Surprisingly, some respondents affiliated with governmental agencies were also critical of the government's (at various levels) role in tourism: *promote area/not just TMNP; a strategic plan is needed.* Some of these points, as we see next, are also echoed by participants not employed by the government.

Comments for these respondents ranged from the positive: *[these are] new ministers, still learning; need to be kept at;* to critical: *not enough information; create jobs, create more*



*attraction; not much change; don't see them around; need to get residents on board.* As one individual summarized:

I don't think you will [see a major increase in tourism capacity] until you get stuff organized here and then market that, and I think NG... they only had one person, the [tourism] director and no other staff... they don't cater to [tourism], there is nothing in place, there are no businesses or organizers specially in place for tourists. (Other)

As these quotes illustrate, there is some frustration with the government's role in tourism development. However, that frustration does not seem to translate into a dislike or distrust of the government at the regional or local level, but more so out of an expressed frustration with a general view that very little is occurring in the community.

In terms of the question of how many tourists would be too many, the majority of participants stated that there could not be too many: *as long as they don't stay; need more; good to see more; good for economy; don't think there could ever be too many; as long as the boat can fit them; more the merrier; 10 000 people is good; should be more.* While some other participants seemed to convey somewhat more hesitation regarding the total number of tourists from 1000 to 100 000 visitors, others explained that it: *depends on how many ships and where they go; not in one big group; depends on guides, preparation; not too many at one time; artists need to be ready, craft shop would [could] be empty.* Therefore, the management of visitors seems to be more important than the amount, at least to those who felt that there should be a limit on the amount of visitors.

### **Environmental Conditions**

Results regarding perspectives of climate, more accurately called, environmental change for the purpose of this research, were organized into biophysical features, associated impacts, impacts associated with tourism, and adaptation techniques to such changes. This was done in

order to align with the basic structure of Ford, Smit and Wandel's (2006) framework, focusing on biophysical conditions and adaptation techniques. As for associated effects on tourism, the vast majority of participants had trouble making connections between climate change to what seemed to them a distantly related phenomenon of tourism. Nevertheless, biophysical categories that emerged from the interviews conducted were, ice, weather, water, flora and fauna, and lastly, to support emerging tourism research in the north regarding last chance tourism (Lemelin et al., 2012). Participants were also asked questions regarding their awareness of last chance tourism. Though it should be said, the concept of last chance tourism (as previously introduced) was explained to frame the question, rather than using the relatively presumptive term of "last chance".

Although participants were asked, "So, what do you think or know about climate change and tourism?" there was no denial of climate change among all participants, though responses did vary: "*Nobody is used to this kind of climate change,*" "*we don't know anymore*". One Elder remarked,

We all know that it [has] changed a lot, but last 10 or 5 years it's not the same any more... Yes, I've been asked about those kind of questions, how they're affecting us and things like that... it's really good to talk about things because if we don't talk about things there will be nobody. For example, people always want to listen to a tale, Inuit's tales and stories and things, they're gone.

When incorporating tourism into the idea of climate change, without any explanation, some responded with confusion and frustration. Ultimately, participants were, for the most part unable to draw any correlation between the two without prompting.

When asked about their opinion on any specific changes participants have noticed recently or over time, changes in ice were by far the most common among individual responses. Generally speaking, ice conditions have been changing and becoming less predictable according

to participants. When speaking specifically about why it was more difficult to travel on the ice, the following codes/quotes came up: *not safe, normal route water; ice wasn't good, wait longer for freeze, couldn't go far, couldn't go to Hebron, melting very fast, could hardly goose hunt; nobody went up north this winter; not freeze properly, scary, not able to collect wood, way of life/wait for freeze; affected hunters/fisherman, late ice; just glass with snow*. The most common themes were that the ice was not safe enough to travel on, and that it was not around for as long as it normally has been. More importantly, in the participants' perspectives, there was great difficulty in travel during the times of year when the water is normally frozen. This is important because, as most participants stated in one way or another, winter is the time of year when people can really travel and go out on the land. When asked why this was, three reasons seemed to explain it best: A snowmobile is more effective than a boat as the water is normally frozen for a longer period of time than it is open for boat travel. By being less expensive a snowmobile is more versatile in that it will take you across the frozen water and inland to the hills, whereas a boat can take you only as far as the shoreline. Therefore, it is simply far more common for a household to own a snowmobile than a boat. To adapt to environmental changes participants went either south or inland to hunt (or other reasons) during the winter instead of going up north towards Hebron and other culturally (familial) important areas. Furthermore, those who own a boat used it earlier in the season than he or she normally would.

Participants were then asked how tourism may or may not be affected by the changes in sea ice. Generally speaking, people saw the changing ice conditions as a phenomenon that may detract from Nain's tourism appeal: *[affect tourism] in winter time; blocked ice passage; really need guides now; couldn't get to destinations; uncertainties would affect skidoo trips; snowmobile trails from Goose Bay, may not be able to ice fish ten years from now*. It should

however be pointed out that most of these negative changes would largely affect winter tourism activities, which in reality are not very common with one participant who has been involved in tourism in the past explicitly stating, “*not too much tourism in the winter to begin with*”.

Some participants stated that there may be some positive impacts of changing ice conditions, particularly that of the shorter season: *good in the summer; potential for cruise lines; media coverage, definitely help; [Northern Ranger] comes as soon as ice is free*. Therefore, this aligns to some degree with the current literature that less sea ice may extend the season for marine traffic, including tourism vessels (Dawson, Maher, & Slowcombe, 2007; Laidler, 2006; ACIA, 2004; Nickels, Furgal, Buell, & Moquin, 2006). However, even though the waters in close proximity were free of ice earlier in the year, the passage ways between the islands separating the Nain Bay from the Labrador Sea were often blocked with ice, thus not allowing any marine traffic to reach some coastal communities, while simultaneously, not allowing people to use the water via ice for travel. If this were to become a common occurrence, it would mean that, during times of blockage, residents would not be able to leave Nain via sea ice and marine traffic would not be able to reach the communities to bring supplies and tourists.

Some participants did make connections between the weather changes and possible effects on tourism in the region. One such connection was the delays in flight caused by extended periods of fog which may result in poor logistical plans for tourism related activities. An additional barrier to planning was the unpredictable seasonality that would make it hard to sell packages to tourists that may depend on a certain amount of snow for snowmobiling or other weather dependent activities. However, a small portion of participants did mention that a longer summer season may allow marine traffic to continue later into the year, thus allowing more

cruise tourists to visit the community. A popular attraction for visitors is the fauna, in the subsequent section we focused upon three particular type caribou, char and polar bears.

