TOURISM AND THE SOCIAL CONSTRUCTION OF PLACE:
A case-study of tourists' spatial practices in Pangnirtung, Nunavut

by

Charles O'Hara, Hon. Bach. Arts & Sci.

A thesis submitted to the Faculty of
Graduate Studies and Research in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of
Master of Arts

Department of Geography and Environmental Studies

Carleton, University
Ottawa, Ontario
May, 25 2000

National Library of Canada

Bibliothèque nationale du Canada

Acquisitions and Bibliographic Services

Acquisitions et services bibliographiques

395 Wellington Street
Ottawa ON K1A 0N4
Canada

395, rue Wellington
Ottawa ON K1A 0N4
Canada

Your file Votre référence

Our file Notre référence

The author has granted a non-exclusive licence allowing the National Library of Canada to reproduce, loan, distribute or sell copies of this thesis in microform, paper or electronic formats.

L'auteur a accordé une licence non exclusive permettant à la Bibliothèque nationale du Canada de reproduire, prêter, distribuer ou vendre des copies de cette thèse sous la forme de microfiche/film, de reproduction sur papier ou sur format électronique.

The author retains ownership of the copyright in this thesis. Neither the thesis nor substantial extracts from it may be printed or otherwise reproduced without the author's permission.

L'auteur conserve la propriété du droit d'auteur qui protège cette thèse. Ni la thèse ni des extraits substantiels de celle-ci ne doivent être imprimés ou autrement reproduits sans son autorisation.

0-612-57678-7

Canada

ABSTRACT

This paper analyses the perceptions and practices of tourists visiting Pangnirtung, Nunavut, as a way of exploring how tourism is involved in the social construction of place. The analysis is based on qualitative interviews and six weeks of participant observation. This paper conceives of tourism as a process of social spatialisation. Central to this is an understanding of space as a dynamic social entity which is produced by, and in turn produces, social relations. Tourism creates new spaces for people to interact. Therefore, by analysing the dynamics of this space, particularly through a focus on spatial practices, this paper shows how tourism can both recreate and challenge dominant constructions of place. In so doing, one is able to highlight how tourists' reflexivity might be encouraged. While recognizing the limitations of tourism practice this paper rejects readings of tourism as an ideological practice which simply recreates the status-quo. Tourism is seen as an ongoing (re)construction of place at the level of practice.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

My deepest gratitude goes to the community of Pangnirtung and the people whom I got to know while I was there and who made my stay a successful and memorable one. I would especially like to remember Shaun Mike, a staff member at the Angmarlik Centre who drowned in the summer of 1999, but whose spirit touched all visitors whom he got to know. It is such a spirit that can never be captured by theory and which reveals the potential of tourism.

I would like to thank Rob Shields for enthusiastically supporting this project during a precious sabbatical year. His constant interest pushed me through those moments of self-doubt. I also owe much to his theoretical insights and the literature he pointed me towards opened many interesting avenues. I would also like to thank Nancy Doubleday for her constant good cheer and for sharing her knowledge and love of the North. My thanks also to Iain Wallace for careful editing and for encouraging me to do my MA at Carleton. I owe a debt of gratitude to many people in the Carleton community – professors, students, support staff – who have helped me and taught me over the last two years. And, of course, without family and friends I could never have gotten this far.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Page

Abstract.... iii
Acknowledgements.... iv
List of Tables.... vii
List of Illustrations.... viii

CHAPTER ONE: The Importance of Perception and Practice.... 1
Introduction.... 1
The local context: some background to tourism in Nunavut.... 6
The national context: dominant cultural representations.... 10
Wilderness.... 11
Inuit Culture.... 12
Nation.... 13
Learning, Tourism, and Ecotourism.... 15
Tourism and Commodification.... 18
Reflexivity and Space.... 25
Social Spatialisation.... 30

CHAPTER TWO: METHODOLOGY.... 37
Introduction.... 37
Quantitative vs Qualitative Analysis.... 38
The "problem" of generalization.... 41
Reliability of data.... 42
Approaching Pangnirtung: from participatory research to participant observation.... 44
Postitionality and participant observation.... 51
Field Techniques.... 54
Participant Observation.... 54
Documenting Tourism Space.... 57
Qualitative Interviews.... 58
Conclusion: A tourist's interpretation of tourists.... 60

CHAPTER THREE: TOURISM LITERATURE.... 61
Introduction.... 62
Interpreting Tourism Literature.... 63
The purpose of brevity: getting caught up in the sweep of space and time. 68
Your personal adventure.... 74
Government Literature: transculturation.... 81
Conclusion.... 87

CHAPTER FOUR: GOING HIKING.......... 90
Introduction.......... 90
Who was interviewed?.......... 92
Does hiking reinforce the idea of an empty wilderness.......... 94
Spatial Practices.......... 97
Perceptions and Practices of Auyuittuq National Park.......... 102
The Arctic Wilderness.......... 102
Interest in Natural History.......... 104
Escape and Solitude.......... 106
Challenge.......... 110
Perceived lack of information on hiking in the park.......... 111
Conclusion.......... 118

CHAPTER FIVE: Time in Pangnirtung.......... 127
Introduction.......... 127
Motivations for visiting Pangnirtung.......... 128
Performances.......... 134
Rumours.......... 144
Three issues discussed by participants.......... 146
Messy Streets.......... 147
Comments on the role and impact of tourism in Pangnirtung.......... 150
Comments on the absence of drinking in public.......... 155
Interacting with local people: the final arbiter?.......... 156
Conclusion.......... 159

CONCLUSION.......... 164

APPENDIX 1: Communication with the Hamlet of Pangnirtung and NRI.......... 176

APPENDIX 2: Questionnaire Guides.......... 180

APPENDIX 3: Figures.......... 182

WORKS CITED.......... 190

LIST OF TABLES

Table 3.1 Information sources used by tourists 64

Table 3.2 A sorted list of sources of information used by tourists re. their trip or an interest in the North and/or outdoor travel 64

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1.1 Location map of Pangnirtung 183

Figure 3.1 Panoramic collage from the Arctic Traveller brochure 184

Figure 4.1 Portion of trail map given to hikers, summer 1999 185

Figure 4.2 Mt. Thor 186

Figure 4.3 Arctic Circle marker 186

Figure 4.4 Windy Campground 186

Figure 5.1 Map of Pangnirtung given to tourists 187

Figure 5.2 Angmarlik Visitor Centre and Parks Canada Visitor Centre 188

Figure 5.3 "Uptown" Pangnirtung 188

Figure 5.4 Floor plans of the Angmarlik and Parks Canada Visitor Centre 189

CHAPTER ONE: THE IMPORTANCE OF PERCEPTION AND PRACTICE

INTRODUCTION

This paper sets out to analyse ecotourism in Pangnirtung, Nunavut (Fig. 1.1 p.183), as a means for exploring how tourism is involved in the social construction of place. That is, I am interested in how tourism is involved in how people understand and learn about place. The analysis is based on six weeks of participant observation and qualitative interviews with tourists in Pangnirtung in the summer of 1999. Tourism sits at an interesting crossroads because in consuming places people are also "consuming" social understandings of place and environment (Cloke and Perkins 1998; Goss, 1993; Hutnyk, 1996; MacCannell, 1976, 1992; Rojek and Urry 1997; Urry, 1995). This is particularly relevant today with the growing importance of tourism as a cultural and economic activity. As Urry (1999) notes:

> International travel now accounts for over one-twelfth of world trade. It constitutes by far the largest movement of people across borders that has occurred in human history. International and domestic tourism together account for 10% of global employment and global GDP. And this affects everywhere; the World Tourism Organisation publishes tourism statistics for 200 countries. There is almost no country now which is not a sender and receiver of significant numbers of visitors. However, the flows of visitors are not even. Most occurs between advanced industrial societies and especially within western and southern Europe and within north America. These flows still account for about 80% of international travel; 25 years ago they accounted for 90% (see WTO 1997) (Urry, 1996 p.1)

This unprecedented mobility deserves serious attention for a number of reasons, not least of which is in order to develop an understanding of who benefits from tourism development (Britton, 1991). This paper addresses this question in two ways; first through the politics of representation and second by considering the ideological role of

tourism. With regard to the first point, the construction of space at both the material level and at the level of the social imaginary -- what Shields (1991) has called social spatialisation – is not a trivial matter because such constructs "become guides for action and constraints upon action, not just idiosyncratic or pathological fantasies" (Shields, 1991, p.30). Tourism is deeply involved in such construction and potentially could have important implications for what kinds of claims regions such as Nunavut can make in trying to advance their agenda on the national and world stages. Later in this chapter I will discuss in more detail how perceptions of the North have affected and continue to affect life in Nunavut. The potential importance of tourism in challenging or recreating dominant perceptions of the North is further highlighted when one considers, as noted above, that most travellers come from Europe and North America. That is, most travellers come from centres which have considerable economic influence on marginal regions such as Nunavut. This in turn raises a second concern about whether tourism is involved in hiding the uneven development which is characteristic of capitalist economies or, especially in the case of ecotourism, whether it allows tourists to avoid confronting the ecological damage caused by the industrial/capitalist societies in which they live (Smith, 1990; Bandy, 1996; MacCannell, 1976, 1992; Hutnyk, 1996). Both these concerns reflect what MacCannell (1976, 1992) has called the ideological character of tourism, and together with the first point they form the critical backdrop against which the detailed analysis of this paper will unfold.

The substantive analysis in this paper focusses on what tourists do while in Pangnirtung and how this affects their perceptions in order to see to what extent it is

possible, and fair, to make connections between the micro-practices of the everyday lives of tourists and the larger issues raised above. Central to this analysis is a concern about tourists' reflexivity and ability to be critical of their own practices as a way of highlighting both the constraints and opportunities created by tourism. In order to do so I will focus on how space has been organized and planned for tourism in Pangnirtung and how tourists make use of that space. Most tourists come to Pangnirtung to go hiking in Auyuittuq National Park and this study focuses exclusively on tourists who visited for this reason. However, I will not restrict my analysis to what people did in Auyuittuq (chapter 4), but will also look at how people spent their time in Pangnirtung where there are also a number of facilities for tourists (see chapter 5). In so doing I wish to highlight that tourists must enact, and hence reaffirm or create, their perceptions of place which in turn stresses that tourism is an *ongoing* (re)construction of perceptions of place at the level of praxis. Tourism, as a practice of everyday life, shows how people both challenge and recreate the social and economic structures in which they live. This is not a trivial conclusion, but an attempt to get away from an either/or dichotomy (i.e. either tourism is good or bad), or trying to posit a final solution to the problems of representation raised by tourism, and replace these with a both/and fusion. In particular this paper problematizes readings of tourism as an ideological practice, by highlighting the contingent and performed character of the tourism encounter. Tourism is not a social revolution and tourists and tour promoters are not trying to change the world. Therefore, one might well suspect that tourism will lean more towards recreating rather than challenging dominant perceptions and discourses. Nevertheless, in focussing on practice one can also see how

it has the potential to amplify, and make apparent, the contradictions and inequity that are part of the present social and economic order. One can also begin to see more clearly where critical intervention might take place to encourage this process.

In this introductory chapter, I wish to lay the ground work for the following chapters by setting the context for tourism in Nunavut and by discussing the theoretical approach used for the analysis. First, I will give a brief account of the history of tourism development in North. The emphasis here will be on how the tourism industry in the North has developed within a context of growing political awareness and activism on the part of Northerners. This is followed by an overview of dominant cultural perceptions of the North prevalent in Canadian (if not American and European) culture in order to give some critical purchase for the analysis in the following chapters. I have analyzed these within three broad thematic categories – Wilderness, Culture and Nation. This first section is followed by a brief discussion of ecotourism and the claims made by proponents of ecotourism about its educational value which, so it is claimed, allows it to address issues such as the ones raised in the first part of the chapter. The research for this paper attempts to see if and how tourism in Pangnirtung is involved in such learning. Therefore, in the final section of this chapter I will turn to some theoretical considerations which informed my approach to this question. This section begins by discussing issues raised by those who see tourism first and foremost as an industry which commodifies place and then moves on to discussions of the possibility for reflexivity on the part of tourists and how this can be analysed by looking at tourism spaces and practices.

Before beginning the substantive analysis of the data collected in Pangnirtung,

chapter two addresses issues of methodology. It makes clear the decisions that were made in preparation for, and during, my field research in order to make transparent the basis for the interpretations in the following chapters. Of particular importance, this chapter stresses that this is an analysis of tourists' perceptions and not those of the local people in Pangnirtung. My analysis focusses on understanding how tourists develop their perception of place and how this relates to the larger themes and theoretical issues raised in this first chapter. Chapter three then begins the analysis of the data by looking at how Pangnirtung is marketed for tourism in brochures, Internet sites and magazine articles which participants in the study mentioned using in preparation for their trip. This chapter focusses on three themes that are present in all the literature in varying degrees; these are: 1) the simplification of Nunavut to make it accessible to tourists; 2) the individualization of the tourism experience through a focus on wilderness and adventure; and 3) the use of tourism brochures to challenge dominant representations of the North. These three themes are critically assessed in relation to the issues raised throughout the first section of this introductory chapter. The third and fourth chapters then look at the tourism experience by looking at tourists' perceptions and practices while in Auyuittuq National Park and Pangnirtung respectively. The analysis in these chapters is based largely on participants' perceptions and shows how tourists' practices can be involved in recreating and challenging ideas of an empty wilderness and of aboriginal people as victims. However, the data indicates that there is a high degree of reflexivity amongst tourists which tempers claims about the ideological character of tourism (MacCannell1976; 1992; Hutnyk, 1996; Bandy, 1996). The data also shows where there may be opportunities for

critical intervention.

THE LOCAL CONTEXT: TOURISM IN NUNAVUT

Tourism in Northern Canada only became a significant economic and cultural activity in the mid to late 1970s (Anderson, 1991). A combination of increased accessibility (Lundgren 1989) and a growing interest in outdoor recreation in Canada (Explore, 1999; Higgins, 1983) likely accounts in large part for this increase. However, the numbers of visitors has always been small and particularly so in the Baffin region. In 1979 only 1300 people visited while in 1994 it was estimated that visitor numbers were in the 3000 range (Grekin, 1993). Nevertheless, by the early 1980s the government of the Northwest Territories (which at the time included the area that is now Nunavut) could see that tourism had the potential of becoming a significant source of revenue for northern communities. As a result, in 1983 the Government of the Northwest Territories (GNWT) set up a Community Based Tourism Strategy (CBTS) which aimed to develop the tourism industry while at the same time being sensitive to local needs and distributing tourist activity among different communities (Reimer and Dialla, 1991; Milne, Ward and Wenzel, 1995; Anderson, 1991). The guidelines are summarized in Milne, Ward and Wenzel (1995 p.27) and focus primarily on creating a tourism industry that is sustainable and which maximizes economic benefits to the communities. I have extracted the following points which are directly relevant to this project:

1) development must be consistent with the abilities and aspirations of the host communities; it must respect northern cultures, expectations and lifestyles;

2) development will recognize and respect the spirit and intent of all aboriginal land claims

3) Major tourism initiatives will embody extensive community and industry participation in the planning process;

4) The private sector should take the lead in developing a viable tourism industry...[However, the government] will also encourage and support the private sector in the marketing arena.

These guidelines highlight two important factors. First, tourism development coincided with an increased political awareness and activism on the part of Inuit people and a desire to have input into, if not control, development in the region. Second, the government maintains a strong hand in promoting and developing the tourism industry in the North which allows for a fair amount of local control and input into tourism creation. Therefore, if one is to better define the "tourism industry"which is said to be creating and disseminating tourism images one must acknowledge that this is a complex entity composed of more than private tour operators. Especially in Nunavut, where tourism is only viable through government support and subsidy, the state plays an important role in shaping the character of the tourism "product". Although the aims of government do not always coincide with community interests, the government does give voice to different groups who are concerned with how the region is portrayed.

Although tourism development is often a contested issue in many parts of the world, it may be even more so in the North where a history of southern controlled development has often created programs that have been paternalistic, ignorant of Northern realities and reflective of primarily southern Canadian priorities (Coates, 1985; Grant, 1998; Shields, 1991). The sensitivity of Northerners towards tourism development is well illustrated with reference to the crash of the seal market in 1980s which had a

serious negative impact on many Nunavut communities. Throughout the 1980s anti-sealing activists in Europe and North America launched a campaign to end the Newfoundland seal hunt by seeking a ban on importing seal products into the European Community (Wenzel, 1991). Wenzel (1991) notes that when the anti-sealing campaign began the Inuit had little interest in what they perceived as a southern concern -- the main target of the campaign was the spring seal hunt based out of Newfoundland. However, animal rights activists were ignorant of the difference between the Newfoundland harvest and the traditional Inuit harvest, both in terms of methods used and the importance of the seal-fur income for Inuit subsistence hunting. In addition to the important cultural role of hunting for the Inuit, food prices are high in the North and for most people country foods are not a luxury, nor a nostalgic holdover, but a necessity. The income from selling seal-pelts helps finance subsistence hunting. It was only in the mid-1980s that the Inuit realized the possible impacts of the Southern anti-sealing lobby on the Inuit way of life, but by that time the anti-sealing campaign was close to victory (i.e. getting an EU ban on fur imports) and was not sympathetic to Inuit voices. When an Inuit delegation joined a Canadian government mission to Europe to try to lobby against the seal product ban they were seen by some animal rights activists as inauthentic and were accused of having sold-out their traditional values to corporate interests. This judgement was based more on the fact that the Inuit wore suits than on any real understanding (Wenzel, 1991). As a result of this campaign the sealing market crashed and an economic mainstay of the Inuit people was demolished. "The value of fur harvesting in the region fell from almost C$ 1 million in 1980 to C$ 82 000 in 1988, creating profound economic dislocation in several hamlets

(Milne, Ward and Wenzel, 1995 p.26; Wenzel, 1991). The ignorance of Northern realities, and frankly racist colonial perceptions, articulated by some anti-sealing campaigners is shocking, but it is hardly new (Brody, 1975). It has left its mark on the North. With regard to tourism, the crash of the sealing market had a dual effect. On the one hand it increased the need for tourism dollars, while on the other it increased concern about tourists' perceptions of Inuit lifestyle. In particular, it has resulted in some communities implementing guidelines which either separate hunting activities from tourism activities (Grekin, 1993) or which at least ask that tourists report their activities outside of designated tourist areas to the local Hunters and Trappers Organizations (HTO) in the communities they are visiting (personal communication in Pangnirtung).

Significantly, tourism development has also paralleled the creation of Nunavut. Canada's newest territory, which became a political reality in 1999 -- an event that is prominent in the government tourism literature. In addition to the public government created for the new territory, the creation of Nunavut also includes the signing of the Nunavut Land Claim which defines certain lands as Inuit owned and sets out Inuit rights to hunting, fishing and mineral wealth in the region. The creation of Nunavut (which literally means "Our Land" in Inuktitut) highlights once again that tourism is being developed in the North at a time when Northerners (Inuit and Non-Inuit) are taking control of their affairs and, therefore, one might expect there to be a greater concern about how the region is perceived. In chapter three I shall discuss how these concerns manifest themselves in the tourism literature.

THE NATIONAL CONTEXT: DOMINANT CULTURAL ASSUMPTIONS

The discussion thus far has outlined some of the relevant local considerations when considering the context of tourism production and commodification in the North. However, it is also necessary to change scale and look at broader conceptions of the North in Canadian culture because it is to these that the tourism industry must speak in attracting potential customers. By culture I refer to ideas of North as portrayed in paintings and literary, policy and scientific texts. I have chosen to look at images in Canadian culture for two reasons. First, Canadians make up the greatest proportion of visitors to Nunavut (GNWT, 1996) and most people interviewed for this study were Canadian. Second, I believe that many of the cultural myths in Canadian culture vis a vis the North, with the exception of those pertaining to Nation, cannot be strictly understood as only Canadian. Certainly in the early formation of ideas about indigenous culture and wilderness there was much cross over with European and American ideals (Shields, 1991).

Without writing another dissertation, any review of ideas of North in Canadian culture is bound to partial[1]. Therefore, drawing on other research in the field, I have chosen to focus on three key themes – Wilderness, Inuit Culture and Nation – which are also central to attracting tourist to the North. In each case I will try to take a critical stance indicating the political implications of these notions. This is meant to complement the discussion above in giving a background against which readers can assess the analysis in the following chapters. However, an important caveat should be noted. North is a slippery concept to define and the margin of the "North" slips ever further south the

---

[1] For a similar partial snapshot with regard to tourism see Milne, Grekin and Woodley, 1998.

farther back in Canadian history one goes. Therefore, one finds that the literature discussing images of North in Canadian culture does not always refer directly to what one would today call the arctic (Shields, 1991; Grant, 1998). Nevertheless, if one considers the idea of North to be essentially mythic, then it becomes applicable to wide range of landscapes. In fact, some have argued that for Canadians wilderness and North are almost interchangeable concepts (Grant, 1998; Atwood, 1995).