Caribou is, for the most part, a winter staple when accessible by snowmobile via sea ice. Caribou is also, from a tourism perspective, a highly sought animal to be photographed and in some cases, consumed. As for Arctic Char, a prominent sight in the town of Nain is the scores of drying arctic char hanging outside many houses throughout the town. This seemed to be very interesting to tourists and other visitors to the town, and may be considered a tourism attraction. One elder who spends the majority of her summer at her fishing place described changes she has seen in the fish over the years: *[fish] skinny, less and less, used to be fat, whiter, used to be pink and fatty*. She went on to explain that this may be because the water is somewhat warmer and less salty than it used to be. Polar bears as Lemelin and Maher (2009) stated, were a popular attraction for visitors, and since this particular population of the Davis Strait is doing quite well, many participants spoke of increasing interactions with polar bears. These interactions, according to some, were either due to an increase in numbers, or a migration further inland to locations where more people reside/visit: *polar bears in park area are increasing, we use to be lucky to see one polar bear; [we now fear] polar bears, for they rip tent or go after people; polar bear coming further inland*.

The concept that some tourists may be attracted to see these animals and polar environments in general because of their perceived fragility and possible/eventual disappearance is a newly-developing term in the tourism and climate change discourse (Lemelin, et. al., 2012). When asked about this as an observable motivation for tourism, there were mixed responses. Some felt that it would not have an effect on tourism increase: *pretty much same; don't think so/same amount of PB; "a lot of people don't associate Labrador with the Arctic" - (PS), more*

*likely high arctic/Nunavut/Inuvialuit/, don't think it will cause more, "I don't think people will associate CC with northern Labrador" – (PS), I don't think so, traffic going north, aren't far north, aren't consider north.* For those that do not think it will have an effect, the reason seems to be that, in their eyes, tourists who are motivated to see a disappearing, more appropriate referred to as a changing landscape would rather go to the high Arctic than the sub-Arctic which may mean, that if potential tourists were educated on the characteristics of northern Labrador through marketing, it could possibly be a motivation. However, some participants were unsupportive of such marketing campaigns: *"I don't know if you'd want to market the dying, they do that in Africa" – (PS); wrong message, natural progression.* This same sentiment was expressed to some degree when it came to marketing the Inuit culture as one that is disappearing. Regardless, there were some that believed the extra media attention, at the very least, may have an effect on tourism: *media is big involvement, advertisement in media get word out, not negative, voice it in different way [though]; maybe people are more aware, broaden minds, not major, maybe see if it's really happening; media, polar bears.* Although it is apparent that these participants are not yet convinced either way what affects climate change media is actually having on motivation(s).

Although the direct findings from the interviews did not produce an exceptionally large amount of data to be analyzed, it did yield enough information to draw correlations with other studies. These findings complement one study in particular that has a more strong emphasis on climate change effects and implications in Arctic communities, including Nain/Nunatsiavut, was that of Ford, Pearce, Duerden, Furgal and Smit (2010). Below is a table summarizing information regarding the effects of climate related changes, and the implications of those changes on Canadian Arctic communities such as Nain, Newfoundland and Labrador.

Table 5

*Observed climate change and documented impacts in Canada Inuit Regions*

<b>Documented Changes</b>	<b>Implications</b>
Sea Ice Dynamics <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Later ice Freeze-up</li> <li>- Earlier sea ice break-up</li> <li>- Thinning of ice</li> <li>- Slower freeze-up</li> </ul>	Constrained access to hunting areas and other communities Increased danger of travelling on ice Longer open water period in summer for shipping Need to develop new trails Increase in storm surges and coastal erosion
Wind <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- More unpredictable wind</li> <li>- Change in predominant direction</li> <li>- More frequent storms</li> </ul>	Increased danger of resource harvesting activities More difficult to hunt and fish Accelerated coastal erosion
Temperature <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Warmer summer &amp; winter</li> <li>- Permafrost thaw</li> </ul>	Affecting aging process of traditional foods Implications for infrastructure including building, roads and airstrips
Animals <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Change migration behaviour, declining animal health in some regions for some species, declining population numbers in some regions (e.g. polar bear in Hudson's Bay)</li> </ul>	Imposition of important ban by US on polar bear skins Altered hunting behaviour Species switching
Geomorphological Changes <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Permafrost thaw</li> <li>- More active slope processes</li> <li>- Accelerated Coastal Erosion</li> </ul>	Infrastructure damage (roads, runways, housing) Reduction in available space for development Damage and loss of cultural sites

Source: Ford, et al., 2010, p. 179

Many of the implications that Fort et al. (2010) elude to were either brought up directly by participants, or are surely relevant to their way of life even though they may have not been directly mentioned. More relevant to this study however, is how those implications and direct effects of climate change affect tourism development and cultural tourism development specifically.

Tourism development in general will be negatively affected by the infrastructure implications such as insecure building sites as well as run ways for airports (ports of tourism entry). Also, coastal erosion will surely have an effect on the areas that cruise ships would normally visit to unload passengers either for day excursions, or perhaps, even in the communities themselves (where man-made wharfs are unavailable). On the other hand, the longer shipping season may also mean a longer cruise tourism season, where potential tourists

and operators may have more chances and choices to operate in Nunatsiavut: That of course may only be an option if the issue of surface ice blocking passage way to Nain, as mentioned by several participants, is more an anomaly than a normal occurrence. That said, it is difficult to predict either way, whether an early spring thaw will benefit the tourism season in this part of the country.

Changing animal populations has major implications for tourism in Nunatsiavut as the presence of caribou, polar bear, and other Arctic species are a draw for many existing and potential tourists. That said, the changes observed in Ford et al.'s (2010) table are somewhat different to those observed in Nain and Nunatsiavut. Specifically, the Davis-Strait polar bear population is not according to the latest scientific studies and traditional knowledge not experiencing the decline that some polar bear populations (e.g. Hudson's Bay) are experiencing. On the other hand, many participants did feel the caribou population is either declining or migrating from the traditional areas of Nunatsiavut where caribou were once present. Regardless, the spotting of caribou is becoming less common in the region, which will have negative consequences on the tourism product the region offers.

Furthermore, as one may read in the table, many of the implications for Inuit communities are directly related to harvesting activities, which are also a specific and important draw for cultural tourists wishing to experience traditional (Indigenous) Inuit culture. This essentially means that one of the most extensive implications of climate change, judging from Ford et al.'s (2010) table is also a threat to one of the most important cultural tourism assets the community offers. In reference to Smith's (1996) 4 Hs, the effects on harvesting activities mean that the H of habitat is most at risk. In the face of these threats, one should acknowledge that



many of the effects on harvesting activities are a result of changes in the winter season (e.g. sea ice dynamics) where tourism is not yet marketed or developed.

As for Hs other than 'habitat', at least one aspect of heritage/history may be affected in that the melting permafrost may have implications for the foundation of the Moravian church in the community, which, for that matter, has already been visibly affected by a shifting foundation. The end result has been a church that has become less visually appealing (Martin Carlson, personal communication, July 26, 2009), or potentially unsafe to enter at all. Also, many of the heritage/history draws such as music and performing arts are not affected, while the production of handicrafts seems to be unaffected entirely. These aspects are none the less telling of the community's vulnerability (exposure, sensitivity and adaptive capacity) to climate change in the context of cultural tourism development.

### **Application of Vulnerability Framework**

As stated previously, the pre established categories and themes were based on Ford, Smit and Wandel's (2006) vulnerability framework. The framework structured the research objectives and facilitated the analysis. Secondly, the key findings need to be integrated back into the framework to accurately lay out those affected, i.e., exposure, sensitivity, and adaptive capacity. Namely, interview data, as well as some secondary sources are used to fill in the: characteristics of the (tourism) system using Smith's (1996) four Hs; the characteristics of the climate system, and; risk management strategies and resource use options, as explained by the perceived social, political and economic conditions of the community and associated attitudes.

Figure 9 is an adaptation of the original framework, with the relevant key findings italicized in their corresponding framework sections. This is done by integrating the previous sections of the results and discussion into the macro-framework: tourism characteristics

including, activities, TMNP, and the four Hs (characteristics of the system); environmental conditions (characteristics of the climate system), and; socio-political dimensions and town background went on to fill both risk management strategies as well as resource-use options.

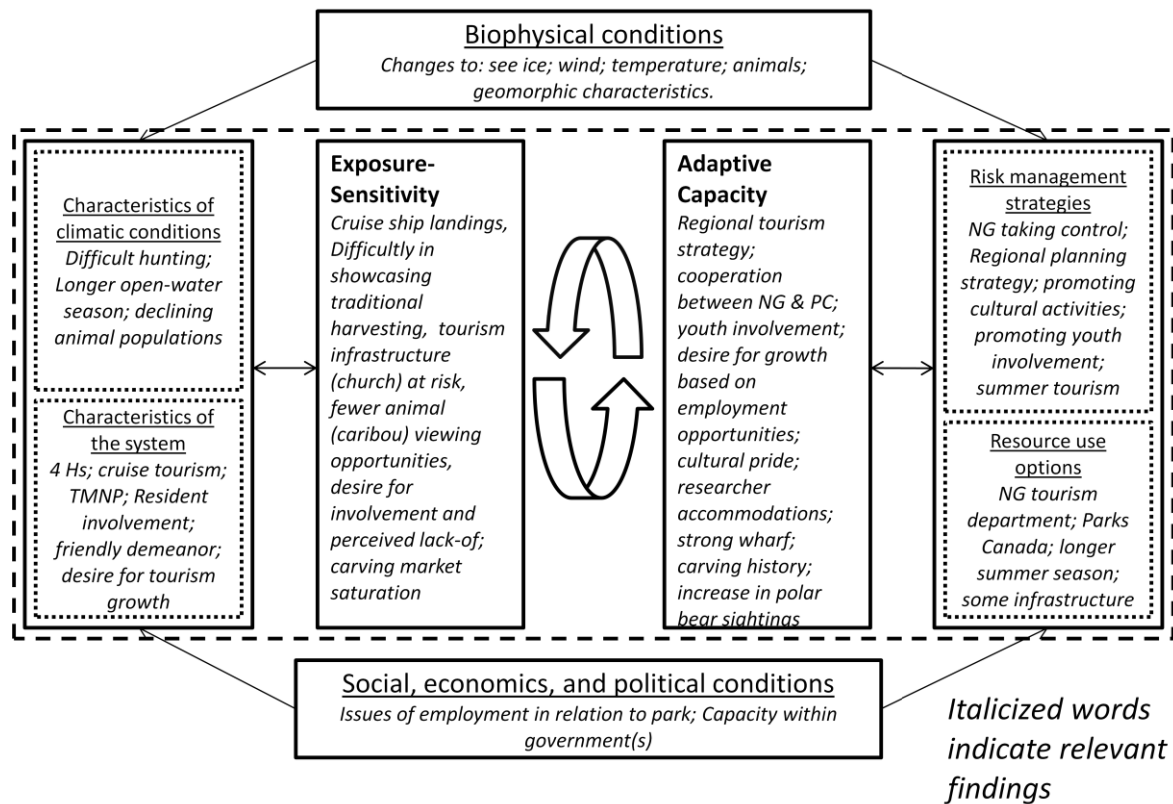


Figure 11. A conceptual model of vulnerability. Adapted from, “Vulnerability to climate change in the Arctic: A case study from Arctic Bay, Canada” by Ford, J.D., Smit, B. & Wandel, J. 2006, *Global Environmental Change*, 16, 147.

**Exposure-sensitivity**

The exposure-sensitivity box (centre-left) is comprised of the results of the relationship(s) between the characteristics of climatic system and the characteristics of the (tourism) system (far left). The information comprising characteristics of the climatic system was drawn from interviews among community members and further verified/expanded upon by research from Ford et al. (2010). The changes according to both participants as well as secondary sources found

them to be related to sea ice, wind, temperature, animals, and geomorphology (permafrost / erosion). Changes to these aspects of the natural environment compromise the conditions of which the community is exposed.

The characteristics of the (tourism) system represent the most vital parts of tourism growth that are sensitive to the environmental changes. The sensitivities were comprised and organized according to: resident interviews; field observations; secondary sources, and; the community report, *Partnerships and Planning for Tourism Development of Nunatsiavut*. Some sensitivities were quite direct, such as, increased coastal erosion and rough waters due to lack of sea ice (more open water) may have direct effects on the cruise industry which is present and growing in the region of Nunatsiavut and the community of Nain in particular. Conversely, although more open water may mean rougher cruising, the shipping season is expanding earlier and later into the year, which could result in an increase in overall cruise visits, though this of course is conjecture. Therefore, although there are negative consequences on the cruise industry as a result of climate related changes, there are also important positive consequences, making it an area difficult to deem as overly-sensitive in one way or another.

Another sensitivity the tourism system has is the shifting/melting permafrost affecting the foundations of multiple buildings including the town hotel and the historic Moravian Church. Both of these tourism assets are certainly at risk of melting permafrost as their aesthetic appearance has already been affected, whether it is the shifting drywall in the hotel guest rooms, or the crumbling and slanted foundation of the historic church. This is a change that may require direct adaptive strategies, though, especially in the case of the church, may be difficult to execute while maintaining the historic appeal, or financially difficult in the case of the hotel.