Wilderness

I wish to focus on three ways in which the Northern wilderness has been framed in Canadian culture. First, as a inhospitable land which southerners sought to traverse rather than inhabit (Shields, 1991; Moss, 1994; Grant, 1998). This notion was the result of early exploration which saw the Arctic as a passage to the Orient and not an end in itself. This was often combined with the idea of northern wilderness as sublime, a land of dramatic landscape and high adventure. As the arctic was explored in greater detail scientific description replaced the notion of the sublime, but it remained a sub-theme in Canadian culture and re-surfaced in paintings of Lawrence Harris of The Group of Seven (Grant, 1998). Harris' paintings and attitudes towards the North, therefore, act as bridge between this first image and a second image of the Northern wilderness as the last wilderness and refuge from industrial civilization. After the second world war the Canadian North became more accessible to writers and recreationists and in their eyes the Northern wilderness became a region of unspoilt beauty and a place of rejuvenation for the city dweller (Grant, 1998; Shields, 1998). In this image the wilderness becomes a "source of spiritual flow" (Harris quoted in Grant, 1998 p.32) and a place of refuge "... where dreams can be pursued and sometimes fulfilled, provided that the individual has extraordinary strength of body and spirit" (Mitcham quoted in Grant, 1998 p.33). However, this romantic notion of the North was threatened by the third dominant image – the Northern wilderness as a resource rich frontier (Shields, 1991). Therefore, in southern Canadian culture there developed an antagonism, which still exists today,

between those who wish to develop the Northern wilderness and those who wish to see it remain untouched (Grant, 1998). This point underlines a common thread that unites all three conceptions of Northern wilderness – wilderness is empty. However, for the Inuit, the North is home, not a foreboding wilderness. In addition, while it is likely that Inuit share an appreciation for the beauty of the land (*Nunatsiaq* means the beautiful land in Inuktitut), and see its spiritual value, it does not follow that these coincide with images of pristine and untouched land (Grant, 1998). This point is important to the Inuit who do not equate conservation with the exclusion of people (Tungavik Federation of Nunavut, 1987). Similarly, they do not envision their relation to the land as limited to "traditional" practices and they are willing to consider possible benefits from modern resource extraction (ibid., 1987). I will discuss in chapter 3 and 4 how ecotourism may be involved in recreating the idea of an empty wilderness by looking at tourism literature and tourists' perceptions and experiences in Auyuittuq National Park.

Inuit Culture

The fact that the wilderness is empty reflects an important way in which aboriginal cultures have been treated in Canadian wilderness mythology -- by erasing their presence (Grant, 1998). When they are included one of two images predominates. First, indigenous people are seen as "noble savages", or what Atwood (1972) calls Victors in reference to their portrayals as a powerful people who hold sway over the meager white interloper. Milne, Grekin and Woodley (1998) argue that in the North this myth takes shape as the "fearless, lovable, happy-go-lucky Eskimo" (Flaherty quoted in Milne et. al. 1998 p.105). Although in this guise it is patronizing, one can see in these comments a genuine admiration for the ability of the Inuit to survive in what southerners see as an inhospitable land. Such admiration can be traced back to the earliest explorers in the region (Grant, 1998).

Related, yet contrary, to this view is a second image of the Inuit as victim of the White Man's incursions and bureaucratization of the North (Milne, Grekin and Woodley,

1998; Grant, 1998; Atwood, 1972). In this image the Inuit are seen as passively accepting their fate and suffering from southern ignorance. Neither of these images are particularly helpful for contemporary Inuit who wish not to be viewed as museum pieces but who desire, and must be seen, to control changes in the North (Fenge, 1993; Tungavik Federation of Nunavut, 1987; Nunavut Tourism, 1999a, chapter 24). However, since the 1970s a growing awareness of Inuit culture has seen a greater appreciation of Inuit culture and a sensitivity to the fact that southerners may not appreciate the needs and desires of the Inuit (Milne, Grekin and Woodley, 1998; Grant, 1998;. Moss, 1994). In addition, there has been a growing number of Inuit writers, songwriters and politicians who have been able to give voice to Inuit culture and portray it in a more constructive light (Grant, 1998). Therefore, there appears to be an understanding developing where Inuit are not seen as an essentialized cultural group, but, like all cultures, a developing and dynamic group of people coping with change. I will explore in chapter three to what extent the tourism literature is involved in challenging and recreating these ideas and in chapter five what part the tourism experience in Pangnirtung plays.

Nation

Shields (1991) has argued that the North is a unifying symbol for Canadian Federalism. The images of empty wilderness and resource frontier combine to create what he calls the image of "True North". The "True North" is seen as part of Canadians' common heritage and integral to the character of the Nation. Even though most Canadians live in cities and few have ever, or will ever, visit the North, Canadians are encouraged to find their identity within the Northern wilderness[2]. For example, Canada distinguishes itself from the US as being a Northern nation, more akin to the Scandinavian countries. The True North as a mythic space is empty of people and provides a unifying metaphor for all Canadians whether in the east or west. This mythic

---

[2] Again, North is defined quite broadly ranging from the Canadian Shield to the high Arctic.

North either remains untouched or is to be developed for the benefit of "all" Canadians -- i.e. Southern Canadians. However, this mythic North has little, if any, bearing on actual Northern realities and it erases the disparities that exist between North and South in Canada. Like the images of wilderness, the idea of the "True North" is detrimental to Inuit aspirations as it erases their presence. Interestingly, Shields (1991) argues that:

> The discursive economy of the "True North" coincides neatly with a set of non-discursive practices, namely, the institutions of Canadian Federalism and the recreational practices of summer tourists who indulge in a type of *rite de passage* which re-confirms their self-image as "Canadian" (p.198)

Therefore, tourism articulates with Canadian Federalism to re-inscribe the idea of "True North" into the dominant social spatialisation of the Canadian Nation.

However, recently a new image for the North in Canadian Federalism has arisen with the signing of land claims and political restructuring in the North and tourism may follow this shift. The creation of Nunavut, and the accompanying land claim, have changed the institutions of Canadian Federalism and there is now, at least in constitutional law if not public perception, a recognition that the North is not empty. However, rather than creating a strain on the Canadian Federation, the creation of Nunavut has allowed the North to be re-inscribed as a different kind of symbol for Canada – a symbol of the flexibility of the federal system and its ability to accommodate diverse groups. Nunavut is as much a success for federal politicians as it is for the Inuit people[3]. Only time will tell how Canadians will react to the "True North" becoming

---

[3]It is perhaps too early, and certainly not the purpose of this paper, to collect extensive evidence which would indicate if a new understanding of the North has displaced the empty "True North", but there is some preliminary anecdotal evidence. Positive media coverage of the creation of Nunavut (Canadian Geographic, 1999; Hunter,1998) celebrated Canada's newest territory; on Canada Day celebrations on Parliament Hill proudly proclaimed Nunavut as a symbol of the strength of the federation and received hearty cheers from the assembled crowd (personal observation); and the image of Inuit drum dancer has been inscribed on the two dollar coin -- a symbol that is said to represent that Inuit will now be heard loud and clear across the Nation.

Nunavut – Our Land – a populated, and hence contested, terrain. It is possible that this new symbol will only serve to hide North-South disparity because while the region is officially recognized as a territory, it hardly has a strong voice in the Federation[4]. But, all this is the focus of another thesis. For now I merely put forward the claim that Nunavut is also a powerful symbol of Canadian Federalism which will compete with an empty "True North". In chapter five I shall discuss how tourists reflexivity may point to this possibility.

LEARNING, TOURISM AND ECOTOURISM

The issues above provide some context against which one can critically judge whether tourism can encourage tourists to learn about Northern realities and challenge dominant images and discourses about the North. However, linking tourism with learning is certainly not an intuitive association and, in fact, the opposite association – with ignorance – is perhaps more common. This tension has always existed with regards to tourism from its earliest days. The 19th century European Grand Tour, where the affluent bourgeois youth were sent to tour the historical and cultural sights of the continent, was very much viewed as an educational exercise. However, no sooner did Thomas Cook, aided by cheaper and more efficient means of transportation and communication, make this privilege accessible to the "masses" than did tourism take on a negative connotation as "hoards" of sightseers ruining destinations with their uncultured pursuit of pleasure (Towner, 1996). Today, the tourism industry plays on these two poles with some places marketed as destinations to seek pleasure and others with exoticism,

---

[4]This is both because of its status as a territory rather than a province and because of its small population (25 000 people).

culture, adventure or learning. It is this latter association that I wish to explore in this paper in the context of its most recent formulation – Ecotourism.

Ecotourism is a recent phenomenon in the tourism industry that came to prominence in the 1980s on the heels of increasing environmental awareness. It is purported to be one of the fastest growing sectors of the North American tourism market (GNWT, 1996). Interest in ecotourism grew out of the conservation movement which was seeking legitimation for conservation initiatives in a world dominated by economic rationality -- it was seen as the ideal way to make conservation profitable and hence acceptable to those concerned with more immediate economic pressures (IUCN, 1993). However, this strategy effectively turns nature into a commodity whose image – as beneficial to the environment – is appropriated by operators who have little or no interest in conservation. In addition, to treat nature as a commodity may not reflect its non-economic, or intrinsic, value. Therefore, discussions about what exactly is ecotourism precede almost any discussion of the subject in the tourism literature I reviewed (e.g. Fennel, 1999 for a comprehensive discussion; Carter and Lowman 1994) and has led, finally, to a distinction between nature tourism and ecotourism. Nature tourism is defined as tourism which:

> ...encompasses all forms of tourism – mass tourism, adventure tourism, low-impact tourism, ecotourism – which use natural resources in a wild or undeveloped form....nature tourism is travel for the purpose of enjoying undeveloped natural areas or wildlife.
>
> (cited in Fennell, 1999 p.35)

Whereas ecotourism can be defined as:

Ecotourism is a sustainable form of natural-resource based tourism that focuses primarily on experiencing and *learning* about nature, and which is ethically managed to be low impact, non-consumptive, and locally oriented (controls, benefits and scale.). It typically occurs in natural areas and should contribute to the preservation of such areas. (Fennell, 1999 p.43 italics mine).

Presumably if a "nature tourist" is going to enjoy undeveloped natural areas, then nature tourism is also concerned with preservation. Therefore, the key distinctions between these two definitions have to with local benefits and the idea that tourists are interested in learning about nature. However, local interests may not always coincide with what tourists are interested in seeing (e.g. the desire to use an area vs the desire for a pristine wilderness). The controversy then centres on ensuring that tourists come to appreciate that what they have come to see may not be valued in the same way by local people and that conservation need not mean exclusion of local people. If tourists do not make such connections then ecotourism has the potential of becoming a form of ecological imperialism whereby places are reshaped to the norms of (predominantly western) tourists under the guise of conservation (Hall, 1994; Bandy, 1996). Therefore, the benefits of ecotourism depends very much on what people are interested in learning/seeing when they travel and how they go about achieving this. In looking to see if tourism in Pangnirtung meets these criteria, for example, one might ask what do the hikers understand by the term wilderness experience or Inuit culture (see chapters 4 and 5). One might also ask if tourists have a realistic view of the contemporary North or whether they expect to see a slice of the past (see Chapter 5).

TOURISM AND COMMODIFICATION

These concerns about ecotourism indicate that the tension between education and self-indulgent pursuit of pleasure, which has always surrounded discussions of tourism, is still present with ecotourism. Those supportive of the industry argue that the practice of touring could have important educational value (IUCN, 1993 or Prosser, 1992 for a more balanced account), while its critics see nothing but the self-indulgent consumption of leisure and commodified images and places (MacCannell, 1992; Bandy 1996). Connections between tourism and learning have been most heavily criticized by those who have theorized tourism as a commodity and who have looked at the implications of the commodification of place (e.g. Llewellyn-Watson and Kopachevsky, 1996; Bandy, 1996; MacCannel 1976. 1992; MacKay, 1988). However, as with most dichotomies this one fails to capture the contingent and dynamic nature of social reality which points towards a both/and tension rather than a static either/or dichotomy. While recognizing the power and importance of the process of commodification, I wish to look for how, or if, such processes are challenged at the micro-scale in the everyday practices of tourists. Therefore, in this paper I wish to ground an analysis in a given context -- Pangnirtung -- and render it dynamic through a social understanding of space. Central to this analysis is an understanding that space is not merely the container for our actions, but is a social dimension which is both the product and producer or social relations. In short, space is the material extension (at all scales) of the people and social relations which produce it and it in turn produces or reproduces social relations (see Shields 1999, chapter 10). Understanding space as a social dimension foregrounds tourists' agency and avoids

abstract generalizations that tend towards essentializing tourists and tourism. As Edensor (2000) argues:

> Theories of tourism have tended towards ethnocentrism, overgeneralization, and functionalism. Certain tourists, places, and activities have thus been identified as defining tourism *per se*. Additionally, much energy has been expended on drawing up tourist typologies...While such analyses can usefully identify regularities, it is essential that these be understood as *varieties of practice* rather than types of people. Moreover there is a danger that such categorizations become reified as immutable. On the contrary, it is argued that tourism is a process which involves ongoing (re)construction of *praxis* (Edensor, 2000 p.322-323, emphasis mine)

Endensor's focus on practice, which I will take up in chapters 4 and 5, highlights that tourism is best understood spatially as social interaction and not as some abstract social relation. Therefore, in the final section of this chapter I wish to set out in more detail some of the theoretical considerations which have informed my approach. I will begin by looking at criticism of tourism based on its increasing commodification and then introduce the possibilities of reflexivity. I conclude by discussing how this is can be conceptualized using Lefebvre's (1991) spatial dialectic (see also Shields 1991, 1999).

Tourism is first and foremost a business and, therefore, it is necessary to engage with an understanding of how ideas and images of place get captured by the processes of commodification.(Lash and Urry, 1994; MacCannell, 1992; Urry, 1990). Increasingly, economic transactions do not involve the production of material goods, but signs. Goods are produced either in a non-material aestheticized form (e.g. cinema, pop music) or as material goods marketed increasingly for their symbolic meanings (e.g. brand names). Goldman (quoted in McHaffie, 1997 p.79) summarizes this trend:

> A commodity-sign joins together a named material entity (a good or service) as a signifier with a meaningful image as a signified (e.g. Michelob beer/ 'good friends'). Though people have

> invested objects with symbolic meanings for thousands of years, the production and consumption of meanings associated with objects has become institutionally organized and specialized according to the logic of Capital in the twentieth century. Commodity relations systematically penetrate and organize cultural meanings in the interests of extending the domain of exchange values...Not only are commodities joined to signs, commodities get produced as signs and signs become produced as commodities.

The production of tourist sites is increasingly becoming an avenue for such practice and the industry is busy trying to ensure that the appropriate meanings are attached to tourist destinations. This has important implications for how a tourist comes to understand place because destinations are packaged, advertised and marketed in "a way which is never designed to genuinely impart full meaning and understanding, which typically would be impractical (too long a stay might be required), perhaps discomforting, or even subversive of prevailing myths and images" (Britton, 1991 p. 464) . The need for the industry to provide what the consumer wants encourages the tour promoter to rely on already existing cultural signifiers (pristine mountain scenes = wilderness; desolate tropical beaches = paradise). If one accepts a purely economic rationale for tourism production (an assumption which is challenged in chapter 3) then the producer is only encouraged to challenge or recreate dominant representations in an attempt to capture a new market or exit a declining one (e.g. holiday resort becomes pristine ecotourism destination).

Goss (1998) calls on the work of Urry (1990) to argue that tourism advertising "forms part of a 'hermeneutic circle' – a closed semiotic system which links the representation of a tourist destination to the actual tourist experience, by creating a set of expectations that the tourist industry is designed to accommodate". For Urry (1990) the tourist is seeking some form of alterity, something different from the usual, upon which to gaze. Thus the tourist is involved in a kind of theoretical practice in which they search

out and "test"images they have collected in the tourist brochure. However, since the industry is consciously recreating places in their marketed images the theoretical question is a self-fulfilling prophecy. The tourist will often find his or her expectations fulfilled and return home with proof, in form of their own pictures, that the place is in fact as advertised (Urry, 1990 p.140). In this way tourism attempts to create a kind of ideological closure in which tourists confirm their expectations of the world.

This ideological reading of tourism is best articulated by MacCannell in The Tourist (1976) and Empty Meeting Grounds (1992). MacCannell's approach to theorizing and studying tourism involves ethnographic study grounded in structural anthropology and Marxist critical analysis of the commodity form. Following Marxist thought MacCannell argues that in a world of commodities and exchange, relations between people are mediated (or even replaced) by relations between objects. The resulting sense of alienation leads to a quest for authenticity – i.e. unalienated relations with people who are not alienated from their means of existence. For MacCannell this desire for authenticity lies at the root of all tourism (a sweeping claim to be sure)[5]. However, he argues there are two reasons that the tourist can never achieve his or her goal. First, the commodified nature of the tourist relationship entails an already and always unequal and contrived experience whereby the tour operator, or local person in a tourist destination, is aware of the commercial nature of the exchange (which for

---

[5] Of course many other views have been advanced regarding tourist motivation including tourism as escape, as pilgrimage or as the quest for difference (see Urry, 1990 chapter one for a complete discussion). Arguably MacCannell's "quest for authenticity" and Urry's "tourist's gaze" have been most influential in recent discussions of tourists' motivation.

MacCannell is exploitative) and so he or she is always trying to anticipate what it is that the tourist would like to see. Therefore, what the tourist gets is always a staged authenticity. This staged authenticity cannot be transcended because should the tourist look "behind" the stage they will quickly find that this new area becomes staged leaving the tourist chasing after an infinitely elusive goal. The second reason a tourist cannot achieve the desired authenticity lies in the constructed nature of authenticity itself. MacCannell (1992) points out that authenticity is a culturally specific notion loaded with ideological assumptions and implications which are often predetermined by the tourism industry. MacCannell's draws heavily on psychoanalytical readings of human behavior and theorizes how these articulate with the structures of a capitalist society (e.g. MacCannell, 1992 Chap. 1).

For example, MacCannell argues that people in modern societies are aware of, and feel guilty about, the destruction of the environment and indigenous cultures caused by capitalism's continual expansion of commodity relations and the ideology of growth and progress. However, because people benefit from this expansion they repress their fears and guilt and instead search for authentic bits of nature, or culture, to assure themselves that the world is working as it should. In regards to nature and parks, MacCannell writes:

> The great parks...are symptomatic of guilt which accompanies the impulse to destroy nature. We destroy on an unprecedented scale, then in response to our wrongs, we create parks which re-stage the nature/society opposition now entirely framed by society. The great parks are not nature in any original sense. They are marked off, interpreted, museumized nature. The park is supposed to be a reminder of what nature would be like if nature still existed. As a celebration of nature, the park is a 'good deed' of industrial civilization. It also quietly affirms the power of industrial civilization to stage, situate,

limit and control nature. By restricting 'authentic' and 'historic' nature to parks, we assert our right to destroy everything that is not protected by the Parks Act. This *contradiction is buried in human consciousness* under the ideology of re-creational nature, the notion that the individual is supposed to forget the sense of limits which society imposes on us, and on nature, as we enter these parks. (MacCannell, 1992 p.115, italics added).

Therefore, the authenticity that the tourist seeks is a contrived authenticity meant to reassure and lend support to a certain ideology of progress. In this view the commodification of place allows for an ideological closure – relations of exchange lead to a sense of alienation, which leads to a quest for authenticity, which leads to staged authenticity, which obscures the negative consequences of the organization of capitalist society, and capitalism is in turn seen as entirely compatible with the preservation of different cultures and nature.

One may be tempted to dismiss MacCannell's structural formulations which equate living in a capitalist society with a blind desire for authenticity (how does MacCannell escape this?) and repressing guilt, but his analysis of the structural constraints that shape social interaction are not so easily shrugged off. What is most important about MacCannell's account is how forcefully he draws out how commodification can capture the motivations for people's actions and obscure the inequalities that are an intrinsic part of capitalism. This process is dependent very much upon increased rationalization, a trend that Ritzer and Liska (1997) argue is growing in the tourism industry. Taking their cue from the ubiquitous MacDonald's franchises which create incredibly efficient and depressingly predictable food, they apply the idea of MacDonaldization to tourism. The theory of MacDonaldization is

> strongly influenced by Weber's theory of rationalization [and] is a modern grand narrative viewing the world as growing increasingly efficient, calculable and predictable and dominated by controlling non-human technologies. (Ritzer and Liska 1997, p.97).

In terms of tourism, MacDonaldization is most easily applied to package tours or theme parks like Disney World, where the tourist is guided through the tourism experience in a very controlled and predictable manner. Once place has been commodified as a series of sites and experiences to be purchased, the whole experience is rationalized to the extent that it almost seems that one can predict what pictures will be taken, what kind of interactions people will have and with whom and which souvenirs will be purchased. From this perspective there is little hope, or even desire, as Ritzer and Liska argue, for seeing past pre-conceptions of place or the image of place developed by the tourism industry. The growing trend towards MacDonaldization reflects the fact that tourists want predictability and efficiency in their holidays.