A less direct, or severe, sensitivity to the tourism system is diminishing animal populations. Many participants as well as Ford et al.'s (2010) research focused on a diminishing or shifting caribou population resulting in fewer sightings. With caribou being one of the charismatic mega fauna important for subsistence and tourism attraction of the region, this may affect the tourist experience. On the other hand, lessening the severity of this sensitivity, participants communicated an increase in other animal populations such as polar bear and black bear, which are equally, if not more important to the tourist experience.

The carving market was an issue specific to tourism that came up several times within interviews among carvers and non-carvers alike. Among those who mentioned it, market saturation has become a direct result from increased tourist visitation. It was described that several individuals saw opportunity in the sale of carvings, though possessed little training compared to the two or three established and full-time carvers in the community. So, in the past the carving market was full of high-end expensive carvings sold by full-time/professional carvers. At present, there has been an influx in low-quality less-expensive carvings, which are driving down the price professional carvers can charge for their time. This is an issue that may require direct adaptive strategies regarding training and education, and has already seen some adaptation in the presence of the arts and crafts shop, which refuses to purchase low quality carvings, lessening the sensitivity of this issue.

Lastly, was the sensitivity to tourism-related government initiatives, which was focused primarily on involvement in and knowledge of such initiatives. This is treated as an exposure, because it is a characteristic of the system that the entire community is affected by through its elected regional government's actions regarding the tourism industry. Such actions that were brought up include: fact-finding marketing trips; promotional activities, and; government-park

relationship(s). This is a sensitivity because several community members felt that there could be more involvement in such initiatives, as they are unaware of what planning initiatives have been or are being developed. This is an issue that needs to be addressed because as Kirtsoglou and Theodossopolous's (2004) research indicates, involvement in cultural tourism development among community members may be a vital aspect of sustainable/successful Indigenous tourism development.

These are the primary issues of exposure according to the findings and relevant literature on the topics. The community has varying levels of sensitivity to each changing external phenomenon. The elements of exposure are in the form of environmental change, and the community is sensitive to such changes based on how it affects the characteristic of the (tourism) system, and how important each characteristic is to the sustainable/successful development of that tourism aspect. Perspectives and attitudes were both telling of how the community is affected (generally) by the phenomena and related changes, and how important it is or, what values are placed on such relationships that may be affected (attitudes).

### **Adaptive Capacity**

The community's adaptive capacity in the context of the greater social, economic, political and environmental changes is based on its risk management strategies and resource use options, which do not exist in isolation from one another. More specifically, the resource use options often dictate which risk management strategies the community can initiate and the potential of those strategies. Firstly, there is the strong and growing capacity of the regional Nunatsiavut Government (NG). In relation to the former regional government, the LIA, NG has a devoted tourism department looking at not only developing tourism on a community level, but focused on developing a regional tourism strategy which will market the communities as one

regional product. This was an idea shared by many participants, and will likely be supported as it is developed.

Secondly, is the relationship between NG and Parks Canada (PC). Parks Canada is a long standing organization with a lengthy history of tourism development, starting with Banff National Park. PC is an organization that can draw on expertise and other resources and focus them on developing TMNP as a tourism attraction of Nunatsiavut, but also develop tourism within the community of Nain which was readily observed on a weekly basis by the researcher during the field season. More specifically, Parks Canada staff were made available to greet and give tours to cruise passengers upon their arrival, and also volunteered for community events such as celebrations in honour of National Aboriginal Day. Parks Canada is an excellent tourism resource in the community that is helping the development of tourism on a on-going basis.

Third, many participants expressed that involving youth in tourism and/or cultural activities is an important goal in economic and social development in the community. For this reason, when speaking of the benefits and future of tourism many participants focused on the youth and how they are involved at present, and how they should be more involved in the future. For example, at the annual high school career fair Parks Canada sets up a booth to tell youth about a career in protected areas, including tourism. Parks Canada furthermore offers a summer job in TMNP where youth can be exposed to park management and the tourism industry first hand. Also, there are several youth in the community who are already perusing post-secondary studies in the field of tourism and/or resource management. Lastly, there is a recently-established group of young drum dancers who have performed in tourism scenarios already. Therefore, the involvement of youth is important to community members and already underway in several forms, though the community will need specific strategies to continue and increase involvement.

Fourth, a question that was often asked at the end of each interview was, how many, if there is such a number, would be too many tourists in the eyes' of the participants. The most common answer was that there could never be too many, and when the participant felt that there should be some limitations, it was in the 10's of thousands and/or was aimed at staggering the visitation (i.e. there could be too many at one time, but not if spread out across the season). Although this may be telling of a degree of naivety regarding the negative impacts of tourism, it was more so telling of the desire for outside sources of income and/or employment community members have. None the less, community members are supportive of an increase in tourism, especially as it may offer employment opportunities in an environment of high unemployment, but may need education as to how drastic increases could negatively impact the community way of life.

Also on the topic of community support is the strong sense of cultural pride that is present in the community and on the individual level. This sense of pride translated into a strong desire to share the culture through tourism activities such as performing arts or showcasing harvesting activities. Also, there is a long history of carving in the community with some carvers themselves being a source of pride for community members. Furthermore, some individuals mentioned that others are losing their sense of culture and showcasing traditional aspects of that culture for tourists may be a way to rejuvenate or re-educate community members on their past. Therefore, sharing aspects of traditional culture through tourism activities is a way to express pride and increase pride among community residents.

One issue brought up by Ford et al. (2010) that affects tourism is the geomorphologic changes that may affect cruise landing points and infrastructure in communities. Under these changes, Nain is quite well situated in that it has a permanent wharf that should not be affected

by changes to water levels or rougher waters. Also, mentioned before was the shifting foundations of the hotel that is affecting the overall appearance of the inside decor. The community has shown some adaptive capacity to this problem in the provision of newer accommodations for researchers that do not have the same problems as the hotel and other older buildings. If the community continues to update its infrastructure shifting permafrost may be eliminated as a potential and existing problem.

Lastly, participants indicated that they were seeing more polar bears in recent years, these observations have been recently confirmed by a three-year study conducted on the polar bear Davis Strait population. Participants were keen to bring this up in interviews as they believed it to be a direct result of climate change, though they were not specific in the processes that cause it, with less sea ice driving bears further inland (to more populated areas) being the only explanation. The potential links of this growth to climate change is uncertain at the moment, however, what it does illustrate is that there may be, at least in the short term, some benefits from climate change when it comes to polar bear viewing opportunities. However, how long this will continue is still open to debate, thereby making continued investment in cultural tourism more telling of the adaptive capacity.