In its application to packaged, or mass, tourism MacDonaldization is perhaps less controversial, but one might ask what relevance it has to alternative forms of tourism such as ecotourism. Interestingly, Ritzer and Liska argue that alternative forms of tourism are only possible because of the phenomenal success of MacDonaldization in all other facets of life. Therefore, a tourist can go to what they perceive to be the most exotic and isolated locale in the world and still find certain standard goods and services which they have come to expect and rely on in their day to day lives. Therefore, even while appearing to have escaped the MacDonaldized tourist experience, the tourist is in effect supported by a whole host of goods and services provided by a MacDonaldized system that allows them to continue to have a safe and predictable holiday. This is particularly

interesting in the case of Pangnirtung, where tourists arrive fully decked out in the latest camping gear and appear to be whisked to the Park, hike and get back on the plane (more on this in chapter four). The MacDonaldized tourist, then, is not one who will be particularly open to new and alternative facts and ideas about the place in which they are travelling. If anything, they are seeking to avoid the unknown, the unpredictable. Contrary to MacCannell, then, the MacDonaldized tourist may even be seeking inauthenticity.

The discussion of tourism as a commodity, therefore, does not bode well for those who wish to see tourism as an opportunity to learn about place. Tourists, it seems, find themselves in a sort of trap whereby they are not allowed to see beyond the stage set up by the tourism industry, or, as Liska and Ritzer (1997) and Urry (1990) have argued, they do not want to see beyond the stage and are quite content to watch the show. Yet while it is important not to underestimate the economic and social structures which shape the tourism encounter, these formulations set up a dichotomy, in this case between deception and complicity, which encourages us to look further.

REFLEXIVITY AND SPACE

To begin, one can question how the idea of MacDonaldization can be applied to alternative tourism. There is a substantial difference between increased rationalization and commodification which takes place through the extension of infrastructure – planes, banking systems, communication systems, restaurant chains – and the commodification which is aimed directly at the tourism experience. How the tourism experience is MacDonaldized, and therefore how it brings people together and how they interact,

matters a great deal. In addition, how people use such spaces is an variable quantity which opens up many possibilities (see below on spatial dialectics).

For example, eating a MacDonald's burger with a bus load of tourists on a bus tour is a different experience than eating a burger with the lunch crowd or even taking it out in the park across the street. Therefore, there is always space for novel interaction and a desire for an increasingly MacDonaldized experience does not equate with a kind of "complicity" or not wanting to see beyond the "stage". What is at issue is how one approaches the space that is created by the commodification of place. If the tourist is aware of the stage, then he or she may equally be aware of the nature of the relationship they have to the people and places they are touring. This awareness is characteristic of what Feifer (1985) calls the post-tourist. Post-tourists play with the images and stages that are set up for the tourist and excel in the ability to identify and manipulate these images to their own ends.

Urry (1990, 1995) has picked up on the image of the post-tourist and combined it with theories of reflexive modernization to argue that the reflexive post-tourist may be one way in which tourism can become an avenue for challenging dominant representations. However, in order to move beyond the dichotomy of deception and complacency on the one hand, and the reflexive post-tourist on the other, one must begin to conceptualize why tourists as a group may be expected to be reflexive and how this translates into action. In short, how does one become reflexive? Therefore, I wish to look briefly at how different theorists have developed the idea of reflexivity, and why one might expect it to apply to tourism, and then move on to discussing space and spatial

dialectics as a way of conceptualizing how this reflexivity might transform tourist spaces and encounters.

The idea of reflexivity starts with the observation that commodification is part of the larger process of modernization. Urry (1995 pp.215-216) has identified the following characteristics of (post) modern societies:

1) A previously written culture is giving way to a predominantly visual and aesthetic culture.

2) Social identities are much more fluid rather than the traditionally fixed identities of earlier times.

3) The collapse of clock-time has been replaced by "instantaneous time" in which space and time are compressed such that temporally and spatially distant places and events are brought into our lives in a rapid succession of images.

As a result of these changes people learn to live in a society that is dominated by flux and change, but the result is that they become increasingly reflexive. In Beck's (1994) formulation of reflexive modernization, modernity is described as a "risk society" in which the individual feels increasingly at risk due to loss of tradition, loss of group specific sources of meaning, and levels of physical risk higher than socially acceptable norms – conditions closely tied to the abstractions needed for increased commodification discussed above. For Beck it is precisely the increased risks -- which are an *intrinsic* part of modernization -- which undercut people's faith in modernity and lead to an unconscious ambivalent stance towards society. This unconscious, automatic reaction to the effects of modernization is what Beck calls *reflexivity*, which can in turn lead to a conscious *reflection* about the institutions and norms of society. However, whereas reflection is an individual conscious activity, reflexivity (according to Beck) is a social condition of late modernity (i.e. it applies to groups) that is an unconscious reflex (hence

reflexivity) to risk and the dissolution of social norms. Under these conditions people must learn to "cobble together their biographies themselves" (Beck,1994 p.13). In this process "commitments and convictions" (p.14) get reflected in attitudes and lifestyles (e.g whether one eats organic foods or chooses ecotourism) creating a space that Beck calls "sub-politics" in which individuals and small groups define "the themes of the future which are on everyone's lips"(p.17). It is at this point that reflexivity may become more reflective and conscious and is of importance to the discussion here as a way of challenging the representations distributed through tourism[6]. Reflexivity has a special relevance in understanding how tourists develop critical stances because, unlike Beck's formulation which is cognitive and normative[7] (i.e. risks lead to one questioning), reflexivity can also be aesthetic:

---

[6] Beck would contend that sub-politics could be reflexive and unconscious -- i.e. no reflection is needed. One assumes that this means that people do things because it simply "feels" right. This then leads to "themes of the future that are on everyone's lips". Beck argues that a politics can evolve this way which by-passes the normal (discredited) institutions of modernity (e.g.medical science, expert tribunals). This is problematic because he does not discuss how these "new themes" will eventually be implemented through either the existing or new institutions. Therefore, while it is useful to understand reflexivity as unconscious because it helps one understand the dynamics by which people begin to question the status-quo (i.e. as an orientation to the world), it is important to ask how this will transform into action. This is a point I find Beck does not address well. However, when I use the term reflexivity I am also interested in the conscious actions and decisions which result from that reflexivity. Therefore, I will talk about varying degrees of reflexivity. While some tourists may intuitively suspect what they can know as tourists, others may extend this and question the claims that they and other tourists make.

[7] See footnote 5. Again, Beck – not very convincingly – disagrees with this assessment (see Beck, Giddens and Lash, 1994 pp. 175-178). However, Lash's distinction certainly applies to my use of reflexivity which is cognitive and normative and so the distinction between cognitive and aesthetic reflexivity holds for the purposes of this paper.

> [Aesthetic reflexivity] involves the proliferation of images and symbols operating at the level of feeling and consolidated around judgements of taste and distinction about different natures and different societies. Such distinctions *presuppose the extra-ordinary growth of mobility*, both within and between nation-states. This can be described as the development of an aesthetic 'cosmopolitanism' rather than a normative cognitive 'emancipation' (Urry 1995, p. 145 discussing the work of Lash (1994) italics added)

Here reflexivity is again starting at the level of feeling or intuition, this time based on an aesthetic comparison between different spaces. The centrality of mobility for aesthetic reflexivity points to its relevance in assessing tourists' motivation for travel and their ability to critically engage with what is being represented and experienced[8]. In a society that is dominated by mobility and flux one learns to make judgements based on fleeting images and information. While some may feel this leads to a valorisation of the surface, Urry (1995) argues that aesthetic reflexivity can lead to "new sociations" which, like Beck's sub-politics, are groupings of like minded individuals formed around common interests and concerns.

Unlike the notions of commodification discussed above, theories of reflexivity argue that we are living in an age that is intrinsically self-critical. Indeed, it is difficult to believe that in an era of mass-media and mass proliferation of ideas and images, that tourists would remain unaware of the constructed nature of the tourist site or of their position as a tourists. However, it is entirely another question if people move from an awareness (or feeling or intuition) that they live in a world of flux and multiple images, where "reality" can be overturned from one week to the next and presented as something else, to being aware of how the stages are constructed, by whom and with what messages.

---

[8] With mass media and the Internet, mobility can be achieved without travel.

Therefore, discussion of reflexivity should not be interpreted as a whole-hearted endorsement of tourism or the liberating potential of consumption. In pointing to the potential of reflexivity, one is simply highlighting the often contradictory and fluid nature of contemporary society which provides ground for interpretation, but does not supply definite answers. Therefore, we are still left with the task of understanding how, and to what extent, tourists are reflexive and how they act on that reflexivity.

Social Spatialisation

In this regard, Shield's (1991) concept of social spatialisation offers a dynamic understanding of the social creation of place which allows one to account for both commodification and reflexivity through an understanding of space. The idea of social spatialisation tries to capture the process by which places come to be labeled and understood as different from one another. In order to do this Shields draws on the work of Henri Lefebvre (1991, but more broadly see Shields 1999) to capture how cultural understandings of place articulate with material spaces and practices, which in turn mediate and influence social relations and can create new understandings of place. Commodification does play a role in this process, but one cannot reduce the process to this one dimension. Instead, social spatialisation focuses on how different dimensions of social reality -- the economic, the cultural, the imaginary, the aesthetic -- interact. Social spatialisation focuses explicitly on space as the material expression of the resolution of social problematics or tensions. Shields explains:

> I use the term social spatialisation to designate the ongoing social construction of spatial at the level of the social imaginary (collective mythologies, presuppositions) as well as the interventions in the landscape (for example the built environment). This term allows

us to name an object of study which encompasses both the cultural logic of the spatial and its expression and elaboration in language and more concrete actions, constructions and institutional arrangements...social spatialisation is thus a rubric under which currently separated objects of investigation will be brought together to demonstrate their inter-connectedness and coordinated nature (p.31).

It is important to note that social spatialisation is "ongoing" and is never a static and completed fact. Instead it is a process which is continually recreating and/or challenging existing spatialisations. Therefore, in looking at tourism one needs to understand how place is understood in cultural context and how it is commodified, but it is also important to consider how these understandings of place are turned into spaces used by people. It is through an understanding of space as a dynamic process that one can conceptualize how people interact with the "staging" of the tourist destination. As noted above, space is not an empty void, or another structural concept that will determine tourists' understandings. Instead it is helpful to understand space in all its dimensions -- social, material, imagnined – as an interpretive aid "in face of local conditions which diverge from the generalities of grand theory" (p.31). In short, one is contextualizing social action. Yet, at the same time, social spatialisation is not simply a form of empiricism or radical relativism. Instead, Shields argues that theorizing how space works in mediating social relationships and structures is part of the theoretical project of understanding "everyday life with its transitory arrangements and fleeting alliances which nonetheless are *the* common elements in any comparative sociology [and human geography, C.O.]" (p.58 emphasis in original).

The idea of social spatialisation represents Shields' (1991; 1999) interpretation and reworking of Lefebvre's (1991) concept of spatial dialectics. Following Shields, I

will use Lefebvre's notion of a spatial dialectics, or trialectics, in order to separate the different dimensions of space for analytical purposes which allows us to see more clearly how the process of social spatialisation takes place (my interpretation owes much to Shields, 1991, 1999 and Merrifield, 1993). Henri Lefebvre argues that space can be understood through the dialectical relations of three conceptual moments -- representations of space (*l'espace conçu*), representational space or spaces of representation (*l'espace véçu*) and spatial practices (*l'espace perçu*). In the discussion which follows I will use Shields' (1991 p.54-55) definitions of Lefebvre's three "moments" of the spatial triad. After each of Shields' definitions there is a brief description in italics of how I understand these terms in relation to tourism in Pangnirtung:

1) REPRESENTATIONS OF SPACE *(l'espace conçu)*: "These are the forms of knowledge and hidden ideological content of codes, theories, and the conceptual depictions of space linked to production relations. These are the abstracted *theories and 'philosophies' such as the 'science of planning'* cited by Lefebvre".
E.g. the arctic as marginal point at the edge of the globe, the arctic as portrayed in maps or rendered in climate statistics, the hike in Auyuittuq in terms of distance, grade and terrain and number of shelters needed, the planning of tourism facilities in town. Another translation of l'espace conçu which may be helpful is as conceived space.

2) SPATIAL PRACTICES (*l'espace perçu*): "This involves the range of activities from individual routines to the creation of zones and regions for specific purposes: a specific range of types of park for recreation....through lived practice, 'space' is re/produced as 'human space'. This practice involves a continual appropriation and re-affirmation of the world as structured according to existing socio-spatial arrangements". However, it is "possible to disrupt the closely woven fabric of social practices and conventions through interventions at the level of spatial practice."
These are the practices which define tourism in Pangnirtung – hiking, print shopping, photographing, going to the museum, strolling. It also includes the spaces that have been built specifically for tourism. As practice they reproduce Pangnirtung as a tourist destination and re-inscribe certain images of place. However, it is possible for tourists and locals to try to "disrupt" these practices and try to move beyond scripted performances.

3) SPACES OF REPRESENTATION : "This discursive sphere offers complex re-coded and even de-coded versions of lived spatialisations, veiled criticisms of dominant social orders and of the categories of social thought often expressed in aesthetic terms as symbolic resistance".
In other words, Merrifield (1993) writes: " It is space experienced through the complex symbols and images of its inhabitants and users"
This is the space of symbolism. What does the north mean to tourists? How do they interpret the treeless landscape? Tourism is replete with images in brochures which are meant to symbolize the quality of place. The Inukshuk, the Inuit sculpture, the igloo, the Northern townscape – these are invested with symbolic meaning by the tourist and influence practice. This is also l'espace véçu, or fully lived space – i.e. those moments of reality which allow one to transcend dominant representations and have a genuine, one might say authentic, experience of place.

Lefebvre calls this a three part dialectic, but this spatial dialectic differs from a traditional two part dialectic which moves from a tension between thesis and antithesis to synthesis (Shields, 1999). Instead, the three part dialectic remains open and no part "disappears" in a final synthesis and it is the interaction of these three dimensions, or moments, which renders space dynamic. For example, to the extent that representations of space coincide with spatial practices (space is used as planned), then one has a fairly stable situation -- one might say a synthesis of social totality. However, spaces of representation -- i.e. fully lived moments, or symbolic meanings -- enter into this balance and destablize both moments by suggesting alternative uses of space, or new plans and designs. This third moment transcends the routines and practices of everyday life and is thoroughly "Other"-- i.e. unplanned and beyond routine. Therefore, the three moments never come together in some neat predictable social totality (although one sees periods of stability). If any synthesis is to be found it is an analytical one whereby one can conceptualize these three moments as a dynamic theoretical totality – what Shields (1991, 1999) calls the spatialisation.

By exploring the contradictions and tensions -- or lack of -- between these moments one can understand how space is produced and reproduced and the potential for change. For example, the mall is a planned space which is meant to encourage dreaming, idle strolling and, finally, consumption. When we go to the mall and shop we recreate that space as it was planned. However, for the youth who use the space as a meeting place, even a daytime home, the mall has some very different meanings as expressed in their use of the space. Even if only in fleeting moments, these youth may challenge the use of space which was conceived by planners and is enacted by shoppers. While older shoppers may perceive this as a threat, it also offers opportunities for interaction. Usually, loitering youth will be tossed out by security guards, but to the extent that people become aware of alternative realities within the space they are using, then there exists some possibilities for change – i.e. of the creation of a different kind of space. The design of the mall, like the commodification of place through tourism (the creation of a "stage"), is an attempt at closure in terms of acceptable behaviors and understandings of place. But there are often multiple perceptions of space which can result in different uses of space. These lead to unexpected encounters which can generate new ideas and perceptions and new practices. These may be moments of reflexivity.

Therefore, it is precisely at the level of spatial practices that I wish to focus my analysis in this paper, for it is here that it is possible to see how tourists (re)create space and perceptions of the North. Participant observation and qualitative interviews will be the source from which I will attempt to recreate how tourists used the space in Pangnirtung and how this relates to how they learn about place. In looking at spatial practices one must remain aware of the other moments – especially spaces of representations, the fully lived

moments and symbolic motivations which can serve to challenge dominant spatial practices, for these are sources of reflexivity. Similarly, one must be aware of the representations of space which are structuring space and practice. Here I think specifically of the cultural representations and discourses as discussed in the first part of this chapter, and the planning of tourism spaces which presume certain tourist behaviours. Spatial analysis takes one beyond commodification, but one must always be aware of how commercial forces enter into spatialisation, especially in the marketing of tourist destinations. Therefore, I begin my analysis in chapter three by looking at the tourism literature which participants indicated they used in order to look at how it attempts to represent the North to tourists. These brochures speak directly to the ideas of wilderness, culture and Nation discussed above while at the same time providing a significant space where challenges can be launched against dominant representations. However, the effect of the practices of writing, collecting and presenting images on tourists' learning is dependent largely on how tourists use these publications. Already, then, practices indicate the indeterminate nature of tourism learning. Chapter four and five focus more tightly on tourists' practices while in Pangnirtung and try to relate these to their perceptions of Auyuittuq and Pangnirtung. DeCerteau's (1985) work on spatial practices will be discussed at the start of chapter four in order to give a clearer understanding of how one can analyse practices. In this chapter an examination of tourists' practices in Auyuittuq National Park, and their perceptions, reveals how tourism is involved in recreating ideas of an empty wilderness while highlighting the potential for more reflexive practices. In chapter five a similar analysis is undertaken which highlights tourists' reflexivity, but which indicates how tourists' practices in Pangnirtung limit what they can learn. In the

concluding chapter I will summarize these points, but will also suggest where this research points future investigation. Overall the paper seeks to explore tourism as praxis that continually (re)creates perceptions of place. However, as will be explained in more detail in the following chapter, this is very much an analysis of how tourism in Pangnirtung is conceived, practiced and lived by tourists and not by local people.

CHAPTER 2: METHODOLOGY

INTRODUCTION:

The methods used in tourism research reflect the broad divisions within the social sciences between quantitative and qualitative methodology. Often this division is represented as an either/or dichotomy with researchers staunchly defending one or the other approach as superior for social understanding. However, following Alasuutari (1995), I prefer to view the two approaches as complementary, revealing different aspects of the same social phenomena and each with its own strengths and weaknesses. In what follows I will argue that the central focus of my research on meaning, understanding and experience necessitates a qualitative approach to data collection. However, in the analysis in following chapters I will also make reference, where appropriate, to quantitative research that has been done on Baffin tourists (e.g. Grekin, 1993; Milne et. al., 1995). This chapter will begin by briefly exploring why a quantitative approach is not appropriate for this research, and will then in slightly more detail explore the qualitative approach and address concerns that have been raised about the generalizability and reliability of qualitative data. Following this I will discuss my own research in light of two major concerns for all research, but which are particularly prominent in discussions of qualitative research: 1) the political and ethical dimensions of research; and 2) the position of the researcher and the need for reflexivity. Following this I will try to make transparent my use of three qualitative techniques in the field – participant observation, qualitative interviews and textual analysis. The aim of this chapter is to make clear the interpretive power of my data based on the strengths and weaknesses of my methodology

and my field practice.

QUANTITATIVE AND QUALITATIVE ANALYSIS

Much tourism research has been concerned with explicitly instrumental ends and many researchers have adopted a quantitative approach with an eye to prediction and modelling. Quantitative research, in its strictest form, assumes a positivist stance towards reality and knowledge. It assumes that the world exists as an empirical entity that can be measured and understood by an observer who remains objective and "outside" of the process being studied. More generally, however, quantitative research must collect data that is amenable to statistical manipulation. In such a framework the researcher looks for empirical events (independent and dependent variables) that can be related by a logical hypothesis and then tests the hypothesis by looking for statistical trends. The ultimate goal of such a process is generalization and prediction and it is assumed to be unbiased. The criteria by which such research is assessed are reliability (can it be repeated), validity (logical validity of the hypothesis and how it was tested) and generalizability. This approach has been usefully applied in tourism research, perhaps most notably for the purposes of this study in the tourist survey. The quantitative survey allows a researcher to assess large trends within tourist populations both in a factual sense – spending habits, destinations of choice, place of origin etc.-- and in more ephemeral characteristics – motivations, satisfaction, perceptions etc. But in all these facets, and especially in the latter set, quantitative research is limited by its hypothesis or initial assumptions and the statistical nature of the analysis. For example, a survey of motivations might compare variables such as age and gender with motivation variables

which are collected by limiting the respondents to a number of selections and/or coding responses based on a preset typology. The researcher can then search for "statistical regularities in the way different variables are associated with each other" (Alasuutari, 1995 p.11). However, what this approach gains in scope it loses in depth and there are a number of weaknesses that are important to consider for the present research. First, this approach does not allow respondents to venture an alternative response, one that the researcher had not already anticipated, or for a researcher to relate responses to variables that the researcher had not thought to include but which respondents feel are significant (this is aggravated when the researcher must rely on the response offered and cannot probe further or ask for elaboration). In addition, if a variable is common to all members of the population then statistical observation lacks explanatory power (e.g., as a trivial example, if all tourists, regardless of age, income, motivation etc., all buy Inuit art then this is a characteristic of the population and the researcher cannot infer any explanation). Statistical analysis also discounts difference when producing generalizations; first anomalies are discounted and second, the research hides different understandings of variables used by using the researcher's definition. This latter point is a significant weakness of the quantitative approach for this research which is interested in the social implications of the *meanings* that tourists have attached to categories such as culture and environment. Finally, the statistical survey is not interactive and ignores context. Therefore, in this research, where I am interested in how the tourism experience changes, challenges or reinforces perceptions and meanings, the quantitative survey is too distant and anonymous. In short, the quantitative survey is important for drawing trends in

tourist populations but it is not as good at saying why they are the case.

Instead, I have chosen to use a qualitative research approach in this research because it allows me to explore in some depth tourists' understandings and motivations by unpacking the meanings they have attached to travel and the North and how this is related to how they travel. The qualitative approach seeks interpretive rather than predictive power in its analysis. This approach derives from the assumption that the knowledge of social reality is socially constructed and hence contextual and dependent upon the meanings that actors assign to events (including the researcher). To understand the social world, then, a researcher should immerse themselves within it and seek to uncover the different contexts and understandings that shape action[9]. Unlike quantitative analysis, which ignores or even precludes anomalous responses, the qualitative researcher treats all data holistically and seeks and understanding that accounts for all data even if an event only occurs once (Alasuutari, 1995). The significance of a piece of data is not assumed to be necessarily related to the number of times it occurs. By observing and interacting with people in context, the researcher allows space for the participants in the study to have input into the knowledge that is being created either directly in interviews or indirectly through their actions. Knowledge is created in a dialogue between researchers and participants in context and in this regard qualitative research must be seen as iterative and open ended. The researcher does not enter with a strict hypothesis to test,

---

[9]This does not mean that a researcher may not also use a quantitative approach for some portion of her study. However, this would be optional whereas the logic of a socially constructed and mediated reality necessitates that the researcher engage in some form of direct field research.

but with a question and a theoretical orientation (Rossman and Rallis, 1998). Therefore, the researcher as learner (rather than tester) recognizes that she is not outside of this process of social construction and is continuously aware (or tries to be) of her assumptions and position within the social field. In the final analysis what qualitative research aims for is a rich and detailed description and analysis of social reality in a given context which interprets why actors act they way they do.

The "problem" of generalization

Qualitative research has often faced the criticism that it is "merely descriptive" and has no explanatory value beyond the individual case. Indeed, if we accept that social reality is structured by a contextually created social knowledge (meanings) then it follows that researchers will not discover knowledge that is strictly applicable in any context. However, it does not follow that this means that the knowledge gained cannot usefully inform theory and hence social action or policy in different contexts. In particular, following Burawoy (1991) this research assumes that qualitative field research can usefully be applied to *reconstructing* existing theories by revealing anomalous cases which reveal internal contradictions in theory and/or theoretical gaps or silences. Qualitative research is seen as a "running exchange between analysis and existing theory, in which the latter is reconstructed on the basis of emergent anomalies" (Burawoy, 1991 p.11). In the context of this research, theories about tourist motivation, the commodification of place and reflexivity of the modern subject (see chapter 1) can all be usefully interrogated by a qualitative analysis of tourism in Pangnirtung. However, this does not translate into a simple "testing" of a theory, but is instead an attempt to show

how context matters when macro-theory is applied to the local scale. The corrective to theory may simply be to indicate what points in the theoretical construct should be seen as contingent on local context.

In practice what this entails is that the researcher be sensitive to how local context is shaped by macro structures. Burawoy (1991) calls this the extended case method and states:

> The extended case method...seeks to uncover the macro-foundations of a microsociology. It takes the social situation as the point of empirical examination and works with given general concepts and laws about states, economies, legal orders and the like to understand how those micro situations are shaped by wider structures" (p.282).

In the extended case study, explanation is genetic, that is it focuses on differences between similar cases and the significance of the research is in what the individual case can tell us about the world in which it is embedded. In the context of this research, I am interested in how macro-social conceptions/productions of North (its environment and its people) articulate with the tourism experience in Pangnirtung. In this way this research could be usefully applied in other contexts by highlighting points of contradiction between theory and experience.

Reliability of Data

Quantitative data is often seen as more rigorous and reliable than qualitative data as judged primarily by the criteria of reproducibility (Rossman and Rallis, 1998; Alasuutari, 1995). However, because qualitative research assumes that the social reality being studied is constructed by an interaction among the actors in context, then it is illogical to assume that the case under study will be entirely replicable. This is even more

so when one considers that the researcher must be considered one of the actors (if not the central one) in producing the knowledge that is the result of research. Therefore:

> Because what is being studied [in qualitative research] is assumed to be in flux, multifaceted, and highly contextual, because information gathered is a function of who is gives it and how skilled the researcher is at getting it, and because the emergent design of a qualitative...study precludes prior controls, achieving reliability in the traditional sense is not only fanciful but impossible (Merriam quoted in Rossman and Rallis, 1998 p.46).

Instead, qualitative research depends on a criterion of "trustworthiness" whereby the researcher makes as transparent as possible his assumptions, position (s) and methods of collecting data. In reading a piece of qualitative research a reader may first assess the "truth" value of the claims being made. "In judging the truth value of a project readers depend on how adequately multiple understandings (including the researcher's) are presented and whether they 'ring true' (have face validity)" (Rossman and Rallis. 1998 p.45). In order to increase the truth value of a project a researcher can: 1) collect data over a long period of time rather than in a one-shot manner; 2) they can share their interpretations with participants and ask for feedback; 3) design a study as particapatory including the inputs of participants from the earliest stages; or 4) use multiple methods and data sources. A second criterion is how rigorously the study was carried out. Rigour is achieved by making clear how the study was conceived and conducted. This includes documenting carefully what was done in the field and why, and making clear the researcher's position (see below for more discussion on this). By looking at the rigour and "truth" value of a project a reader is then able to assess the final interpretation(s) made and judge whether she feels they are credible given how (and by whom) the data was collected and the context of the research. It also allows the reader to assess if alternative

interpretations could be made and whether these have been addressed in the research. Finally, the reader needs to consider whether the researcher was mindful of the politics that are involved both in research and within the dynamics of the process being studied. A sensitive and ethical assessment of political issues is a good indication that the researcher is aware both of her own position and those of participants in the study and how this may affect the data collected. In the rest of this chapter I wish to try to increase the trustworthiness of my own analysis by outlining the decisions I made as I approached Pangnirtung and once in the field.

APPROACHING PANGNIRTUNG: From Participatory Research to Participant Observation

In my initial conceptualization of the tourism encounter I envisioned an interactive process whereby agents are involved in a negotiated understanding of place. This analysis lent itself well to an actor-oriented approach (Long, 1992) which does not analyze external intervention in a place in terms of rigid categories (e.g.insider/outsider) and structural analysis (e.g. commodification by the tourist industry), but instead recognizes that "...external interventions [e.g. tourists, the researcher] necessarily enter the life-worlds of the individuals and social groups affected, and in this way are mediated and transformed by these same structures"(Long, 1992 p.20). The actor-oriented approach defines actors as people who can meaningfully be attributed the power of agency – i.e. they have a discernible way of carrying out decisions (Long, 1992). It is important to note that the actors involved are not necessarily physically present, but may influence the situation being studied through structural relations (Long, 1992).

Therefore, in my initial conceptualization, I had set out to identify the various actors who were involved in the creation of place in Pangnirtung. Tourists and tourism literature are two obvious actors, but once in Pangnirtung I had also initially aimed to identify those within the community who were involved in tourism and the creation of place. I had aimed to interview local people about what images and ideas about the North and Pangnirtung they felt the tourist held and what ideas they tried to convey to the tourist. My goal was to explore how understandings of place were transformed between the production (both in tourism literature and locally) and consumption, or reception and "decoding", by the tourist.

In this regard, I had hoped for a significant degree of participation from local people in this project and had ideally conceived of it as a participatory research project aimed at addressing local concerns about tourists' understandings of local realities. However, there were three assumptions in this approach which I began increasingly to doubt, and then finally reject as I approached leaving for Pangnirtung. The first was that people would be willing and interested in participating in such a study. At the very least this assumed that people in Pangnirtung saw the problem in the same way that I did – in terms of the politics of representation, or misrepresentation. Second, and perhaps more importantly, it assumed that local people would be willing to talk openly with me about their views on tourism – a somewhat political issue in Pangnirtung -- only six to eight weeks after having met me. Third, it assumed that in six to eight weeks I would be able to adequately assess all the different points of view and responsibly interpret that range of local views. These assumptions are even harder to accept when one considers that I

would have to cross both a barrier of language and culture. My concerns with these assumptions came to a head as I started to reflect upon the history of academic research in Northern communities and went through the process of contacting the community of Pangnirtung and attaining a research license from the Nunavut Research Centre.

Academic research in the North has increasingly become a concern for Northern communities who often feel they do not know why researchers have come and what, if any, benefit the research may have for the community. In their discussion paper Negotiating Research Relationships in the North, the Inuit Tapirisat of Canada (ITC) notes:

> Research, as currently perceived by aboriginal northerners, is a phenomenon of the last 25 years or so. It appeared in the context of a colonial intrusion and of the sharp contrast between employment, income and living conditions of aboriginal northerners on the one hand, and southern visitors on the other. It should, therefore, not be surprising that research, like many other southern initiatives, is often viewed with indifference, suspicion, and even hostility" (ITC, 1993 p.1).

The ITC discussion paper goes on to point out that Northerners are centrally concerned with *who* sets the priorities for research and *how* the research is done. Reimer (1994) found in her research that people in Pangnirtung were particularly soured by researchers (many whom were MA students doing "summer research") who came up for very short periods of time, did not inform the community about their research and then never reported back to the community. This was aggravated by a perception that these researchers would then benefit from this work but the community would not. One woman argued (persuasively I think) that if the community was to become part of the education of southern graduate students then local people should be viewed as "teachers"

and receive compensation.

In light of my own position as an MA student advancing my own interest in a Northern context I found these comments and criticisms particularly relevant. I was then faced with the challenge of how to make my research meaningful and not overly intrusive to a community which I did not know and whose primary language was one I did not speak . I approached this task initially through the licensing process that all researchers must undergo to do work in Nunavut. Under this process researchers submit proposals to the Nunavut Research Institute (NRI) which then solicits input from the communities who can either accept, reject or modify research proposals. As part of this process, I also contacted the Hamlet council directly in late April (through the mayor and Senior Administrative Officer) by fax to introduce myself and my project (see Appendix 1). Having had no response, I contacted the community directly by phone in mid-June and was told that my proposal had been reviewed and accepted. However, I only actually received my research license after arriving in Iqaluit a couple of days before going to Pangnirtung. Overall, the process of contacting the community and getting a research license was one dominated by silence between myself and the community and a last minute confirmation that the project was to proceed. There are several responses that I could have taken to this silence, including interpreting it as rejection and cancelling the project or starting earlier and being more pro-active in trying to contact community members about my project. In retrospect I believe that the latter choice would have been a good option, recognizing the licensing process and the hamlet office were both institutional actors one step removed from the people who I wanted directly to be

involved in the project. However, this would have involved contacting people involved in tourism directly some time prior to making the license application in order to try to develop some form of relationship. This was precluded by the fact that the project was only conceptualized in March which raises problematic questions for the ethics of fitting Northern research into the timetables of an MA degree[10]. Instead, I chose a third path that recognized that I had chosen to approach the community through the licensing process. This third option was a recognition, I feel, of the limits of this project.

Faced with a lack of input from the community, and questions from the ethics committee about how I could guarantee anonymity for local participants in such a close-knit community, I chose to reorient my project away from direct community participation towards a more sustained focus on the tourist. I did not know if I could count on in-depth involvement of community members in the project nor could I be sure that the project was one that the community would find useful. In short, I feel that a detailed qualitative analysis of local views of tourism would involve a longer term project that should follow an "introductory" visit to the community such as the research I discussed here. This approach would have allowed people in Pangnirtung to get to know me and I would have developed a better feel for the dynamics of the community, their research needs and attitudes towards researchers. However, it was clear to me that, at least in the short term, this was not possible and that this project was a southern based and conceived

---

[10]I feel that a strong argument could be made for discouraging MA research in Northern communities unless the student makes contact and starts a dialogue with the community before entering the field. This would probably require a commitment to start a dialogue at least as early as the fall of the first year of an MA.

project. Accepting this reality, I then set out to limit the claims I would make and to ensure that the project was carried out in a way that would be minimally intrusive to the community and remain open to local input. I conceived of this as a shift from participatory research to participant observation.

By focussing on the tourist and the tourist experience, I have assumed that this project can say nothing about local attitudes towards tourism and little about the validity of tourist knowledge (i.e. the "truth" value, did they receive the "intended" or "acceptable" understanding of place?). Instead, the focus is on how the tourist constructs his or her knowledge of place before and during the tourist experience. As I will discuss below, my own position as a southern tourist and researcher, makes me more confidant about interpretations I make about tourists. Some may argue that such a decision takes the critical edge out of such a project and renders it as "mere description". However, I argue that this decision is one that allows me to be critical of tourism and to critically assess the production of knowledge. It is clear that there is no "innocent knowledge", that is, "the discovery of some sort of truth which can tell us how to act in the world in ways that benefit or are for the (at least ultimate) good of all" (Flax, 1992, p.447). Therefore, it is clear that if one wants to construct a picture of local perceptions one needs to be clear about what political implications this will have for the community. Whose side will you be representing? Second, therefore, to the extent that there is some contestation within Pangnirtung about the benefits of tourism, this project tries to negotiate a space where the knowledge created may be of some use to assessing the impact of tourism by either those interested in attracting more tourists or those concerned with limiting or regulating

tourism. Understanding how the tourist creates an understanding of place can still retain a critical edge to the extent that it indicates what silences and absences exist in tourists' understanding, how these are perceived by the tourist and where possible interventions might be made if judged necessary by people in Pangnirtung (without making those judgements myself). In the context of studying poverty, Susan George (1976 cited in Hutnyk, 1996 p.12) makes a similar, if more strongly worded, argument:

> ...not nearly enough work is being done on those who hold the power and pull the strings...Let the poor study themselves. They already know what is wrong with their lives and if you truly want to help them, the best you can do is give them a clearer idea of how their oppressors are working now and can be expected to work in the future.

While it may be overstating the case to see tourists as oppressors, and I would question the any strict academic division of labour that allows us only to study ourselves, I think this statement does hold a certain persuasiveness in light of this project and recent concerns in academic literature about appropriating the voice and/or misrepresenting the Other (Ashcroft, Griffiths and Tiffin, 1995; Hutnyk, 1996; Said, 1978; Shields 1996). Reporting on an introductory understanding of local perceptions of tourism in Pangnirtung would be at best trivial to local people and at worst an appropriation of voice and yet another misrepresentation of Northern realities. In the face of such uncertainty, I withdrew from that portion of the project (see England 1994 for a similar decision vis a vis research on sexuality in Toronto). Finally, I believe my decision reflects an understanding that knowledge is not simply revealed to the researcher, but is something that the researcher must earn through her interaction with participants. This takes time (for a fuller argument of the link between time, language fluency and knowledge see

Pottier, 1991). What's more, how much time is needed depends on the personality and experience of the researcher and the context of research. In the end, this project reflects what I feel could ethically be carried out in one six week field season and in making the decisions I did I feel that the analysis presented will have more intellectual merit.

Positionality and Participant Observation

Implicit in my decision not to claim to represent local views on tourism is a recognition of my own position within the research process. Many commentators on qualitative research have noted the centrality of the researcher's position and subjectivity to properly assessing research results (Rossman and Ralls, 1998; England, 1994; Naples 1996; Alasuutari, 1995; Shields, 1996). Who I am, how I interacted with people and how they may have perceived me are important for understanding the context under which people offered, or I observed, information. But there is a more intangible concern that I wish also to address in this section which concerns the researcher's emotions and state of mind.

> Whether we like it or not, researchers remain human beings complete with all the usual assembly of feelings, failings and moods. And all of those things influence how we feel and understand what is going on. (Stanley and Wise 1993 quoted in England, 1994).

I will address each of these in turn as they relate to my research.

It is tempting to discuss my position in terms of an insider/outsider dichotomy. I might simply argue that I was outsider in relation to local people and an insider in relation to tourists. Indeed, this goes a long way to summing up my position, but it does not capture the subtlety of the tourism encounter in which I was more properly "in between". Naples (1996) argues that perception of being inside or outside is a socially constructed

judgement and hence someone may be considered an insider in relation to one situation or group and an outsider in another context. Complicating this situation further is the realization that insider and outsider designations are also mediated by class, race, gender or age. A few examples from my research may be useful. As a researcher I had a third identity that made me an outsider with regard to tourists, an object of some suspicion, contempt or annoyance (perhaps like the market researcher I sometime got the feeling that people would give me an interview in the hopes that it would pass quickly). In interviews my position as a white researcher may have led to people making comments they would have never made to an Inuit (hence I was an insider), whereas my role as a researcher explicitly interested in what tourists learn may have led others to withhold more controversial or speculative opinions for fear of appearing foolish (hence I was an outsider). Finally, with regard to local people in some cases, such as when I would help the Angmarlik centre staff prepare for the arrival of a cruise ship, I was able to observe in some detail how Pangnirtung was "changed" for their arrival[11]. I will not exhaust differing positions here, but in the analysis that follows it is important to consider the shifting positions from which I drew my interpretation. Generally, however, I think it is crucial to note the importance of my own experience as a tourist (recorded in my journal) and my own history of many years of involvement in outdoor recreation, both of which I

---

[11]To a certain degree I could claim that this position has allowed me to grasp some sense of tourism employees attitudes towards their work and clients (more often than not positive from what I heard), but I refrain from making any strong claims in this regard because I did not follow this with any interviews or discussions with tourism employees. I maintain that in relation to local people I was always an outsider to some degree. Always a tourist.

believe gives me a limited, but significant, privilege in understanding of this "subculture" – its standards, its norms and its variety. Therefore, the designations of researcher and tourist blur[12].

However, acknowledging my multiple positions and my limited privilege does not quite capture the full implications of my positionality for the analysis which follows. It needs to be stressed that I never claim to be fully "inside" the head of those whom I interviewed and whose world I will try to recreate in the chapters that follows. I do not seek to erase my presence, but to always make clear that the analysis offered is an interpretation that results from *my* conversation with participants – I never aim to "speak-for" or "speak-as" one of the participants. Shields (1996) neatly summarizes the implications of this stance for reading qualitative research as follows:

> Understanding is a liminal phenomenon which takes place on the threshold of self and other, at the point of contact between embodied subjects positioned in a material context....As such it neither encompasses the other person that one wishes to understand, nor does it exhaust one's own potential for further interpretation. There is always a 'supplement' which eludes the interpreter, hence the possibility of further interpretive efforts at understanding (Shields 1996 p.9).

Related to my position as a researcher and tourist it is important, if sometimes a bit awkward, to recall my subjectivity while in Pangnirtung. Unfortunately, I feel that my own fear of being intrusive meant that at times I did not take advantage of situations that could have proven instructive. My journal entries throughout the summer indicate bouts of self-doubt about the merits of my research and particularly about its perception in the

---

[12]It is interesting to note that the Arctic Traveller, a promotional magazine sent to all tourists who make a call to Nunavut Tourism, contains a section about whom researchers should contact about doing research in Nunavut. Do researchers really read tourism literature before planning to contact the Nunavut Research Institute?

community. My uncertainty, in combination with my focus primarily on the tourist, led me to a create a strict division whereby I avoided seeking local views about tourism unless they were freely offered. I confined my queries to formal scheduled talks with people involved in the tourism industry (which were not many). I became reflective about this tendency to be overly unobtrusive near the end of my research experience:

> My "ethical" stance was flawed. Ethical research involves how you interact [with people] and conduct research – not in withdrawing from contact. I wanted at times to be invisible which is impossible (Journal Entry July 29, 1999).

I did not actually try to "withdraw" nor "become invisible" as this quote might suggest and what I missed because of my hesitancy may be overstated. Yet I do not want to minimize the regret I have in retrospect for having taken such a reserved stance. However, in the end it was, as the quote says, a perceived ethical stance (even if flawed) and it has paid off in that I feel that I could return to Pangnirtung and take up my research where I left off.

FIELD TECHNIQUES

Participant Observation

In closing, I wish to briefly explore what exactly was done in Pangnirtung and how the considerations raised throughout this chapter expressed themselves in the field. Tourist flows in Pangnirtung are oriented around five tourism spaces. The central space, of course, is Auyuittuq National Park where most tourists spent the majority of their time. Tourists spent very little time in the community of Pangnirtung, with most spending two days (one on each end of their hike). While in Pangnirtung, tourists would circulate primarily between the hotel or campground, the Parks Canada Visitor Centre or

Angmarlik Visitor Centre and the Uqqurmuit Arts and Crafts centre. If they had the inclination and time, some would wander throughout the town, which even though very small, has two residential areas – uptown and downtown – that were little frequented by the tourist. My own flow was very similar to this with the exception that I lived with a family uptown and I almost daily frequented the Arctic College building to take language courses with 30 Trent University students who were doing a field school in Pangnirtung congruently with my field research.