### **Overall State of Vulnerability**

The state of vulnerability is determined by weighing the exposure-sensitivity against the community's adaptive capacity. To do this, the issues of which the community is exposed and sensitive to are considered to be vulnerabilities especially if there are no adaptive capacities to answer them. In this section we will identify particular adaptive strategies in use by the community, and those areas where adaptive strategies are required in the near future.



### ***Cruise ship vulnerability***

A major mode of tourism transportation during the open water season is small expedition style cruise ships. Stops in the community are often part of a package tour, with the TMNP being a primary stop. This means the community will be vulnerable to climate-related changes that affect cruise ships. One such change as suggested by Ford et al. (2010) and Johnston (2006) is the increase in open water that may lead to rougher seas and coastal erosion. Both of these may likely impact the expedition cruise ships either in their ability to navigate and travel in rougher waters and/or port in desirable tourism locations. In terms of adaptive capacity, the community is located in a sheltered bay that may decrease the affects of rougher waters, and possesses a structurally sound wharf that will not be affected by coastal erosion. However, the regional draw the community is part of (i.e. its proximity to TMNP), may be affected in that rougher waters will only make particular areas of TMNP accessible due to the limited amount of sheltered bays, and landings may be harder to find as there are no permanent wharfs in the park. An adaptive strategy for this issue would be to survey the coast line of Nunatsiavut, including TMNP, to find alternate cruise ship ports that are located in sheltered bays, making them less susceptible to rougher waters and erosion. That said, many of the current landings from cruise ships in the park are conducted by zodiac, therefore, potential impacts to infrastructures in this context, may be limited.

### ***Tourism infrastructure vulnerabilities***

Tourism infrastructure sensitivities refer to the buildings related to tourism that are at risk or have been impacted by climate-related changes, namely, melting permafrost. Many of the older buildings in town have had their foundations affected by melting permafrost. One such building is the historic Moravian church that has crooked crumbling foundations, in addition to

the town's hotel has been affected by a shifting foundation in that the interior walls are crooked in the guest rooms exposing the interior insulation in some instances. In terms of adaptive capacity, the community's newest buildings are not only aesthetically pleasing, but are being built to withstand the melting permafrost with more durable exteriors and floating-foundations. One such building will be the completed cultural centre that is being contracted in cooperation with the Nunatsiavut Government and Parks Canada. This is a good example of the benefits of such partnerships. Also, community planners are aware of aesthetic issues in town as one participant explained that community members in the past have been asked to clean up their yards in anticipation of a cruise ship arrival. However, the community's church and hotel remain vulnerable to changes in permafrost and the community and some local business owners are in need of infrastructural support, financial or otherwise.

### ***Wildlife viewing vulnerability***

One attraction the region possesses that is exposed to climate-related changes is the wildlife viewing opportunities, making it a vulnerable area for tourism development. A notable change as cited in the literature (Ford et al., 2010) as well as participant interviews is a decrease in caribou sightings. Caribou are one of the region's charismatic mega fauna making any of changes to their population a potential risk to tourism development and affect local livelihood. At the present there is little the community can do about a decreasing caribou population beyond monitoring stories and regulating the harvest accordingly. That said, and there is definitely a need for a strategy to adapt to this such as, decreasing any promotions that suggest caribou sightings are and will remain common.

### *Cultural tourism vulnerabilities*

Any effects climate-related changes may have on cultural tourism development create areas of vulnerability for the community because it is already being treated as the primary direction the community wishes to focus its efforts. The cultural tourism areas most likely to be affected by climate-related changes are providing potential tourists with traditional harvesting experiences. For example, many participants felt that taking tourists out to experience a caribou-hunt or the checking of fish nets to be mutually desirable activities. This creates vulnerability as secondary research and participant responses suggest caribou hunting is becoming more difficult, which would affect participatory hunts, and some participants suggested that there are fewer fish to be collected in their nets. Generally speaking, it is unlikely these animal populations will disappear entirely, though sightings are indeed becoming less common, making it a less viable tourism option. An adaptive strategy is definitely necessary for these changes, though such a strategy would depend on future trends in caribou and arctic char populations. It may be possible to focus on harvesting activities less susceptible such as berry picking, fowl hunting, and/or fishing.

Secondly, with a recent increase in tourism, according to multiple participants, there has been some degree of saturation within the carving market. More specifically, some participants felt that individuals throughout the community have seen and continue to see an opportunity to make money by selling carvings to tourists. However, the carvings being sold are lower quality than the ones produced by those carvers in the community who are more established, experienced, and carve full time. This not only drives down prices for all of those wishing to make a living through the sale of carvings, but hurts the community reputation as a source for high quality Inuit carvings. The community decision makers are unlikely to deter people in the

community from trying to make a living, though they can offer carving workshops so that quality, prices and the reputation of carvings remains high.

### ***Perceived resident involvement***

As expressed by several participants, lack of involvement and nepotism are phenomena the community is exposed to. Furthermore, this creates a vulnerability because resident involvement is an important aspect of successful and sustainable tourism development (Doxey, 1975; Mason & Cheyne; Jafari, 1990). Also, involvement is particularly important in negating some of the negative impacts of Indigenous tourism such as, commodification (Kirtsoglou & Theodossopolous, 2004; Igoe, 2004). There was some talk of initiatives NG and PC have been carrying out, such as planning sessions open to the public and/or the high school career fair as previously mentioned. Also, there is, of course, the co-management board of the park, consisting of residents from Nain as well as other communities, NG, and PC. Lastly, there are events the community and PC have put on to entertain cruise passengers while involving the community, such as barbeques. However, this remains a vulnerability, as many participants still feel left out of the planning and development process. Meaning, although community members may be involved through various initiatives, they need to *feel* more involved.

Perceived nepotism, in the opinions of some participants has affected their ability to become involved with tourism planning and development on behalf of NG as well as PC, with the perception that only individuals from certain social circles are being considered for employment. Although this may or may not be true, the perception remains. An adaptive strategy to overcome this vulnerability would be to educate community members more frequently and thoroughly so they feel more involved in planning. Also, some regional and municipal organizations in other parts of Canada have pro-active hiring strategies where family members

are unable to be considered for positions in departments where other family members are already employed, this may be an option for PC and NG. Regardless, this is a vulnerability that may be most easily dealt with as it is not affected by any outside or uncontrollable factors such as climate-change, but is strictly internal.

### **Vulnerability: Final remarks**

Vulnerability is a function of a community's exposure-sensitivity to phenomena, either isolated or in combination. In this particular case we opted to examine how tourism and climate-change increased vulnerability and/or contributed to adaptability. Because we included individuals who were peripherally involved in tourism or not involved at all, we could also provide a discussion on how these individuals perceive this industry. As can be expected, there were several issues raised by participants regarding the growth and current state of the tourism industry in Nain and the surrounding region.

By becoming more dependent on tourism for revenue generation, the community increases its vulnerability to an industry which is often influenced by global economic fluctuations (Lafferty & van Fossen, 2001). In other ways the community and region also benefit because the industry not only brings travelers to the region, who in turn may purchase local arts and crafts, but it also requires staff and supplies and may be required to pay docking fees and other similar types of fees. Through tourism, Nain has been able to diversify its economic opportunity and establish itself as a gateway community and benefit from this designation in the establishment of regional parks office in the community, a base camp outside of TMNP, and the subsequent employment created by the park. While residents appeared aware that visitation was increasing (although not all participants shared this opinion), many felt that there was lack of training or information regarding these opportunities. Other participants felt

that even if tourism did increase, there would not be a significant increase in jobs as a result of these increased visitations, because, in those respondents' opinions, more visitors would not require any services (different or increased quantity) not already provided. Carvers were particularly well suited, according to some participants, to benefit from increasing visitation since there would be more demand for their products. In-order to avoid commodification and saturation what will be required is the development of a tourism strategy that ensures that these crafts remain of high quality and that the artisans and guides are provided with good revenues from the sale of their crafts or interpretive skills.

As the government agencies involved in tourism continue to develop and diversify offerings, participants agreed that more communication of these strategies is required. One particular recommendation is that different strategies between Parks Canada and the Nunatsiavut Government be clearly explained. A number of respondents also expressed their frustration with either having no knowledge of tourism strategies or being excluded from these opportunities. A few interviewees were particularly frustrated that there was so much effort on promoting the park at the cost of the community.

Since some participants often envisioned that a future tourism industry in Nain will resemble that of Gros Morne National Park or l'Anse aux Meadows National Historic Site (both part of the Viking Trail in Newfoundland), the researcher would like to provide a few words of caution with such comparison, especially since the two sites in Newfoundland are well-established, heavily marketed, and road accessible. TMNP currently hosts approximately 600 visitors (as of 2009), and while the figure is quite respectable compared to other Arctic parks, it also serves to illustrate that sites which are not road accessible in the polar north, usually have less visitors. Thus while the recent completion of the trans-Canada highway in Southern

Labrador may increase travel to Labrador in general, travel to Northern Labrador, Nain, and TMNP will remain dependent on air and/or marine travel. This is further compounded by a general lack of infrastructures (i.e., the one restaurant, no visitor centre) in the community. In order to avoid potential disappointment of dissolution with the park, it would be in the best interest of all parties to provide information strategies which would outline future visitation strategies based upon research and discuss how best to profit from these visitors.

**Adaptation: Final remarks**

New infrastructure (i.e. the researcher centre and the B&B) are providing alternative accommodations for researchers, and they are indicative of a community adapting to new visitor needs. However, for appropriate tourism strategies to be implemented, it is crucial that the community and its members also benefit from infrastructural development, possibly through the use of multi-purpose visitor centres, which is already planned. Also, the community is situating itself well to adapt by focusing on regional tourism strategies and by involving youth in tourism as well as traditional cultural practices. A regional tourism strategy is already underway, which is a very positive step because many participants did not feel that they were a resident of Nain anymore than they were a resident of Nunatsiavut as many of them have lived in other communities or have direct relatives from them, including communities that were relocated. Lastly, although there was some contention on the matter, there is a healthy level of cooperation between the NG and PC, which is telling of the community's adaptive capacity in its use of the institutional (and otherwise) resources at hand.

**The four Hs: Final remarks**

Often described as spectacular, TMNP provides an opportunity for the citizens of Nunatsiavut to showcase the habitat, where local people are part of the park. The strong connection residents have with this natural landscape demonstrates the strong element of “habitat” integral to Indigenous tourism development as described by Smith (1996). The rich and diversified heritage of the area is embodied in such sites as the Moravian church in Nain, Hebron, Ramah, and Rose Island. Storytelling, drum dancing, throat singing, and traditional food preparation provide further evidence of the area’s rich socio-cultural heritage, representing two other integral aspects (Hs) of Indigenous tourism. The skills of Inuit carvers in the region have been celebrated and promoted since the beginning of a tourism industry in Labrador (early 1920s). Today, these crafts are readily available in the community and sometimes in the park, for existing and perspective tourists. These aspects combine to situate Nain and the region quite well as they truly have the Indigenous tourism product of which tourism planners wish to sell to potential tourists and tourism operators.

With the establishment of the park, visitation in the region has increased and Parks Canada continues to provide a role in the development and subsequent promotion of tourism in Nunatsiavut. This includes various employment opportunities (both seasonal and full-time), the development of interpretation and management policies in the park, Hebron, and in Nain. The increasing role of the Nunatsiavut government in tourism (i.e., taking over the administration of the base camp, creating Nunatsiavut Tourism, and facilitating several pre-familiarization tours and workshops) suggest that the regional government is a willing partner in the development of tourism in the region. Regional tourism strategies, as Koster and Lemelin (2009) have suggested are essential to the promotion of the entire territory, and the inclusion of all communities. With



little contention, participants spoke highly of Indigenous tourism as a tourism development direction, which speaks well of any future developments tourism planners choose to initiate.

### **Overview**

Tourism strategies in Nain will, like most other polar (and non-polar) tourism destinations, remain vulnerable to global economic downturns and potential climate changes that could impede navigation or complicate travel on land. Additional concerns expressed by some participants were a general lack of involvement in tourism planning strategies. Although the lack of high paying and non-seasonal jobs is inherent to most tourism developments, the lack of control is being improved upon with NG taking over Parks Canada's base camp in the summer of 2010 and establishing a regional tourism strategy. The greatest concern pertaining to the vulnerability of the industry was that it may not create all the opportunities that it is expected to. It is very unlikely to achieve the level of visitation that Gros Morn National Park and l'Anse aux Meadows, having said that, the park in its short history, has accomplished much, including being featured in this year's tourism guide for Newfoundland and Labrador as well as several magazine articles. It has also been called a flagship park in the national parks of Canada.

It is in the researcher's opinion that it is best that the expectations for the industry be addressed shortly, in-order that viable more rational expectations can be established. It should also be highlighted that tourism is simply one of many types of development of economic strategies that will occur, and should be seen as complimentary to these other strategies.

## Chapter 5: Conclusion

Northern Labrador and the community of Nain in particular exist both in a present-day context(s) of climate and tourism change. This particular study took a vulnerability approach to look at how the community will adapt to the changing climate and tourism trends, which are described in its level of exposure-sensitivity to the different aspects of each. This study's purpose was to assess the relationship(s) between local residents, climate, and tourism change. Within this, one can recognize two distinct variables, climate and tourism, both of which are changing and affecting the local community in different, but sometimes connected ways. To break down the first variable of climate change, Ford, Smit, and Wandel's (2006) conceptual model of vulnerability was used to view adaptability and vulnerability. Tourism change, on the other hand, was broken down using Smith's (1996) four Hs of Indigenous tourism development (habitat, handicrafts, heritage/history): This particular kind of tourism was focused on as a result of the desired direction of tourism on behalf of the Nunatsiavut Government (Nunatsiavut, 2009).