I inserted myself into tourist flows in three ways. The first was to spend a lot of time in the Angmarlik Visitors Centre and Parks Canada Office observing what tourists did and what they found of interest. I also had informal talks with tourists and locals and recorded those conversations in my journal. In contrast, on request of the manager, I could only spend time in the hotel when interviewing tourists, which was an unfortunate lost opportunity. The campground was also not a good place for meeting tourists as I found that tourists would simply sleep in their tents and spend little time hanging out in the campground. I approached the Uqqurmuit Arts and Crafts centre by reflecting on my own experiences, and the experiences of other tourists (especially cruise ship passengers), in purchasing goods. My second approach was to observe, participate and talk with people during tourism events – the arrival of cruise ships, a boat trip to Kerketen Territorial Historic Park and, significantly, a three day hike in Auyuittuq. In addition, there were community events that were also of interest to tourists who happened to be visiting at the time – the Baffin Inuit Games, the Pangnirtung Music Festival and a community feast to celebrate Nunavut Day. In all of these activities my journal entries

and my own experiences are the primary techniques of interpretation. In this regard the interpretations of these events reflect very much my subjectivity and my ability to relate to tourists and local people.

The presence of the Trent students is not insignificant in my interpretation of tourism in Pangnirtung. First, I was often assumed to be part of the Trent group by local people. Second, the Trent programme had a three year history of involvement with the community and certainly had a more involved contact with a variety of local people than did the tourist and myself. As such, some of my experiences in Pangnirtung are mediated through the Trent group (as is true for other tourists who got to know some of the Trent students), and observing their experience in contrast to my own and that of the tourist highlighted for me different types of tourism encounters.

Also important was my lodging with a family in Pangnirtung. This allowed me to have glimpses into other activities and rhythms in town that exist beyond the world of tourism. I should make it clear here that I have no intention of discussing my host family's life as an indication of some "real" Pangnirtung that people did not see. Not only would that be unethical, it would misrepresent the nature of my relationship with the family. But in a more general sense I was able to start to get a sense of the complexity that is Pangnirtung beyond the tourist spaces. It is a private space and one I will not pretend I can reconstruct, but it is also a space that appeared largely unconcerned with the tourist presence.

Documenting tourism space

Related to my observation of people in Pangnirtung, I also documented textual

and visual material in Pangnirtung and in tourism and adventure literature. In the end I collected more data then I could directly refer to in the following chapters, but citing the full list gives a better understanding of the context of my interpretation. In Pangnirtung I transcribed the text and images in the Angmarlik Visitor Centre, the Parks Canada office, the Blubber station (a whaling exhibit), the Kerketen Historic Park and the Uqqurmuit Arts and Crafts Centre. Not as well documented, but still noted in comparison, are the commercial spaces -- the Northern store, the Inuit Co-op and High Arctic Enterprises – which tourists may have used. Not as visible to the tourist, were the civic spaces such as the Hunters and Trappers Association, the office of the Wildlife Officer, Territorial Government offices and the fisheries plant. Beyond Pangnirtung, I documented tourism literature and let interview responses guide me towards adventure travel literature magazines such as Backpacker or Explore. Interestingly, interviews also pointed to an interesting Internet world of "trip reports" written by tourists upon their return and posted on the Internet or circulated in local Newspapers. In total, this is an attempt to create a picture of how Pangnirtung is produced for the tourist (and by the tourist in the case of trip reports) both at a macro scale and at the local level. How this production is then made dynamic in the tourist experience is the focus of this research.

Qualitative Interviews

Finally, I conducted 20 qualitative interviews with tourists in Pangnirtung. Before starting my interviews I consulted with people involved in tourism in Pangnirtung to explain my project and to see if there were concerns that they would like to see discussed in my research. This included staff at the Angmarlik Visitor Centre, the Uqqurmiut

Arts and Crafts Centre, Parks Canada as well as with outfitters and guides. I included the two suggestions I received into my questionnaire guide -- one outfitter expressed an interest in tourist's level of satisfaction with services provided and another was interested in what tourists thought of the costs of travelling in the north. These discussions were also, in retrospect, important in making my thoughts and analysis about tourism more sensitive to the pragmatic concerns of profitability and park management. Interviews ranged in length from fifteen to forty-five minutes and were loosely structured around questions dealing with motivation for travel and coming to Pangnirtung, learning about Pangnirtung and the North, interest in Inuit Culture, souvenirs and expectations (see Appendix 2).

In order to contact tourists, I posted a letter that described my project on the bulletin boards in the Angmarlik Centre and the Parks Canada office and left copies at the information desk in the Angmarlik Centre and at the visitor reception desk in the Parks Canada office. In this way, tourists were made aware of my project and were more receptive when I approached them for an interview. Staff at the Angmarlik Centre and the Parks Canada office were extremely helpful in recruiting potential participants for the study. I also interviewed three people from an Adventure Canada cruise ship the first time it stopped in Pangnirtung. Since it was difficult to find time to talk to cruise ship passengers, I experimented with distributing questionnaires in self-addressed envelopes to passengers of the cruise ship the second time it stopped in Pangnirtung. Unfortunately, only two of these surveys were returned. Finally I interviewed two students from Trent University who were participating in a field school. Therefore, I have twenty interviews

and two questionnaire responses for a total of 26 participants. However, the interpretation in this paper focuses solely on the independent travellers who came to Pangnirtung to hike, because the most consistent data is for this group.

Interviews were loosely structured and not all the interviews cover exactly the same subject matter, depending on tourists' interests. This reflects the qualitative methodology which allows participants to stress points that are important to them. However, the context under which these interviews were done (a transient population who are now dispersed across Canada and the globe) does not allow for a strict qualitative approach in follow-up interviews which would allow me to return to each participant and have a second interactive discussion. Instead, most participants agreed to do a follow-up interview by mail or e-mail. What this meant was that the follow-up consisted of a questionnaire that had two goals. First, the questionnaire asked respondents about issues specific to their first interview. The goal here was to fill gaps that were not covered by the initial round and to get feedback on experiences that the participants had not yet taken part in at the time of the initial interview. Second, the questionnaire had some "generic" questions that were asked to almost all participants, which reflected a synthesis of themes from an initial analysis of the first round data (some had already addressed these issues in the initial round). Broadly, the follow-up questions were structured around the themes of wilderness and learning and also revisited the question of souvenirs, this time with a focus on photography as well (see appendix 2). The weaknesses of this approach lie in my inability to revisit the initial answers in an interactive way with participants and the fact that only 7 participants returned questionnaires. However, limited by geography and

the dynamics of tourism I feel that this represents an acceptable compromise. Overall, both rounds of interviews aimed to address the themes of travel motivation, wilderness, culture, learning, souvenirs and photography.

CONCLUSION: A tourist's interpretation of tourists

> In the social sciences the lore of objectivity relies on the separation of the intellectual project from its process of production. The false paths, the endless labors, the turns now this way and now that, the theories abandoned, and the data collected but never presented – all lie concealed behind the finished product. The article, the book, the text is evaluated on its own merits, independently of how it emerged. We are taught not to confound the process of discovery with the process of justification (Burawoy, 1991 p.8)

This chapter has set out both the rationale and assumptions that went into the qualitative research design of this project. As the quote above indicates, research needs to be judged as much on the process of collecting data as on the process of distilling and analysing what was found. I have made clear how the data was collected and have tried to indicate both the strengths and weaknesses of my field technique. In short, I have made clear the context which is the foundation for the interpretations in the chapters which follow. Above all, this chapter should make it clear that this project is about tourists', and not locals', experiences of tourism. It is look at *tourists'* perceptions, experiences and constructions of place.

CHAPTER 3: TOURISM LITERATURE

INTRODUCTION

Chapter one argued that commodification is an important, yet not sufficient, dimension for understanding how people learn about place through tourism. In this chapter I will draw out how the tourism industry has attempted to define the North and Pangnirtung for the tourism market. I will use tourism brochures and travel articles to show how Nunavut and Pangnirtung are placed "on the map" of tourism destinations. Therefore, this chapter is primarily concerned with how the North is conceived both by the tourism promoter and, by inference, at the level of the imaginary in the minds of tourists. Advertising works to create, or at least encourage, fantasy and dreaming and draws on already existing myths and images to do so (Britton, 1991; Goss 1993). However, tourism brochures often play a second role as a source of information and, therefore, a tension is created between fantasy and at least a semblance of factual information. In order to better assess this process I turn to the tourism literature which participants indicated they had used . In chapter one I discussed some dominant constructs and images of the North prevalent in Canadian culture which I structured around the themes of wilderness, Inuit culture and Nation. Throughout my interpretation in this chapter I try to show how the tourism literature manipulates dominant cultural images, sometimes even challenging them, in order to create an exotic, yet accessible, tourism destination. I will analyze three tendencies which exist within the literature I reviewed. The first is towards simplification, or the need for brevity, which creates an imaginary Nunavut that is accessible and meaningful to the tourist. The second tendency

is found in literature aimed at hikers. Here one sees an attempt to create an individualized and unique experience focused on adventure and wilderness. The third tendency is towards what Pratt (1992) calls transculturation, that is, the appropriation of dominant modes of representation by marginal groups. Here I will examine how government brochures challenge dominant (mis) representations. These three tendencies, or threads, are not exclusive to any one brochure, but when taken together give a sense of the way in which the tourism literature constructs Nunavut for the market. Finally, in the conclusion I will discuss how this material should be understood in light of how tourists indicated they used this material. I will argue that people use various media rather eclectically and, therefore, the overall image is fractured and different pieces are given different emphases in different contexts. Therefore, one cannot extrapolate from tourism literature to tourists' perceptions and one needs also to look at the tourism experience as is done in chapters four and five.

INTERPRETING TOURISM LITERATURE

The three images' groupings of wilderness, Inuit Culture and Nation discussed in chapter one give some background against which one can mount a critical reading of the tourism literature. The North in most cases is defined in terms of the south (Moss, 1994). As such, the ideas discussed in chapter one and the tourism brochures represent how the idea of North is used by southern Canadians and some of what fascinates southern Canadians when they think North. Nevertheless, it important to remember that many Canadians do not think North. Therefore, perhaps the unknown, the unthought of, is the dominant image of the North. This point, however unlikely when applied to the

tourist going North, does add a level of uncertainty into understanding how these myths are understood by the tourist and read into the tourist brochure.

It is important to recall that the decoding of messages inscribed in tourist brochures is a chaotic process which is not in any way predetermined (Burgess, 1991). In chapter one I tried to create a sense of the range of ideas of the North which exist in Canadian culture, but these in no way limit how Canadians see the North, nor how they will interpret brochures or what they see. One cannot assume that tourists are aware of these dominant cultural images. While many tourists in this study had either read about, or had experience in, the North prior to coming, few could point to any one text that influenced their thinking on the North.

I have chosen to look at tourism literature which I feel is representative of the material which tourists in this study may have looked at when preparing to come to Pangnirtung. It is meant to give a snapshot of the *range* of materials that a tourist may have looked at and to analyse how these materials structure their messages. Tables 3.1 and 3.2 show the sources of information that tourists referred to when asked how they found out about Pangnirtung or what materials they read with regard to an interest in the North, or outdoor recreation and/or travel.

Table 3.1 Information sources used by tourists:

Magazines
1. Backpacker
2. Outside
3. Explore
4. Rock and Ice
5. Canoe and Kayak
6. Canadian Geographic
7. National Geographic
8. Above and Beyond
9. Up Here
10. Equinox
11. Beaver
12. American Anthropologist
13. Audubon and Sierra Club magazine

Brochures
14. Tour operator brochures
15. Nunavut Handbook
16. Parks Canada /Nunavut Tourism

Books
17. Into the Void (by Joe Simpson)
18. Book about polar explorers: Shakelton (south pole) and Franklin
19. The People's Land (by Hugh Brody)
20. Give me My Father's Body (by Ken Harper)
21. One Woman's Arctic (by Sheila Every Burnford)
22. Arctic Dreams (Barry Lopez)

TV
23. Discovery Channel series on Canadian parks.

24. Newspaper

Unknown

Table. 3.2: A sorted list of sources of information used by tourists re. their trip or an interest in the North and/or outdoor travel

Source of Information	Number of interviews (out of 17) who used this source
Sports Magazines	8
Documentary Magazines (e.g. Cnd Geographic, Up Here, Audubon)	8
TV	1
Internet	5
Brochures (including Nunavut Handbook)	10
Word of Mouth(including visits to trade shows)	10
Other Guide Books (Lonely Planet)	1
Books (on history, natural history, explorers etc.)	9
Work experience in the North	5

Needless to say, capturing this diversity is daunting, especially since most respondents were erratic users of any one source (for a more general listing of sources

used by ecotourists see Wight, 1998). However, Table 3.2 indicates that sports magazines, documentary magazines, Internet, brochures, word of Mouth and books are the dominant sources. I cannot cover word of mouth because the interviews did not cover what tourists had heard about Pangnirtung from friends (but see Chapter 5 on rumours). Books covered three broad categories: traditional Inuit culture, natural history and accounts of polar exploration (or in one case contemporary mountaineering). However, ideas of North in literature should have surfaced in my discussion of dominant cultural constructs in chapter one and, therefore, I have chosen to omit books in this chapter. Therefore, the focus of the remainder of this chapter is on the literature that is particularly aimed at marketing Arctic tourism or outdoor travel/adventure tourism. I have chosen to focus on travel articles in three of the more commonly mentioned magazines – Explore(Grater, 1988) , Backpacker (Harlin, 1999)and Up Here (Vlessides, 1997), the brochures of the two private tour operators running hiking trips in Pangnirtung – Northwinds Arctic Adventures based in Iqaluit and Blackfeather based in Ottawa -- and finally government brochures and guidebooks (Nunavut Tourism 1999a, 1999b) and the Parks Canada Internet sites.

A summary of some of this material has been carried out by Milne, Grekin and Woodley (1998) who undertook at content analysis of the brochures of 13 tour operators working in the North and of government publications. This survey found that private tour operators gave a very idealized and romantic picture of the North. Physical landscape was the dominant image used (e.g. mountains, glaciers, tundra), followed by wildlife as a distant second and Inuit and their culture third. Adventure operators hardly mentioned

Inuit culture, while those operators who focused on Inuit culture stressed art, followed by outside influences on the culture and sometimes the Inuit ways of life. Education material was limited in these brochures, often consisting only of a reading list. None of the tour operators mentioned Nunavut (note: this was done prior 1998) and only one mentioned Inuit and hunting. In contrast, they found that government brochures were much more pro-active in educating tourists with greater emphasis on communities, community visits and the Inuit's interaction with the land. They reviewed the Baffin Handbook (predecessor to the Nunavut Handbook which I will review)and found it to give a realistic appraisal of the tourism experience and even offered behavioural guidelines for tourists. However, they noted that some idealized stereotypes – such as the last frontier, isolation, and timelessness – were still used.

I am in substantial agreement with the picture presented by Milne et. al. (1998) and much of what follows will confirm this overview. However, missing from their account is a look at magazines and travel articles which also play a significant role in creating and marketing the image of the North. In addition, in what follows I would like to look more closely at the logic behind the images used in order to try to answer how the trends noted above are used to create an orientation towards the destination. In doing so, it is important to keep in mind the context set out at the start of chapter one and try to keep a critical eye on what is being portrayed. Citing the work of Stuart Hall, Burgess (1991) has argued that the mass media:

> have progressively 'colonized' the social and cultural sphere through their performance of four cultural functions. These are the selective provision of social knowledge about lives, landscapes and cultures of other groups; the classification of plurality and difference in

the 'world-as-a-whole'; the production of consensus about the natural order of events and actions through the continual redefinitions of reality; and the continuing struggle for legitimacy between dominant and subordinate groups through ideological means (Burgess, 1991 p.143)

These four roles for mass media provide a useful framework around which to analyse the meanings encoded in tourist promotional literature. In addition, one could also extend this analysis by interrogating the claims that the tourist brochure makes at the level of the internal world of desire and the social world of expectation (Cloke and Perkins, 1998). I will argue that the material reviewed in this chapter shows two trends which Pratt (1992) has identified in travel literature more broadly and which I will extend to tourism literature. The first is towards the creation of innocence by erasing the context and history through which the writer (or tourist) has arrived in the place. The second is towards what Pratt calls "transculturation", or the ability of marginal groups to appropriate the dominant modes of representation and create an "auto-ethnography" which seeks to challenge these dominant ideas. What Hall (cited in Burgess, 1991) calls the "continuing struggle for legitimacy between dominant and subordinate groups" must be carried out within the confines of the conventions of tourism literature.

In order to give coherence to many different sources, my analysis attempts to answer these questions by focusing on three common threads which run through the tourism literature, but which are not apparent in all publications. First, the attempt to create an imaginary Nunavut which the tourist can comprehend and feel part of even while they are travelling in one restricted part of the territory. Second, the individualization of the tourist experience so that the tourist can imagine him/herself

actually in the place and, more importantly, to create the illusion of a unique experience. Finally, I will show how the dominant modes of representation discussed in the first two themes are challenged. In particular, Nunavut Tourism publications try to militate against any negative interpretation of Nunavut both by preparing people for what they will actually see and by giving them constructs through which to interpret it.

The Purpose of Brevity: Getting caught up in the sweep of space and time.

In this first section I aim to illustrate the importance of brevity in touristic accounts. This analysis can not be applied to the entire 400 page Nunavut Handbook (Nunavut Tourism 1999a) which I review below, but does apply to some of the individual articles and tourism brochures and Internet sites. As mentioned in chapter one, commodification necessarily includes some form of simplification of reality. Place is marketed using certain key visual signifiers and historical highlights. The purpose for this is clear enough – to convince the potential tourist that this is a place worth visiting in as little space as possible. The effect of this compression of space and time is to create a place that can be comprehended as a whole and which seems dynamic. The risk of such an account is to erase parts of history or different accounts of the history and the land.

First, one can look at the images used. On the one hand are the panoramic images which give a sweeping view of the land. However, these images may not be recognized as unique to the North, and images of Inuit, Inuit art, Inuit artefacts (e.g. the dogseld, the igloo) or arctic wildlife are also included as part of a collage of images. Government brochures foreground such images and use a dogteam, or a smiling Inuk in a fur parka, on the covers of their publications. However, the brochures from private tour operators

show only images of Inuit art, or art-making, if they include images of the Inuit at all. Missing in all brochures are any detailed images of contemporary communities in the North, which are often considered drab by the southern tourist (Reimer and Dialla, 1992; my interviews) . Pictures of communities are taken from a distance, giving them an idyllic coastal village look, which is not often how the tourist experiences these places . In addition, things that are common to both North and South, such as cars, computers and banks (with a few notable exceptions in the Nunavut Handbook, see below) and Non-Inuit northerners are not shown. Pictures of contemporary Inuit life are included when they portray something of what is unique about the North – e.g. a woman with a baby in the hood of her jacket, a man with a carving or a huge fish. A quick perusal of any brochure, then, is meant to give you an idea of what is unique to gaze upon should you go visit. The panoramic backdrops are highlighted by unique (for southerners) images which help in developing a mental short-hand of what to see and look for (Fig. 3.1 Appendix 3 p.184).

This visual representation is reinforced in the text which accompanies them. These texts are by necessity brief, and only touch on what are thought to be some central key images and ideas. For instance, the following is the information given on the Internet by Northwinds Arctic Adventures under the link to information on the Arctic Regions. Note especially how the text renders the North unique while restricting itself to highlights. The text reads almost as a list:

BAFFIN ISLAND
Baffin Island is like no other place on Earth. Crossed by the Arctic Circle, Baffin Island is a world suspended in time by the forces of wind, ice, snow and sun. It is a land of

majestic glaciers spawning awesome icebergs, the land of the midnight sun where wildflowers carpet the tundra. This is home for caribou, narwhal, and polar bears. And this land is home to the Inuit people.

THE PEOPLE AND THEIR CULTURE
The Inuit, once called Eskimo, are a remarkable people who have survived in the Arctic for thousands of years. Fifty years ago the Inuit were self-reliant, their existence depended upon their knowledge of and relationship with the land and sea. Today they live in small communities with modern conveniences, yet they maintain strong cultural ties with their past.
(Northwinds Arctic Adventures, 1999)

The information embedded in this romantic prose and superlatives can be summarized as: "a beautiful land, home to the Inuit who maintain strong ties to their past". The extreme brevity of this account indicates that history is not really the focus of the tour operator, and presumably, the tourist the operator is hoping to attract[13]. Blackfeather provides no such information. However, even some of the more detailed factual accounts in the Arctic Traveller, Nunavut Handbook or Parks Canada Internet site (Nunavut Tourism 1999a,b; Parks Canada 1999) still must restrict themselves to key facts[14]. There are two

---

[13]Northwinds does supply a reading list for those who want more information.