However, the Arctic, or more specifically, sub-Arctic context of which the community is situated makes it a unique study area in that this part of the globe is expected to experience some of the most extreme environmental changes as a result of a warming planet (ACIA, 2004; UNWTO, 2008). Changes in the form of diminishing animal populations, such as polar bear, and changing ocean characteristics such as, sea level rise and/or a longer transport season due to less sea ice, may have affects on tourism development (Johnston, 2006; Stewart, et. al., 2007). To understand the relationship between these changes and the people affected most directly by them, community residents, this study established and worked under the following objectives:

- Determine resident perspectives of and interactions between residents and tourism related phenomena in their community, e.g. whether or not tourism development will be accepted and for what reasons.
- Assess the relationship(s) between lifestyle, heritage, habitat, and climate change.
- Determine lifestyle characteristics that are at risk of exposure to tourism development and climate change.
- Define adaptation techniques (both personal and communal) to social, economic, and/or environmental changes.
- Determine levels of vulnerability in the context of climate change and tourism.

Although Indigenous tourism is a primary focus within the “tourism development” discourse of this study, it is not the only type of tourism that affects, will affect, or has affected the community. The geographic area of focus experiences expedition-cruise tourism, wildlife tourism, and adventure tourism. The community wishes to explore all aspects of potential tourism developments, via expedition cruises, working closely with PC (TMNP), and is also receptive of adventure tourism such as kayaking and back country skiing, provided safety concerns are addressed entirely. As previously stated, the community wishes to foster its cultural tourism assets and become a cultural/Aboriginal tourism destination. In this progression, it is expected that expedition cruise ships and PC continue to play an important role in such development.

Data for this research was gathered using a qualitative semi-structured interview technique, including field notes and participant observation. The participants of this study were chosen based on affiliation with the tourism industry, policy/planning (public service) positions, and those hardly or not at all involved in tourism, were all seen as relevant. Firstly, residents

were chosen to be participants, as opposed to operators or tourists, because it is the residents who will be living with tourists as part of their day-to-day lives, and past research has made it quite clear that resident acceptance of tourism is integral to its sustainable development (Doxey, 1975; Mason & Cheyne; Jafari, 1990) which in turn, makes such acceptance important to the tourists and operators alike. Interviewing resident-operators or those involved in tourism proved to be useful in gaining insight as to how tourism affects those involved in it, and how they have adapted to its changes over time. Those in positions of decision making were useful in that they provided insight as to how the community as a whole has changed and is positioning itself to change.

Overall, 35 residents participated in the study over the course of 28 separate interviews. Approximately three months were spent by the researcher living in the community in which field observations and field notes were taken regarding the tourism industry and changes associated. After transcribing each interview, two stages of coding commenced. The first stage allowed general themes and prominent issues to emerge (open coding), as well as applying pre-established codes based on vulnerability and the four Hs, while the second stage looked at residents' attitudes regarding the above mentioned codes (values coding). Through coding the interviews, a baseline understanding of the community exposure and adaptability (vulnerability framework) to tourism change (four Hs) could be established. The analysis focused on views of change over time, involvement among community members, and level of acceptance, all of which were then connected to the views of the four Hs in and around the community as they relate to tourism.

As stated previously, tourism is not entirely new to Nunatsiavut with gentleman adventurers, and hunters and fishers visiting the area in the early and mid century 20<sup>th</sup> century.

However, the industry, as it exists now, is quite different with the increase of expedition style cruises and the presence of TMNP, as well as the potential results of environmental change from a warming Arctic climate. The most notable change in the eyes of participants is a general increase in visitation, where the presence of tourists is no longer news for everyone to hear because it now occurs on a weekly or sometimes, daily basis. This may be from the extra draw the national park has to offer to the region, though general trends in expedition cruises have been increasing over time. The environmental changes for that matter may affect the cruise season by lengthening it via less sea ice and open water for a longer period of time throughout the year. An aspect of change over time that shows strong adaptability is an increase in government control and building capacity through tourism. Therefore, the changes that have occurred have been met with a larger capacity within the community, and the changes that may occur through climate change or other developments (i.e. increase in advertising), may be met with a more involved and adaptive governmental agencies judging from the pattern(s) thus far.

The level of involvement between the community and tourism was examined in reference to how individual community members interact with tourism and the government, and how the government interacts with the tourism industry. Some community members make a living through selling carvings to both tourists and residents. This is representative of Smith's (1996) 'handicrafts' thereby giving the community an important element of Indigenous tourism. The most important issue within this element is too many craft producers attempting to sell low quality goods at a low price, driving down prices for the more established carvers. The most positive development regarding handicrafts industry is the non-profit arts and crafts shop which is supposed to be integrated into the new cultural centre. Therefore, in terms of adaptability,

some elements leave some to be desired, though the solutions are being considered by multiple types of participants.

Also, community members may interact with tourists through greeting them on the street or perhaps answering any questions they might have. Such interactions, with few exceptions, were well received and were hoped to increase. On the other hand, some participants did infer that there is little interaction between community members and the government regarding tourism related activities, and that not enough information was shared. This was an issue where some participants expressed a desire for change. As for involvement of the government in the tourism industry, participants within the government believed that involvement has increased over time, as previously stated, and that being more involved in the industry would be good for the community.

The vast majority of participants expressed strong acceptance of tourism, and saw in it opportunities for employment as well as the ability to share their culture through the Hs of heritage, history and habitat. The strong acceptance of tourism was seen in the common desire for there to be absolutely no limits on the amount of visitors in one season, with limits being in the 10's of thousands, if present at all. Some were more conservative in their desire, and felt that it was not a matter of numbers so much as it was matter of managing those tourists to not negatively affect the town or intrude on people's private lives. Employment and training, was a major drive for this acceptance, although there was evidence that many residents expected far more tourists than are likely, comparing future visitation numbers of TMNP to that of more accessible and well-known national parks on the island of Newfoundland: The amount of future employment expected coincided closer to those perceived visitation numbers. This exposes the

community to disappointment in the benefits tourism may provide, creating a need on behalf of community planners to better inform the resident population of realistic visitation numbers.