[14]The Parks Canada web site resists description in this fashion because it supplies links to other sites. Therefore, while the "History" section deals briefly with historical facts, focussing mostly on life before contact with Europeans, it also mentions that the park had to be negotiated through the Nunavut Land Claim process. If one then looks under the heading "Nunavut-Places of Interest" one finds a link to the full text of the Nunavut Land Claim (see Parks Canada, 1999). Therefore, while the Parks Canada site does follow the model of brevity, and does tend to focus almost exclusively on the Park, avoiding much talk of contemporary Pangnirtung, it does have links that lead away from this site and into much more detail. This makes the Internet a particularly hard source to analyse in the way I am doing here. The Internet highlights how tourists' use of resources (how much do they read, with what detail?) and combination of resources (did they link to another site?) is an important yet undetermined quantity. I return to this point at the end of the chapter.

common history storylines. The first recounts the voyages of European explorers. The second is that the Inuit moved from traditional pursuits on the land through to a period of transition -- which is sometimes portrayed as a difficult time – to the contemporary situation. Some go on to stress that they emerged with a strong culture that is both keeping in touch with the past and looking to the future. The dominant historical account is illustrated with some key events which often took place at sites which tourists can now go visit. For example:

The best way to know and appreciate this land better is with an Inuit guide. Learn the story of the whale fishery from Inuit guides whose grandfathers risked their lives in small wooden boats, hunting the whale in the ice-choked waters of Cumberland sound. Explore places like Belanger Rapids or Wilberforce Falls, and learn more about the hardships of the Franklin Expedition of 1819-1823. Reflect on what it was really like to walk across this land in winter, feeling the hardness of the stones through your thin mocassins. (Nunavut Tourism, 1999b, p. 5).

In most brochures and Internet sites one is presented with a chronology of events which by necessity erases or minimizes the controversial aspects of history. However, as will be discussed below, in some brochures there are hints of something more, but this surplus is only directly engaged with in articles in the Nunavut Handbook.

Natural history is often portrayed in a similar way. Passages in brochures, like the description above of Baffin Island, are often dense with descriptive adjectives and give the impression of flying over the landscape taking in the notable features and events. Even in Nunavut Tourism publications the land is described as the last "pristine arctic" and the "last great untouched wilderness area of the Earth"(Nunavut Tourism 1999b). The Nunavut Handbook and Parks Canada Internet site (Parks Canada 1999) provide more conservative and factual accounts, but by necessity they remain quite brief and are

no less encompassing. It is a true overview, both in an intellectual and, perhaps more importantly, in an imaginary dimension. There are no accounts of how the Inuit view the land and its wildlife.

On a smaller scale, travel articles recounting trips in Auyuittuq also help create a world composed of sites by recounting one person or group's journey through the park highlighting what is worth seeing or noting – e.g. Mount Thor and Mount Asgard, Swartzenchach Falls which is called Qulittassanivvik in Inuktitut, the place to get caribou skins, the fact that the powerful landscape reflects the Inuit belief that time is infinite (?), and the bursts of wildflowers on the Tundra (Grater, 1988; Harlin, 1999; Vlessides, 1997). Again one sees an important nod of acknowledgment to the Inuit presence and use of the land, but this is largely historical and the overall emphasis is on a landscape defined in terms of challenge, spirituality and natural beauty.

The effect of these passages is to create a world that can be comprehended by the tourist. By compressing space and time, the brochures create a very dynamic landscape which seems to be forming as one reads. Therefore, one can imagine walking in a land where things seem to have just happened and, therefore, by extension, in which new things are presently happening before your very eyes (even if the processes talked about so movingly take eons, e.g. glaciation). Pratt (1992) calls this process impregnating the landscape with a "density of meaning" which allows the reader to make an event out of what might otherwise be a non-event. It is no longer just a beautiful flowers, but the quintessential tundra vegetation growing in this harsh climate, it is no longer just a waterfall, but a site of human suffering with which one can empathize. A landscape that

might otherwise appear mundane, hostile or beyond the viewer's experience is given meaning. In seeing these sites the tourist is reassured he or she has seen what they were suppose to have seen (see chapter four for a look at this process in hiking in Auyuittuq as well).

The panoramic images and text also serve the purpose of reinforcing the idea that the arctic is "exotic yet accessible" (Nunavut Tourism, 1999b). By making the arctic accessible, the brochures are reinforcing the idea that the arctic is different, but not alien. Goss (1998) argues that the counterposing of exoticism with accessibility betrays a fear of the Other. It is one of the roles of the tourism advertisement to allay this fear. So, although the North has a very different history and culture "you'll find everyone willing to share their stories with you" (Nunavut Tourism, 1999b, p.5). Similarly, while the Arctic environment is harsh and challenging it can be welcoming to "Two wanna-be adventurers" (Vlessides, 1997 p.30)) and Auyuittuq is "perhaps North America's most accessible Arctic preserve" (Harlin, 1999 p.61) so long as your gear "is of highest expedition quality" (Grater, 1988 p.30).

The imaginary Nunavut created in these brief accounts is not imaginary in the sense that the facts given are incorrect, but in the way the facts are brought together and presented as something that can be understood and manipulated by the tourists imagination and thereby fit into their own desires and goals. The tourist will probably only see a fraction of the landscape and histories described. However, with the imaginary Nunavut as a backdrop, the tourist can situate himself or herself as part of something bigger and meaningful. In doing so the brochures call on conceptions of the North as a

pristine wilderness discussed in chapter one. However, they also make mention of the North as home to the Inuit, and government brochures make clear that Nunavut is Canada's newest territory. Therefore, even at this scale one can see how the brochure inserts messages that challenge the dominant representations of the North discussed above. However, the risk in such a brief presentation is that one might erase parts of history or different understandings of the land and history. As a result, the tourist will inevitably be struck with images and experiences that he or she was not prepared for in this imaginary account. Below, I will discuss how the literature seeks to counter this tendency. However, before doing so I will look at how this tendency is reinforced by attempts to individualize the tourism experience.

Your personal adventure

The panoramic overview of Nunavut discussed above is meant to give a list of activities a tourist can choose from and, once a particular activity is chosen, a context in which it will take place. In this section I wish to look at how the tourist is prompted to see themselves within this landscape by looking primarily at literature that focuses on tourists interested in hiking (as were the tourists I interviewed). The focus here, then, is on what specifically is expected to interest the tourist and, therefore, where his or her gaze will be most intently focused. It is here that one sees most clearly an attempt to erase, or at least downplay, the contemporary arctic. The focus is on adventure and enjoying the land.

Adventure is a key component of the hiker's anticipated experience. A tour operator in Pangnirtung told me frankly that he sells adventure. "Don't dream."

admonishes Blackfeather's web site "Do it now...Making your own adventure" (Blackfeather, 1999a). The desire for adventure is also revealed in the headings in the Arctic Traveller (Nunavut Tourism, 1999b), such as "snow season adventures" or "water adventures". This desire for adventure has clear connections to images of the wilderness as a challenging and sometimes hostile environment discussed in chapter one. The titles of travel articles -- e.g. "In the Shadow of Thor" (Vlessides, 1997) and "Landscape of the Soul" (Harlin, 1999) -- reinforce the idea of travel to an exotic, and hence adventurous, place. However, the three articles I looked at show two very different orientations towards adventure. "Landscape of the Soul" focuses very much on the author, his past experience in the North and his goal to climb Mount Asgard. While he passes other hikers, they are simply sticking to the trail and not seeking the challenge he has set for himself. In "In the Shadow of Thor", a more self-effacing approach is taken where the author starts by writing "I'll come clean. I'm no polar adventurer". The humourous tone taken throughout the article stresses that a personal adventure need not in any way be judged against the history of polar exploration. The Explore article (Grater, 1988) reinforces this message by highlighting the range of activities that can be done in the park -- an adventure for all skill levels -- and advises the tourist to come prepared for the challenges they will face.

The focus, then, is very much on the personal adventure. Goss (1993) in his analysis of Hawaii tourism advertisements points to two ways in which the tourism advertisements achieve a sense of the unique. First, the images used often include a tourist in the landscape, thus while the image is meant to show an ideal landscape it also

shows "the targeted reader's ego-ideals engaged in tourist activities" (p.673). Thus, in the brochures looked at here, a panoramic landscape will have a tent in the frame, or tour operators might show a group of hikers posing at the Arctic Circle (Fig. 3.2 Appendix 3). The landscape is empty in these images, apart from tourists thus reinforcing the notions of an empty wilderness. Some of the text also reinforces this image by talking about going where there "are no trails" and where "'trails' are often only routes marked on the map" (Northwinds Arctic Adventures, 1999).

Goss also notes that the promise of a unique experience is also reinforced by the use of the second person in some of the text. "You may round a bend to encounter a herd of caribou stretching from bank to bank..." says the Arctic Traveller "or you may come upon a wolf family..." (Nunavut Tourism, 1999b, p.16). Blackfeather's web page proclaims "Come with Blackfeather this year...before the wild is gone from the wilderness and you!" (Blackfeather 1999a.). This last quote is explicit in the association between the tourist experience and the tourist's "wild" inner ideal self. The use of the third person also has the effect of focusing on the tourist's agency or efforts in reaching the arctic and minimizing the role of the infrastructure -- planes, guides, trails, guidebooks -- which made it possible[15].

The focus of the brochures from the tour operators offering trips to Auyuittuq and the articles in Explore, Backpacker and Up Here, further focus the attention on the tourist's adventure by giving little or no attention to Pangnirtung, or the world beyond the

---

[15]If the brochure is offering a guided tour "you" is replaced with "we" which still has a similar effect in focussing on the tourists' adventures and achievements.

park. Thus, in all the travel articles, the narrative starts when the outfitter drops the hikers off at the head of the trail, and the outfitter receding in the distance represents the world left behind. The focus then turns to the hiker's experience and point of view. There is a narrative thread concerning the skills necessary for the journey and the sites to see. The techniques for fording rivers, traversing glaciers or the condition of the trail are discussed. The amount and quality of gear necessary for the trip is mentioned in all three articles. As mentioned above, the sites to be seen along the way are important -- especially the natural features and natural history. Discussion of Northerner's use of the land is limited. For example, in the Explore article Inuit names for various features are given and there is mention of activities to do after the hike in Pangnirtung. The article also takes care to call Inuit guides by their name instead of as simply "the Inuit guide" and "the Inuit wardens" as is the case with Backpacker article. This distinction is important in marking a degree of involvement with, and awareness of, local people. The Backpacker article refers to Inuit wardens and guides met along the way only in a detached fashion. The Up Here article mentions only that the Inuit use the Pangnirtung Pass to travel between Qikitarjuaq and Pangnirtung. The independent tour operator brochures give similar brief attention to Pangnirtung by simply mentioning that it will be the start or end point of the adventure. Therefore, the focus is once again very much on the tourist's personal challenge and not the region in which he or she has chosen to undertake this journey.

This discussion of travel articles needs also to be understood in the context in which these articles are found. Both Explore and Backpacker magazines focus on the

outdoor recreation industry. As such, one of their main features is to provide articles on travel destinations for outdoor recreationists and hence to put places on a "map" of adventure destinations around the world. Therefore, they are focusing on what makes this destination comparable to, and unique from, other destinations in terms of the challenges and experiences sought by hikers. These magazines also focus heavily on camping gear -- this especially true for Backpacker which devotes one issue a year to its "gear guide". What's more, both articles are found in magazines that are literally saturated with gear advertisements which use the mythology and symbolism of adventure to sell their products. These advertisements are instructive, even though they are not geared towards Northern tourism, because they shed light on common concerns and attitudes for outdoor recreationists. As mentioned in chapter one, the advertisements draw on already existing myths and images and, therefore, are a reflection (often idealized) of the orientation that outdoor enthusiasts have, or are expected to have, towards their hobby (Goss, 1993; Higgins, 1983). In a review of the advertisements in 1999 issues of Backpacker and Explore, the product is promoted as necessary for one or more of the following desires: the desire to either escape from the mundane, push oneself to the limits of physical endurance or to stay comfortable while in the most rugged of terrains. Perhaps the most revealing feature of the ads are the captions which are meant to draw in the readers attention. Goss (1993) notes that these texts are often riddles, or conundrums that play between the visual and the text. The ability to make the correct association between text and image marks the reader as interested in the product for sale and, therefore, these texts also reveal orientations towards outdoor recreation. For example the following are from

Explore magazine:

An advertisement for Merrell (TM) hiking boots shows a tattered picture of a grizzled man in what appears to be a polar landscape. The caption reads: "At this point you should be contemplating the meaning of life, not how to take off your toe with an ice axe". This ad plays on two themes that are important for outdoor recreation: 1) the instructive character of the wilderness/ability to find one's "real" self; and 2) the need to have the skill, and the right equipment, to achieve the first goal in what is often portrayed as a hostile or challenging environment (Explore, Nov./Dec. 1999).

An advertisement for a North Face (TM)tent shows a picture taken from the inside of a tent. The tent is a jumble of gear and the flaps of the tent are open to reveal a stunning landscape. A man sits in the opening admiring the scene. The caption reads: "One Bedroom. Incredible views, unbelievably spacious yard". The hook in this case is a juxtaposition of a text that is usually associated with the purchase of a suburban home with the image of wilderness. On the one hand the text is highlighting how different the "wilderness experience" is from the mundane life in the city or the suburbs. On the other hand it appeals to a suburban clientele and insinuates that the comforts of the suburban home can be yours even while in the wilds.
(Explore, March/April, 1999).

The intense focus on destinations and gear limits the emphasis that these magazines place on issues that are not of direct concern to the hiker. They are technical magazines which cater to the growing outdoor recreation market (Higgins, 1983)[4]. Higgins (1983) has documented the growth of this market since the early 1970s and since his survey in 1983 the growth has continued (Greenfeld, 1999; Explore 1999). In light of the growth of this market, it seems fair to interpret tour operators in Nunavut as trying to appeal to this

---

[4]Admittedly there are differences in emphasis between the two magazines. While Backpacker features more challenging destinations, Explore covers more accessible destinations. Explore is also a Canadian publication and, thus, focuses more on Canadian issues. Explore also appears from this limited survey to have a stronger emphasis on conservation issues. None of this, however, detracts from the point that these are technical magazines focussing on gear, destinations and issues of relevance to hikers.

same market segment. This accounts for the focus on adventure and scenery in these brochures.

This intense focus on adventure and wilderness in these advertisements and articles appears to be a good example of what Pratt (1992) calls the creation of innocence in travel writing. Looking at colonial and contemporary travel writing, Pratt argues that travel writers (and here I extend the analysis to brochures and tourists) secure their innocence by erasing the historical context and social inequalities which have given them the privilege of acting as interpreter of the landscape they write about. From this vantage point travel writers simply describe what they see, with either praise or scorn, without contextualizing what they see or admitting their ignorance in face of what they witness. However, although it seems clear that some of the tourism literature does speak "innocently", one must realize that these are just one source that a hiker/tourist may use in preparing for a trip.

In contrast to Explore and Backpacker, Up Here magazine is not focused exclusively on adventure travel. I have categorized this magazine as a "documentary magazine" along with such publications as Canadian Geographic which offer the reader a more nuanced view of the region with articles on different aspects of life in the North (e.g. Canadian Geographic 1999). While Up Here does focus on Northern tourism to a large extent, it is a magazine that is also aimed at a Northern readership. As such, it has biographical articles on Northerners from all walks of life, on issues which range from conservation to the Internet in the North and it has a section devoted to mining. Advertisements are equally diverse with tourism advertisements followed by

advertisements for heavy equipment rental and shipping. The portrayal of the North, then, is much more balanced. The article discussed above, then, written by someone who had been living in the Baffin region and, at least in part, aimed at other Northerners is likely read by people who are aware of different Northern realities.

The focus on adventure and wilderness appears at first to be a simple recreation of the images of empty pristine wilderness and an erasure of Inuit culture through the practice of tourism writing and the tourism experience. However, the context in which these articles are published, or the context in which they are used with different publications, leads to space for tourist to become more aware of the context in which they are travelling. This, of course, assumes that some hikers read beyond more limiting sources. Yet even if they only move from magazines and private tour operator brochures to the government brochures they will find a considerable challenge to the myths of adventure in an empty land.

Government Brochures: transculturation

The panoramic view of a landscape defined by its superlatives and the brevity of the historical accounts, the brochure that sells adventure and the travel article focused on the individual experience are all dimensions of the tourism marketing of Nunavut, and would seem to leave little room for Northerners to express alternative visions. However, there is one final thread, which has been alluded to throughout this analysis, which resists these dominant representations. Especially in government brochures, it is clear that the Northerners have made tourism a venue for challenging (mis)representations of Inuit culture and inscribing Nunavut into the Canadian identity. This is particularly important,

because many participants mentioned using brochures about the North. When tourists call Nunavut Tourism it is the Arctic Traveller which is sent out and is widely circulated amongst tourists. The Nunavut Handbook was also quite popular.

As discussed above, both the Nunavut Handbook and the Arctic Traveller (Nunavut Tourism, 1999a and 1999b) use many of the common superlatives and stereotypical images to attract people to the North. However, even within the limited framework of the tourist brochure and the guide-book, both publications find a lot of space for alternative messages. The Arctic Traveller plays on the Inuktitut meaning of Nunavut -- our land -- to remind readers throughout the publications that they are entering a lived landscape. Thus the heading "our land" is used on the section describing the geography of Nunavut and "our wildlife" for the section on wildlife and, similarly "our parks" and "our communities". The possessive pronoun is a statement of ownership, presence and control. The text also subtly informs the reader of the Inuit culture. The section titled "The people of Nunavut" promises "you'll go home knowing more about us than that we used to live in igloos!" (Nunavut Tourism 1999b p.4). The text reminds readers that the Inuit are a modern people who have not forgotten their traditional ways. It goes on to say that "Inuit have historically helped visitors. From the early explorers to the present we have worked alongside the *qablunaaq* (our word for those who are of European origin)" (Nunavut Tourism 1999b p.4). This statement serves two purposes. While welcoming present day tourists/visitors it also clearly states that the Inuit have not been aggressors in the history of the North (and the reader might ask: who has been?). This statement also diffuses any concerns that southerners may have about large

indigenous land claims and makes the North "fully part of the Canadian Family" (Nunavut Tourism 1999b p.4). This technique cuts a fine line between burying past grievances and making them known in the context of moving forward. This strategy is also used in the section titled "A shared history". While the brevity of the account leaves little room for deviating from the norms of brevity and the standard historical account set out above, this section stresses that the Inuit have a history that goes beyond the arrival of European explorers, missionaries, and bureaucrats. And while evoking more common historical markers, such as the lost Franklin expedition, the brochure also entices the tourist to look up less well known stories such as "the relocation of people from Arctic Quebec and Pond Inlet into the High Arctic" (Nunavut Tourism 1999b p.5). This choice of this "less well known story" is hardly accidental -- the relocation of Inuit from Hudson Bay to Grise Fiord is probably one of the grossest examples of misguided and racist policy aimed at First Nations in Canada. In exploring this story the tourist will develop a better understanding of the Inuit experience with southern bureaucracies/colonialism.

The Arctic Traveller appropriates the dominant mode of representation in brochures to insert alternative messages. The risk in such an approach lies in its subtlety because the tourist may not be aware of the historical context to which the text is referring. In contrast, the Nunavut Handbook (Nunavut Tourism 1999a) does not leave this to chance, but instead challenges misrepresentations openly, candidly and even confrontationally. This is most apparent in the section title "The People" in which a series of essays by Inuit writers openly challenge ideas of the North and clearly lay some of the blame at the feet of a bureaucratic colonial approach to the North. A couple of

quotes help set the tone:

It has been our experience that some visitors expect us to be historic pieces. They expect us to always be smiling. Their romantic notion is that we still live in snowhouses and have been frozen in time. Some people have been disappointed to see the modern side of our life. But we are still Inuit -- in our hearts, minds, body and soul. (Meekitjuk Hanson, 1999a p.75)

For beginners, let's get one thing clear! Although myth has it that there are 100 ways of saying the word snow in Inuktitut, there is in fact only one word for it: *aput*. But just as the English language has different terms for different conditions of snow...Inuktitut has different terms for different conditions of snow, too. (Ernerk, 1999a p.75).

These are followed by more hard hitting statements such as:

The Roman Catholic and Anglican churches would make every effort to destroy what we believed in. And they did! (Ernerk, 1999b p.80)

This essay on Inuit Spirituality goes on to tell of how missionaries suppressed shamanism in Inuit communities and tells of its resurgence amongst some Inuit. The tone is frank and unapologetic as it describes how shamanism works and places it on par with any other spiritual systems. The essay argues that it is an important dimension to the "healing" of Inuit society.

In a similar vein, an essay on "Life in Nunavut Today" documents the changes that have happened in the North in the last fifty years and their repercussions. The hardships of boarding schools are discussed along with the resulting social turmoil, alcohol and drug abuse. This is counterposed with examples of how the Inuit have constructively adapted to these changes. The essay continually shifts between old and new ways. But it finishes with a clear message:

From snowhouses to modern housing -- people from the South are often amazed how we have coped with the changes. It is not so hard really. I have some friends in Perth, Ontario, who went to a little red schoolhouse, rode in horse and buggy, fetched water

> from the river, and churned butter. No one has a monopoly on material items that make us more comfortable or make living easier. No one has a monopoly on wanting to be more educated or using science to our advantage....We are still nomads, chasing opportunity by negotiating our way with words. We cope with changes by taking full advantage of our situation, by being completely involved in decision making. We are no longer the subjects only, but contribute to making life in the North a living memory, mingling traditions with high technology.(Meekitjuk Hanson, 1999b p.75)

These examples give an indication of the positive rhetoric that is being used to combat some of the misrepresentations of Inuit culture and contemporary Inuit. The tone is forceful and many of the essays in this section give behavioural guidelines for tourists. This is not to say that it is accusatory -- this is a guide book after all and the essays are written in a way to welcome the tourist. What these essays ask of the tourist is for them not to judge what they do not understand.