The willingness to share local culture was expressed among all participants, except one, who had misgivings with the idea in general. Inuit culture in the community was a great sense of pride and sharing the language, arts, Inuit and Moravian history was seen as positive both for the intrinsic satisfaction (pride), as well as the economic opportunities within it. The most well received aspect was the sharing of traditional subsistence activities and knowledge of the land, which equates to Smith's (1996) habitat. This included taking tourists out to check fishing nets, showing them hunting and tracking abilities as well as teaching them about the animals and plants important to their way of life. The one issue that may suggest a sensitivity to climate change is the sharing of subsistence activities, which are becoming more difficult in the winter months where sea ice is less safe for travel and therefore a deterrent for some hunters. That said, winter tourism is not yet developed or marketed, so few, if any investments have been made that are at risk of being lost, leaving summer time subsistence activities to be showcased.

Generally speaking, there are both instances of adaptability and exposure/sensitivity in the face of tourism and climate change. Firstly, there was an apparent break between how the government was involved in tourism development, and what many community members knew about such involvement, leaving many with a feeling of being not in control of how tourism develops in their community. Clearly, making more efforts to inform community members of tourism initiatives may alleviate this issue. It may further offer the opportunity to better inform community members as to what more realistic visitor numbers in the future and what sort of benefits can be expected. In terms of adaptability, the government is taking a more leading role in tourism development as its resources to do so grow. Among participants, there was a great

deal of acceptance of tourism in general and especially cultural tourism. Since the community does seem to possess all of Smith's (1996) four Hs, these positive attitudes, combined with the tourism assets, may prove to be a successful mix for tourism development in the foreseeable future.

This study took place just 5 years after the establishment of the Nunatsiavut Government and TMNP, which in some ways was a crossroads for the tourism industry of the region, where tourism had existed for a virtual century prior: The community and region is in the process of reinventing itself as a cultural tourism destination. The views of the current state as well as past and future changes may only represent a snapshot of community beliefs, with only 35 of those 1100 + taking part in the study. For these reasons, more research will need to be conducted as NG grows and matures, and to interview more residents to gain a clearer picture of community attitudes and views. Also, during this time there was very high unemployment in the community which may have influenced the level of acceptance of an industry that could help alleviate such a problem. Meaning, if there was not an unemployment problem, and more residents were employed at Voisey's Bay nickel mine and other development projects or a more established regional government, tourism may not be seen in such a positive light as it was during the time of this research. Furthermore, it would also be useful to gain insight from tourists to see if the tourism assets, in the form of the four Hs, are as visible to them as they are to community members and the researchers.



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## Appendix A

Interview questions for, *Climate Change and Tourism Change in Northern Communities: A Vulnerability and Resilience Assessment*, with case specific probes bolded/italicised

1. Please tell me a bit about yourself.
  - a. Are you originally from Nain, or did your family come from somewhere else in the past few generations?

*Theme- Tourism past and present*

1. What does tourism mean to you? To your community?
2. What has been your involvement in tourism? How did you become involved?
3. What changes have occurred within the tourism industry in the region, the community?
4. How did the community respond to these changes?
5. How does the community interact with tourists? Describe the interactions between the tourists and community members?
  - a. Has this changed over time?
  - b. What is your opinion of the cruise ships coming to your community?
  - c. Do you think the reason tourists coming here have changed over time?

*Theme – Indigenous Tourism (Habitat, Handicrafts, Heritage, History)*

1. What does Indigenous tourism mean to you and your community?
  - a. Do you think tourists will want to visit Nain and the surrounding region to learn about the Indigenous/Aboriginal culture?
2. Do you consider hunting to be a large part of who you are as an individual and/or community?
  - a. Would you consider taking a tourist out hunting with you?
3. How do you feel about the sale of soapstone carvings and other contemporary Inuit art work?

- a. Do you think it would be a good way to make money for those who are not employed?
  - b. What if people were to sell older items, like artefacts?
  - c. Would you sell any contemporary items or artefacts to tourists?
  - d. Would you like or not like tourists to hear your traditional performance arts, like singing and/or dancing?
4. What do you think of tourists who come to visit the area to see the Moravian church here in Nain, or the settlement of Hebron?
- a. Why do you think they are interested in those sites?
  - b. What do you think about investing dollars in renovating existing infrastructures such as the church here or the buildings in Hebron?
5. How do you feel about tourists visiting historic Inuit sites and settlements in TMNP and elsewhere in the region?
- a. Is there any activity that should never be permitted?
  - b. Is there any sites that should be restricted?
  - c. How do you feel about tourists taking pictures of Inuit grave sites?
  - d. What do you think tourist can learn from ancient sites (i.e archaeological site)?

*Theme – Potential outcomes of tourism (positive, negative and uncertain)*

1. What would you say are the top three issues that you have to deal with tourism in your community)?
  - a. For example what are the changes brought about through tourism?
  - b. How has the community responded to these changes?
  - c. What are the roles of various agencies (industry, government, or other) to these changes?

*Theme – Potential outcomes of climate and other changes of tourism in the community (positive, negative and uncertain) (prompted if not brought up above)*

1. Is climate change an issue for tourism?
2. How is climate change affecting tourism?
3. How are you, personally, dealing with these changes?
4. How is the community dealing with these changes?
5. How are other stakeholders like industry, government (NG, municipal, provincial, parks Canada). Or others, dealing with these changes?

*Theme - Community resilience*

1. What is it about the community that helps people manage these changes?
2. Does the industry help the community when there is change?
3. Does the government help the community when there is change?
4. How many is too much?

*Theme - Strategies for tourism change and climate change interaction*

1. What are the issues that are coming up in relation to tourism?
  - a. So, some scientists are predicting less ice cover will mean more cruise ships..
  - b. Last chance tourism
  - c. How many people is too much?
2. What information or resources do you need to manage tourism change in the future?

*Theme – Local Views of Risks*

1. We would like to understand what changes present the most 'risk' and what changes may provide 'opportunities'.
  - a. Of the tourism changes you have observed/expect and discussed in this interview, can you rank them from most worrisome to least worrisome?
  - b. Of the tourism changes you have observed/expect and discussed in this interview, can you rank them according to potential opportunity?
  - c. How do you feel about people going out without Inuit guides?

## **Appendix B**

This project explores how these changes are viewed in Arctic communities and by those involved in the tourism industry as operators, managers and regulators. The focus of the project is on understanding views, responses, adaptations and strategies for the future in relation to changes in climate, the tourism industry and wider society. Through working with Canadian Arctic communities in Nunavut, Nunavik and Nunatsiavut, the research team is looking at how communities can mitigate any negative impacts of changes in tourism, while taking advantage of any development opportunities. The approach underscores the importance of generating solutions within local communities to ensure local people and organizations benefit from changing tourism conditions in the Arctic.

More up to date and detailed information can be obtained from:

<http://www.arctictourismandclimate.lakeheadu.ca/>