The Nunavut Handbook is a good source of information for the tourist on many aspects of contemporary Nunavut. There are sections on topics as varied as the economy (which discuss the role of government), the Nunavut land claim, the new territory and the events which led up to it, arts and crafts and detailed chapters on natural history. Of particular relevance to this project are the chapters on the communities. The history of Pangnirtung is given with some key events in its formation. This history is careful to mention the role that the Inuit played in successful whaling enterprises and the establishment of Pangnirtung itself which is often told from the vantage point of the RCMP, the Hudson Bay company or Missionaries. Hardships faced by the community, such as the crash of the seal fur industry, are noted.

Missing from the Nunavut Handbook is any discussion of Inuit views on hunting, treatment of wildlife and conservation, other than to say that the Inuit are close to the land

and respect it. This omission is perhaps reflective of the caution with which the Inuit approach such issues in light of the seal controversy in the 1980s. However, it is a striking omission in that ecotourists are seen as being supporters of conservation groups which may have different views from the Inuit as to how to protect the land. In addition, while the Nunavut Handbook is very pro-active in some chapters it is uneven in the treatment of issues. Therefore, there are entire sections which do not engage with misrepresentations or political issues, but are attempts to give "neutral" accounts. The chapter on "History" is a good example of this (Harper, 1999). These chapters are written by non-Inuit Northerners and southerners and they may reflect an attempt to not "speak for" the Inuit in the politically charged venue of cultural representation. Nevertheless, this means that the effectiveness of the handbook depends very much on which sections are used. More broadly, however, it is difficult not to praise the Nunavut Handbook as an excellent example of how marginal groups can challenge dominant representations through "auto-ethnography"(Pratt, 1992). The Nunavut Handbook , and the Arctic Traveller have intelligently appropriated the tourism brochure and guide-book genre to meet the ends of Northerners. The guidebook generally speaks with an authority of the expert and expects the reader to accept his or her version. This has led in some travel writing to erasing historical context and to a kind of detached innocence for the reader and author (Pratt, 1992). However, the writers in Nunavut Handbook have successfully appropriated this genre to reassert the Inuit presence. However, in doing this they have also used some of the dominant representations -- e.g. pristine wilderness, last wilderness, age-old culture -- to attract the tourist. The Arctic Traveller is also limited by the form of

the brochure which demands brevity and gives no place to explain controversial ideas. These are therefore alluded to, but not engaged with. There is space to tackle such issues in the Nunavut Handbook, the crucial question is to what extent these are engaged with by the tourist. This is difficult to judge, and in the chapters which follow I will try to show how the tourists' motivations, perceptions and practice shed light on this question.

CONCLUSION

This chapter has set out to analyze a selection of tourism literature -- brochures, Internet sites, guidebooks and travel articles -- which was representative of the material which respondents to this survey had used. I argued that the brevity of tourism literature has the effect of giving the impression of being able to understand the destination being visited. It gives the tourist a series of meaningful events and sites through which he or she could piece together an imaginary Nunavut which serves to bring to life the tourism experience. However, the risk of such simplifications is that they may omit controversial or novel ideas in their attempt to create a place that is attractive to the tourist. The focus on how the tourist sees Nunavut in a very restricted way was furthered analysed by looking at tourism literature aimed at the hiker. It was argued that a desire for adventure and a focus on the tourist's personal challenges leads to an intense focus on wilderness which downplays the presence of Northerners, thus potentially recreating the idea of an empty wilderness. However, it is argued that context matters very much in how these brochures and articles are read. In addition, it is probable that the material is read in combination with the brochures and the guidebook put out by Nunavut Tourism. The analyses of the Arctic Traveller and Nunavut Handbook show how these publications, at

times subtly and at others more forcefully, challenge the dominant modes of representation discussed above (i.e. brevity and focus on adventure and the tourist's personal experience). However, even in the 400-page Nunavut Handbook, this effort is uneven and so the effectiveness of the alternative representations depends very much on how the tourism literature is used and combined with other materials.

The data collected in this study indicates that we can assume no uniformity in how people read and use the tourism literature. This has already been alluded to when I noted the variety of sources which participants cited. One woman indicated that she only used the Nunavut Handbook to look up outfitters, yet she had travelled throughout, and read about, the North for years. Another, looked only for logistical information on the Parks Canada web-site and preferred to learn from the people she met in her journeys rather than from a book. Others indicated that they planned to purchase the handbook and read it upon their return home. This diversity is perhaps best summed by one respondent who said:

I'm not a big reader in the first place, besides my profession which takes all my reading time. Besides that the last thing I want to do is read....so it is very gut. I'll have to admit to that..it's a gut attraction. Of course if I see something...a documentary about the North....I won't change the channel, I'll stick to it. For sure, the interest is there. Read a bit, for sure, as time goes by.

This fact is important for the interpretation above and in the following chapters. First, it indicates that tourists may give different meanings to the images and texts than the ones which I interpreted. Second, these ideas of North are not necessarily consciously worked out in the mind of the tourist. Therefore, on the one hand this may mean that the tourist is unaware of the assumptions they carry with them. However, it may also mean that these

assumptions are not deeply held rigorous constructs and so they may be more easily displaced or challenged by clashing images. It may also make people hesitant and reflexive about passing judgement on what they see. Third, it begs the question of whether the written text or the lived experience has more influence on tourists' perceptions. Or more accurately, how the lived experience interacts with the written word. I will look at these issues in more detail in the following chapters where I consider how tourism practices recreate or challenge dominant representations.

The review of the tourism literature in this chapter would lead one to expect that people coming to Pangnirtung to hike would be primarily, if not exclusively, interested in adventure, scenic landscapes and perhaps some natural history and Inuit culture, or Northern culture more broadly. At the same time, trends in Canadian culture towards greater awareness of the North (e.g. with the creation of Nunavut) and aboriginal cultures (e.g. with more aboriginal writers, singers, politicians. See chapter one), along with a strong Inuit voice in the Nunavut Tourism publications, would lead one to hope that tourists would, at least, be reflexive enough not to prejudge what they see. To a large degree the data collected supports this typology, but there are significant caveats which will become clear in the course of the following two chapters. Moving from the tourism literature I wish now to look at how these ideas are manifest in the layout of Pangnirtung, Auyuittuq Naitional Park and the practices of tourists. Chapter four looks at the tourist experience in Auyuittuq and chapter five looks at time spent in Pangnirtung.

CHAPTER 4: GOING HIKING

Geography: The imposition of knowledge on experience in a specific landscape...The mind opens like an eye, and defines what it sees in terms of itself.

John Moss, Enduring Dreams (1994) p.1

"[The Parks Canada Web site] had a picture gallery of Auyuittuq National Park and that's actually exactly what it looked like too."

Tourist, Pangnirtung, summer 1999

INTRODUCTION

Hiking in Auyuittuq National Park was the main attraction drawing participants to Pangnirtung and this chapter reviews their perceptions of the park and their motivations for going. In doing so I try to address how these perceptions were reinforced/created through hikers' experiences in the park. When asked why they travelled to Auyuittuq, participants would mention factors such as beautiful scenery or challenge in a way that also implied that this is how they viewed the hike in the park and, therefore, it is difficult to separate motivations and perceptions. As will be discussed below, people's preconceptions were only shaken when the challenge, or the perceived beauty, was greater than expected, yet even then the categories used to describe the park remained unchallenged. On one level this is not too surprising; people came for a certain experience and were satisfied when they achieved it. The park does offer a challenging hike and many would agree the scenery is stunning. However, at another level one must ask how perceptions are maintained, because there is nothing inherent about them. In chapter one I discussed the controversy which might arise between Inuit's and tourists' understandings of the land if tourists perceive that land as empty. The possibility that this

controversy might arise indicates that there is very little that is given, or inherent, in the perception of Auyuittuq National Park, a point that will be considered in more detail below. Therefore, one must ask how tourists' perceptions might be created and how they might be challenged. Hikers must make their perception of the arctic wilderness "real" – i.e. an embodied lived experience – through the way that they use the park[17]. It is not just by a force of will that hikers come to perceive the environment in a certain way, that is, they do not simply *believe* that it exists as an wilderness escape. Instead, their experiences – or what deCerteau (1985) calls practices of space – reinforce these perceptions such that the idea of the arctic wilderness both motivates these practices and is in turn (re)created by them. It is by using a space in a certain way that it comes to be seen, and experienced, as "really" that way. People's motivations/perceptions of the park, then, are a good example of how social spatialisation (see chapter one) works both at the level of the imaginary and the material in shaping perceptions of space.

In what follows, I begin by giving a brief overview of the respondents' characteristics, which will help readers critically engage with the interpretations which follow in this chapter and the next, and which relate my analysis to previous tourism surveys. I will then revisit and expand on concerns about an "empty wilderness"raised in chapter one and introduce the ideas of Michel deCerteau (1985) in order to explain how an analysis of spatial practices can reveal how hiking might recreate the idea of an empty

---

[17]This would hold true for the Inuit as well, but presumably different practices would yield different perceptions of place. It is also worth noting that people may hold different perceptions which are expressed with different practices in different times and spaces. I will return to this point below when I consider how ecotourism translates into environmental commitments.

wilderness, and where opportunities for critical intervention might exist. I then apply these ideas in the rest of the chapter, beginning with an overview of the reasons people gave for being attracted to the park – scenery, interest in flora and fauna, isolation and challenge -- and the practices they used to achieve these goals. I will use the concerns people had about being unprepared for the challenges faced during the hike in order to draw out the practices that may allow people to develop/reinforce perceptions of the park as a wilderness escape. However, the planned and calculated approach to the hike analysed in the first part is also open to being destabilized by hikers' reflexivity. Therefore, the chapter ends with a discussion pointing out the possibility for reflexivity on the part of hikers and how this might be encouraged.

Who was interviewed?

In total, 20 interviews were conducted during my time in Pangnirtung. However, the analysis in this paper focuses on the 17 interviews with tourists visiting Pangnirtung to go hiking and has omitted the cruise ship passengers and students visiting Pangnirtung because I did not have access to as many of these people nor was I able to be a participant in their experiences. The profile of the interviews conducted breaks down as follows:

1. Gender: 12 male, 9 female (some interviews were group interviews) Total 21 participants.
2. All those interviewed were professionals (Business Executives, Doctors, Nurses, Consultants, Teachers etc.).
3. Only two of the participants were visiting from elsewhere in the North (Yellowknife and Inuvik). Those who came from the south were visiting from urban centres that ranged from small towns (e.g. Quesnel B.C.) to large cities (e.g. Toronto and New York) with more from the latter centres. One participant was

from the United States, three came from Europe (Britain and the Czech Republic) and the rest were from Canada (Ontario, Nova Scotia, British Columbia and the NWT).

4. 3 people had visited Pangnirtung before and 11 people had travelled to the North (Nunavut, NWT or Yukon) before for tourism and/or business purposes. The remaining 6 people had never been North.

5. While respondents in three interviews indicated that most of their travelling was within Canada, all respondents had done trips outside of Canada. As a group participants had travelled a lot. Only four people had never done a backcountry hike before coming to Pangnirtung. The rest had all done similar type of adventure travel during past vacations. Although it is not possible to tell in all cases, 13 respondents indicated that they also engaged in other kinds of travel (e.g. to resorts, cities or southern destinations). Eight respondents also noted that their travel interests have changed with age and that an interest in outdoor adventure travel was the latest form that their travel interests have taken.

The characteristics of respondents – higher than average incomes and education, Canadian, well travelled -- fit well with statistical findings of the general characteristics of tourists visiting Nunavut found in exit surveys conducted by Marshall Macklin Monaghan in 1982 (for Pangnirtung only), the McGill tourism research group in 1992 and 1993 and Nunavut Tourism in 1996 (Milne et. al., 1995; Grekin 1994; Nunavut Tourism 1996; Marshall Macklin Monaghan, 1982). In terms of motivation, the McGill survey found that the category "environment/scenery" was chosen most often as the chief motivation for visiting, followed by "wilderness" and "Inuit people/cultural experience". The Nunavut Tourism survey found that outdoor activities, nature interpretation, culture/history and arts and crafts were the biggest draws. While the relative importance

of these categories was sorted by tourist type – i.e. tourists on packaged holidays rated Inuit culture more highly – an exit survey does not allow one to look at how an interest in nature is combined with an interest in culture for particular tourists. In addition, while the McGill survey did collect brief comments from participants regarding what they would like to have seen in terms of culture and what they thought of hunting, it was not able to discuss with people their understandings of categories such as environment vs wilderness, or culture, and see how this shaped their experience and perceptions. It is the aim of this chapter and the next to try to shed some light on these questions in the case of tourists in Pangnirtung.

DOES HIKING REINFORCE IDEAS OF AN EMPTY WILDERNESS?

In chapter one I raised concerns that tourists may learn to see the Arctic environment as empty and that such a perception could severely hamper the Inuit's ability to advance their claims on the Canadian and international political stage. In a similar vein critics of ecotourism have argued that ecotourism recreates the dominant dualism between humans and nature which allows people in industrial societies not to examine their own practices while purporting to save "nature". This argument is well summed up by Cronon (1996):

> To the extent that we celebrate wilderness as the measure with which we judge civilization, we reproduce the dualisms that set humanity and nature at opposite poles. We thereby leave ourselves little hope of discovering what an ethical, sustainable, honourable human place in nature might actually look like.
>
> Worse: to the extent that we live in an urban-industrial civilization but at the same time pretend to ourselves that our real home is in the wilderness, to just that extent we give ourselves permission to evade responsibility for the lives we actually lead...wilderness poses a serious threat to responsible environmentalism at the end of the twentieth century (Cronon, 1996 p.81).

Much of the analysis which follows indicates how a hike in Auyuittuq can play a part in

such a valorisation wilderness, for it appears that the majority of hikers were attracted by motivations which erase the society which allowed them to come North in order to create a "nature" that is an escape and challenge. Bandy (1996 p.566) has given an even more strident criticism of the effect of such an erasure:

> Ecotourism holds some promise for underdeveloped nations struggling for economic vitality, for local groups desiring independence from the North's culture and economy, for conservationists weary from attempting to maintain biodiversity in a profit-driven political field, and for tourists, seeking to find possibly the last moment of naturalism before ecological catastrophe. However, in its imbrication with deep-rooted structures of colonial violence, ecological mismanagement, circuits of late capitalism and virtual representations of nature, ecotourism has not realized these promises, and indeed reveals the ever-extending power of post-modernity [sic] into new markets and new modes of legitimation. In green tourism, the tourist adventure is far from an escape either of the destructiveness of transnational capital or Western culture, but instead contributes to its rearticulation. Yet new possibilities exist and ecotourism can provide the beginning for an extended dialogue on these opportunities.

This telescoping to the larger picture paints a bleak outlook indeed and reminds one of the arguments discussed (and challenged) in chapter one which paint tourism as ideological. Again, one could make an argument that the hikers do in fact approach nature as a commodity to be purchased and consumed (e.g. a photograph on the wall and a notch on the belt of the ecotourist). However, I am not comfortable with such telescoping and, as discussed in chapter one, the process of social spatialisation is more open and contingent than is implied in making this leap from the micro-scale to the macro-scale social analysis. One must be careful in drawing connections between people's practices and perceptions when acting as ecotourists and their environmental commitments once they have returned home. In addition, to the extent that one accepts these criticisms one should feel compelled to articulate what "new possibilities" exist. In

short, how and to what extent is a hike in Auyuittuq recreating the dominant human/nature dualism and to what extent is it offering space for alternative visions?

As tourists we tour within the structures of the society and cultures from which we come. It is to be expected then that we express some of the contradictions, failings and blind spots of these societies and cultures. It is also to be expected that as long as these dominant structures exist we will to some degree recreate them in our actions even if we oppose them -- there is no outside. Therefore, even if one has misgivings about the present human/nature relationship in industrial society it is unrealistic to expect that people can simply step out of such structures. We are discussing a vacation, after all, not a revolution. Unless one is facing a crisis situation, or a grave and dehumanizing injustice, I am partial to a more generative and organic model of change. By this I mean a recognition that change can occur over years, even generations, and hence we look to amplify contradictions and make them noticeable, but we should not necessarily expect (although we might hope) that they be acted on or changed in the short-term.

The central concern for the critics quoted above is that nature becomes seen as a *one* "thing" that is separate from the social and which needs to be protected. This erases the social relations which gave birth to this perception and which are also implicated in damaging the Arctic ecology. It also erases other social contexts and needs which may result in a different perception of the environment. Therefore, rather than criticising tourists for not perceiving the "real" arctic environment, one needs to encourage ecotourists to see their relationship to the environment as a construction of their use of the environment, and then raise awareness about the implications of such a construct,

particularly an awareness of who is excluded. Mike Crang (1994) has argued a similar point with regard to heritage tourism by pointing out that there is no "thing" called "heritage". History is a contested story which is re-told by different groups and, therefore, there can be no one final representation in a site, as a thing, as heritage buildings. For Crang this is highlighted by the fact that there are many different ways of interacting with heritage spaces and each results in different interpretations. Therefore, he argues that critics of heritage tourism who focus on implementing a "correct" view of history in heritage sites are recreating an idea of history as fixed (i.e. one story) which has been deployed in many political battles by ideologues on the Right and Left of the political spectrum. Instead, he argues that we should be more concerned about creating spaces which allow for spatial practices (ways of interacting) which encourage people to interact with displays, to bring their own experiences to interpretation and thus hopefully contest and discuss what is seen. A similar argument can be made here in that one should focus not on whether tourists have understood nature (in the singular), but whether their practices encourage them to reflect on their relationship to the environment, both in the park and when they are back home. Focussing on practices is also important in order not to reify tourism as something immutable and to keep open the possibilities for change (Edensor, 2000). An analysis of practices emphasizes the process of both recreating dominant views and challenging them, and highlights where change may occur.

SPATIAL PRACTICES

The study of practices is one that has been well developed by Michel deCerteau (1985) whose focus is on how people appropriate urban spaces in ways which transgress

the uses conceived of by planners and sanctioned by societal norms. As discussed at the end of chapter one, the ideas of planners interact with social norms and power relations to create discourses about how space should be planned and used (in Lefebvre's spatial dialectic this is conceived space and spatial practices). These discourses are then materialized in the built form. However, the connection between discourses and space is not a one way relation, instead there is constant back and forth between how something is perceived and planned and how it is used, which can in turn change how a space is perceived. In order to draw this out deCerteau draws an analogy between speech (the use of language) and spatial practices (the use of space). Therefore, just like verbal discourse can be used and challenged in people's speech, so a spatial organization -- or spatial discourse -- can be incorporated or challenged by everyday spatial practices. All discourses, even if they claim to be universal, have omissions which allow for alternative uses to grow and flourish:

> By an all-too-obvious paradox, the discourse that creates belief is the discourse that takes away that which it enjoins, or which never gives what it promises. Far indeed from expressing a vacuum, from describing emptiness, it creates one. It makes room for a vacuum. Thus it makes openings; it 'permits' play within a system of defined sites. (de Certeau 1985 , p.141)

Therefore, the dominant space cannot account for all uses and the people who use them find ways of appropriating these spaces in ways which meet their needs and which may in fact transgress the original 'discourse' of the built form (just like people who express difference within a dominant discourse). These transgressions are enacted in how people use spaces, how they pass through them, and they cannot be reduced to a simple tracing of their paths through the city (or park, or village etc). Keeping with the verbal analogy,

deCerteau calls such practices "pedestrian utterings" which allow – like speech does for language – people to appropriate a site for themselves and make this appropriation real through their actions. These movements (e.g. strolling, purposeful walking, conversing, street vending) also allow people to make "contracts" which allow them to set up the terms of communication with other people, it "places the other" (deCerteau, 1985 p.130). Thus while the corporate lawyer rushes to catch a taxi he or she may brush past a busker playing to a crowd of strollers on their lunch break. Each person has appropriated the space in unique ways and thus realized that space as something more than the planned route, the passage between here and there. For the lawyer, the city may be perceived as a place of power, constant change and progress and his or her use of that space reinforces that perception even while his path traces over, and overlooks, a very different space inhabited by the street performer. Upon reflection this layering of social space may seem apparent to those who live in cities, but such practices are rarely consciously acted out and they in turn influence our perceptions of the city (or the park, or the village etc.). The city -- and I will argue below the environment of Auyuittuq National Park -- makes itself apparent to us through the way that we use it. These perceptions then have political implications, which leads deCerteau to claim "History begins at ground level, with footsteps" (deCerteau, 1985, p.129).

However, one does not simply escape cultural norms or the power relations inscribed in a site, which are policed both by external authority and by the internal checks we place on ourselves. "The perambulatory gesture plays with spatial organizations, however panoptic: it is not foreign to them (it does not eschew them), nor does it conform

to them (it does not take its identity from them)" (deCerteau 1985, p.136). This then leads to questioning what guides actions in these spaces -- e.g. what makes the permissible or the impossible? DeCerteau argues that such 'play' is authorized by local narratives which are derived from past experiences.

> The verbal relics of which narrative is made up (fragments of forgotten stories and opaque gestures) are juxtaposed in a collage in which their relationships *are not thought out* and therefore form a symbolic whole. They are articulated by lacunae. Thus, within the structured space of the text, they produce anti-texts, effects of dissimulation and fugue, opportunities for passage through landscapes... (deCerteau 1985 pp.142-43, italics mine)

These narratives allow people to "inhabit" a site by attaching symbolic meanings[18] which guide action and make sights meaningful. Of course, these narratives have different symbolic value to different people which accounts for the different uses and perceptions of space, even spaces which physically overlap.

DeCerteau's analysis helps in understanding how people inhabit the urban spaces in which they live, or pass through regularly, (and avoid other spaces) but it raises questions about how such an interpretation applies to tourism sites which people pass through briefly, perhaps never having been there before and never returning. In response to this I wish to pursue two alternatives. The first one, suggested by theorists such as MacCannell (1976, 1992), is that people do not inhabit, or challenge, the discourse of tourist sites. That is, they do not play with the dominant spatial organization/discourse, but enact spatial practices which simply recreate the images set forth in brochures. DeCerteau distinguishes between narrative, which allows one to play with a site, and

---

[18]deCerteau (1985) notes in a footnote on page 143: "Terms whose relationships are not thought out but rather stated as necessary may be called symbolic."

rumour, "which is always injunctive, the initiator and result of a levelling of space, the creator or mass notions that shore up an order by adding make-believe to make-do or -be. Narratives diversify; rumours totalize" (deCerteau, 1985, p. 143). Thus tourists know only the rumours about place, what a place is "supposed" to be like and how one is "supposed" to act, and the rumour mirrors a dominant tourism discourse. By enacting these rumours tourists then create a space which reinforces them. Unlike the narrative, the rumour does not generate the familiarity that allows one to 'play' with space. Alternatively, one could say that tourists do in fact play with a narrative, but one that is created out of the hypermobility of their lives as upper-middle class urbanites who are able to travel, and in fact are perhaps even compelled to move, to travel, to tour. This constant mobility leads to aesthetic reflexivity as described in chapter one. To repeat:

> [Aesthetic reflexivity] involves the proliferation of images and symbols operating at the level of feeling and consolidated around judgements of taste and distinction about different natures and different societies. Such distinctions *presuppose the extra-ordinary growth of mobility*, both within and between nation-states. This can be described as the development of an aesthetic 'cosmopolitanism' rather than a normative cognitive 'emancipation'(Urry, 1995 p.145, paraphrasing the work of Lash, 1994. Italics added)

Tourists would then combine these fragments or rumours, in a reflexive fashion allowing for critical reflection on what they see and their position as "outsiders". Tourists then cobble together the fragments from past trips, from books, TV and other media in ways which allow them to inhabit the spaces of tourism. Rumour, as I shall discuss in chapter five, is perhaps more complex than deCerteau suggests. With regard to the analysis in this chapter, this aesthetic reflexivity may be particularly true for hikers who have spent many summers in the North, or even other hiking destinations, and have developed for

themselves a narrative that allows them to inhabit places in ways which transcend the image of the empty wilderness. In what follows, I will work backwards from people's perceptions and expectations about the hike in Auyuittuq in order to distill the perceptions of the arctic wilderness contained within them and the practices which reinforce them. I begin by discussing how hiking can be involved in recreating the idea of an empty wilderness and then introduce the possibility of reflexivity by discussing where Park officials may try to insert opportunities for tourists to learn about different ways of interacting with the environment.

PERCEPTIONS AND PRACTICES OF AUYUITTUQ NATIONAL PARK

The Arctic Wilderness

Hikers are attracted by the spectacular scenery. Perhaps this is best summed up by one participant who listed the physical elements of the park as hanging glaciers, waterfalls, spectacular peaks and then said "*although the individual magnitude of each element may be smaller, the density was greater,*" and hence the park had a bigger impact on him than other mountain destinations. This suggests that hikers are looking for certain "elements" that Auyuittuq is seen as providing. Another element that seemed unique for hikers was the near 24-hour daylight and in follow-up interviews the most common feature noted was the extensive glacier activity. These elements are then combined to form the overall experience or perception as in the following quote:

The other extreme, the literature did not explain, or properly reflect on describing the beauty of the park. It didn't reflect the sheer beauty of this park, it was way beyond my expectations...and the sand dunes and the boulders and the flowers the most beautiful flowers growing in the most hostile environment when there's no vegetation and there's no water and full of big rocks and all of a sudden you see this beautiful little flowers

sticking out between these rocks in the middle of nowhere. The literature does not tell you this, so that was way beyond our expectations. And everywhere you look in...you take a look and it's beautiful, you walk for half an hour and you look back and the light has changed and it's even more beautiful. Um, when you first see the rock face of Thor, when it first appears, it's just the majestic beauty of this, and you walk two hours and it's still there across the stream and you keep looking at it as you go along. And then you get to a point when there's one almost identical mountain across the river from that one, just so symmetrical. It's just beautiful everywhere, even when it rains, it's foggy or clouds. It was way beyond our expectations.

The above quote captures well the sense of beauty and awe that many felt, but it also points to the way that beauty is constructed from the various elements the hikers came across. Beyond the spectacular elements, such as mountains, which are not part of most hiker's everyday worlds, the mundane, such as clouds and fog, also become significant as one's senses are attuned, or perhaps even forced, to look at the mundane in a new light. The clouds, the fogs, the flowers are surprising and filled with significance. The quote also indicates the role that imagination, or cultural learning, plays in assembling these elements. References are made to majestic beauty, symmetry and "hostile" environments, all of which recall notions of the arctic as sublime and hostile which were discussed in chapter three. Such a "density of meaning" may be linked to the tourist literature discussed in chapter three (Pratt, 1992 also see chapter 3) .

The role of the imagination is further highlighted by the fact that for some the arctic wilderness is attractive not for its physical characteristics but because it is classed as marginal. The arctic's geography, as marginal from tourists' origins seems to have an attraction which transcends its objective features. As one respondent noted:

...it was a hiking trip in mountainous area with glaciers. The glaciers were a bit different then I had experienced elsewhere -- like in Alaska. It was mainly just...There is something cool...the ruggedness of having done a hiking trip in the arctic. You know

there's something a little bit more magical than doing a hiking trip elsewhere.

Another simply stated that "*It's a part of our amazing country that few Canadians ever get the privilege of seeing and experiencing first hand!*" In some cases this marginal character took on an almost mythical dimension, as the following quotes indicate:

Well actually I have a recollection from some time in my childhood about hearing about Pangnirtung and the fiord and such and it's always stuck in my mind as somewhere I'd like to go.

Um, when I was...three, my father spent nine months working in a place called Chibougamou in Quebec, um, we were in Scotland at the time and he came back and he would tell me tales of Northern Quebec. Places he had flown into. He spoke a lot about Baffin Island, which at that stage was completely undeveloped...there were communities here but they weren't accessible communities. Um, he would tell me these stories and read me sort of Jack London kind of...White Fang and that's kind of silly isn't it. So from about the age of six I just had it in my mind that I would go there. Just taken 31 years to get up here.

Especially when the weather is warm and dry, there is little that distinguishes a hike in Auyuittuq from hikes in mountain valleys elsewhere where the high altitude recreates the tundra like conditions and climate variations. Therefore, in these last few quotes one can see the central role that imagination and cultural learning (as discussed in chapter one and three) play in turning the arctic environment into the arctic wilderness. The arctic is both sublime and a hostile environment. These comments reflect both motivations and perceptions after the hike and so I now turn to looking at how the hike reinforces these views of the arctic wilderness.

Interest in Natural History

An interest in learning about natural history was strong among only a small minority of the participants and non-existent among another minority, but for the majority

it was an interest picked-up only on the side. For the four people who did pursue an interest in natural history, the identification of plants and animals was a central activity in their hike which had often been pursued in other destinations as well, giving them grounds on which to compare different places. The extent of people's knowledge, however, is not clear from the interviews. That is, although people explained that they looked flowers up in guide books it is not clear if they also new about the conditions under which the flower grew, their role in the ecosystem, whether they can be consumed etc.. The former activity, which is simply a cataloguing function, varies considerably from the latter, which is a more involved relationship with the environment. The distinction between the two levels of interaction is perhaps comparable to the difference between simply looking a word up in a dictionary and understanding its different connotations. This distinction is important because the more engaged approach is unique, and creates a space for reflexivity while the cataloguing function is not too far removed from the more opportunistic learners which I will discuss next. I will return to this point in the concluding section of this chapter.

For those less interested in natural history it seems that if information was made available some hikers would use it and enjoy it, but that they would not make an effort themselves to learn about such things. The following quote is from a participant who was asked if he would have liked to have more information on the plants he saw on the hike:

I would love to have more information on [flora, fauna and geology]. You know, you stop and look at the lovely fields of flowers...there was one beautiful sunny day where I spent a couple of hours doing photography of just the flowers...I really enjoy that but I have no idea what they are.

Another participant stated that she was not very interested in natural history, but that:

...it depends on the people I'm travelling with and in this case there was certainly a fellow on our trip who was very much into it, and it becomes quite interesting with his knowledge.

Therefore, most hikers were opportunistic learners when it came to natural history and another minority said they had little to no interest in flora and fauna. This then raises the question of how people experienced and come to learn about the environment in Auyuittuq. What the interviews indicate is that regardless of their degree of interest in natural history, and apart from the universal interest in wilderness or scenery, all hikers stressed that a primary reason for hiking was challenge and the experience of solitude, and it is in achieving these goals that most people developed their perceptions of the park.

Escape and Solitude

Getting away from the pressures of work and urban living was a common theme for all hikers. For some this was expressed as a desire for escape, but it is not an escape from work *per se* since hikers are willingly engaging in strenuous physical toil. The following quote is representative of how the hard work of a hike becomes a relaxing journey or an escape:

I think in terms of a ...a real change, a real escape so to speak, I think [this hike] is the best holiday I've ever taken. It's kind of, it's so totally, it just takes you in and everything else in your life just falls to the side and you focus on either the beauty or the next step, the next boulder...and when you come out of there you're just so relaxed. It's about survival, it's about, you know, not falling, getting through that stream, about meeting the challenge, and it's that focus that I found that I really, really, liked"

Escape, then, is very much an individual experience that is experienced through the intense focus on the immediate, and it needs to be understood in contrast to the daily routines that hikers – all of them professionals – face when at home.

Advanced industrial societies are governed by the clock and this puts unique stresses on individuals as schedules are made to conform to the logic of time rather than the task. The dominance of what E.P. Thompson (1967) calls clock-time over task-time in industrial societies has been accompanied by feeling that all time needs to be filled with useful activity and that tasks can be fragmented to make the best use of time. In contemporary industrial society one consequence of this is the expectation that tasks be accomplished in time parcels that become "free" after one blends one schedule with everyone else's. The resulting stresses will be recognized by most readers. In contrast, the hike allows the hiker a temporary escape from the logic of the clock because there is only one task to do and once the task at hand is done – e.g. arriving at camp, cooking – there is nothing else the hiker can do. This is further reinforced by the fact that for a week the hiker is "self-sufficient"and hence need not think of others schedules or worry about future concerns. The hike is the momentary suspension of the social altogether (whether governed by clock or task time) by re-creating the myth of the lone individual in nature. At the same time, however, the escape differs from lying on a pool deck because one is still working, that is, one has a task to complete.

However, the work that one undertakes on the hike contrasts sharply with the white collar work of all participants and so makes for a marked escape from the office life. White (1996) argues that even to call a hike work – as in "it was hard work" – is to betray the fact hikers have put a special value on leisure, one that was originally assigned to work -- i.e. a connection to the land:

Work once bore the burden of connecting us with nature [including our own bodies

C.O.]. In shifting much of this burden onto the various forms of play that take us back to nature, American [Canadians too? C.O.] have shifted the burden to leisure....Our play in nature is often a masked form of bodily labour. We try to know through play what workers in the woods, fields and waters know through work. (White, 1996 p. 174).

The question this raises, of course, is what exactly hikers end up knowing through their labours in the woods. White goes on to argue that by championing play as work we denigrate the modern forms of labour which are necessary in industrial society and obscure the modern/industrial relations between humans and nature. I will return to such arguments below, but what is of interest here is the argument that the work one undertakes on the hike is meant to connect one to one's body, which is alienated in much of modern life driving in the car, sitting at a desk, typing on a computer, and to one's surroundings. Therefore, the hiker feels connected to the land, it is "real". These two contrasts – different time and work – are what can allow the hike, or more precisely nature, to become an escape and thus under this construction nature must become a space separate from normal routines. Conceivably nature-as-escape can be attained walking in a city park, but in such a case the break is less clean, less extreme, than in Auyuittuq. Thus, nature-as-escape becomes increasingly "pure" or "real" the farther one is from home, from routines, from responsibilities. Nature, then, is not so much the lack of people, although this is important, but the lack of social routines that are necessary for the functioning of a complex industrial society (in fact, any society). Therefore, nature excludes, or is at least beyond, society.

Therefore, there is a close connection between escape and solitude, which is another key motivator for all participants. However, there were differences in what

participants felt were acceptable levels of solitude, and this points to a hierarchy which exists, with increasing solitude becoming the measure of increasingly "pure" experience in nature. For example, one respondent appreciated solitude because it gave a "pristine feel" to the park, while others felt it drove home the importance of "self-reliance", both of which are themes that tie in with the discussion of escape above. However, the potential diversity in responses is reflected by the fact that one participant felt that because of radios and shelters in the Park it was a "tourist spot" where you couldn't experience isolation, while another stated that he felt the North provided "real wilderness...absolutely no facilities." For many, meeting people along the way was very much part of the hike because it allowed them to compare experiences. For some this contact was best when it was brief, while for others meeting the same people at the different camp-sites was a welcomed continuity in the hike. Only a minority who stressed skill and self-reliance felt that there was too much contact with others during the hike. In part the differences reflect differing opinions as to what level of risk and challenge one is prepared to face. This in turn points to a hierarchy with some more skilled hikers being able to "escape more", that is use their skill to go where there are even fewer people -- i.e into more "pure" nature. Therefore, some hikers, often climbers, would leave the main trail to climb various peaks. However, even regular hikers (i.e. not climbers) could use side trips to add more solitude and challenge to the hike. Such diversions and detours are also important spaces for reflexivity as will be discussed in the final section.

Challenge

Therefore, challenge becomes closely linked to ideas of solitude and escape and was enthusiastically endorsed as a reason for coming by all but one visitor to the park. Challenge is tied primarily to the notion of being "self-sufficient" for a number of days and the pride in having technical skill and gear necessary to do the hike. This is summed up by one participant when she stated:

The arctic is not as forgiving...you can go from 15-20 degrees, sun, shorts and t-shirts and a few hours later you have your three layers on – your polypro, your fleece, pants and bottoms and your gortex layer on top and your still fighting it. You eat and after a certain amount of time, boom, you're back in the cold. For me that is a souvenir, having toughed it out.

Therefore, the challenge was also related to the mythical quality of the arctic as marginal noted above. In addition, for many an interest in challenge was paired with the fact that they felt they had reached a point in their lives where if they did not take the opportunity to hike now they would soon be too old.

However, it appears that the challenge of the park was perceived by almost half the participants to be moderate in comparison to other Northern destinations (even though many had not been to any other Northern destination) which again highlights the fact that hiking destinations are placed in a hierarchy based on degree of remoteness. This was reflected in the fact some were using the hike as a trip to introduce them to Northern conditions and others felt it was a safe route to do solo. For example, for one hiker, the trip was in preparation for a "bigger" goal of hiking solo on Ellesmere before she reached the age of 55. Another participant stated, "*...anything that says National Park I would be interested in visiting too, because I know it's pretty well all organized and all that.*" The

fact that the park was expected to be a moderate challenge is also reflected in the fact that many people felt that the Park information and pre-trip briefing had not adequately prepared them for the challenges they actually faced on the trip.

Perceived lack of information on hiking in the park

About one quarter of the participants felt that the pre-trip information on the park did not adequately warn about the challenges faced on the trail (such as severe weather changes and stream crossings) and that the briefing information at the Parks office before leaving was at times heavy handed and/or misleading. Although the park information does indicate the hazards in the park – this is stressed both on the Parks Canada web page and in the Nunavut Handbook (although less so) – it appears that relatively novice hikers do not appreciate the risks. The following are some quotes on this issue:

Well [the fact that the weather could be harsh] had occurred to us, but we're much more aware of it now than we were. I think there should be more warning people about this, you know people could get in trouble...I really feel our tent wasn't strong enough...

...I think that for someone who hasn't been North...[the park material] does not give a good idea of how difficult...that hike can be...we weren't prepared for the kind of hike that we took, it was a more challenging hike then we expected. It can take hours to walk five kilometres because your climbing.

The terrains, the currents, all these streams coming down from the glaciers are quite challenging...the literature does not reflect the reality.

What appears to be in conflict here is different hikers understanding of terms such as "extreme weather" "rough terrain" and "stream crossings". Although not all hikers commented on lack of information, these comments shed more light on the concept of challenge mentioned above -- although hikers claim to like challenge, it appears that these challenges should be clearly laid out in advance. As one respondent noted with

regard to her difficulty with stream crossings:

To say that these things are streams [instead of rivers of heavy torrents] is, I mean, just ridiculous...I gather that part of the thing is that the adventure of finding out what the trail is like is part of the fun of doing it, which I think is clearly true for a certain set, but for others of us in the pre-geriatric set...part of our being able to do this successfully and with fun is to be well prepared for it.

The desire for predictability could be argued to indicate that for some the hike has been somewhat "Macdonaldized" (Ritzer and Liska, 1997 see chapter one), that is, rendered into an efficient and predictable experience. This interpretation would likely be vigorously rejected by those who complained about the lack of trail information and, admittedly, it does seem a little unfair in context of people who simply wish to be prepared for the conditions. However, it is Macdonaldized to the extent that hikers learn about the arctic environment, and the gear needed to face it, primarily through the outdoor adventure industry. This includes a sales person at a retail outlet, a magazine article, or word of mouth about the latest gear. This information is used in tandem (interactively) with parks information, or information from guidebooks or brochures, to ensure that one has the gear necessary for the terrain that will be encountered. Therefore, when one finds the conditions are not what were expected one is understandably concerned and displeased. Even those who had no problems were concerned with problems that others were having. For example:

"That information...well you don't want to scare people and the actual brochure [from the parks office] does. I mean the brochure makes a big thing about bears, from our point of view that's lousy, it's a very modest risk and it's very controllable. I would try to find a way of conveying [the risks] to people so that they set realistic goals. I would say that the majority of the parties that we met in the park turned back from their ultimate goal. In our situation, half the group turned back"

The fact that people who had no problems with the hike were still concerned about information further reinforces the idea that tourists approach the hike as very much a calculable and predictable affair. This leads to a sense of accomplishment and pride if one has come well prepared which in turn can lead to a sense of "knowing" the arctic environment. As one respondent said:

a lot of the people there were, uh, I found, uh, had bitten off more than they could chew. Uh, they hadn't put together enough thinking about it. They hadn't geared-up properly..you know people with a pack with 500 hundred things hanging from it...you know, when I see that I...tell people to go home, get the video man, it's easier

Although this person had not hiked in the North before, his hiking experience and knowledge of gear had given him a sense that he "knew" what to expect unlike those who had not "geared-up". Another respondent said:

Again I roughly know what to expect here...I mean this is not much different than Northern Norway...Northern Norway is actually farther North and is actually a lot colder...

Place becomes characterized in terms of certain objective features – wind, temperature, isolation – and hence becomes comparable to other locations, even locations as different as Northern Norway. This is important knowledge for a hiker who may only visit a region once, having never been anywhere in the North before. In particular, it allows tourists to be self-contained and travel without having to ask questions such as how local people use the land, how they travel (although they may still do so as I will discuss below). The point here is not to criticize the use of gear – the use of a better technology for being on the land is welcomed by Inuit and tourists alike – but what that gear makes possible. Hikers, especially those who have been in the North before, may in fact know a

lot about the arctic environment and what kind of gear is needed to survive in a variety of conditions. But what is of interest here is that hikers' knowledge of place is very technical and even allows for them to have only the most superficial relationship to the environment as scenery. Gear, and the skill to use it, allows hikers to create a space for the work of imagination, for the appreciation of the scenery and interest in flora and fauna. The ability to gaze at and contemplate the environment is due to the fact that the hiker uses his or her gear, and the knowledge of the environment that its successful use implies, to feel at home in this new environment. As one participant said:

... you know from a distance all these things, uh, they're just academic. When you get there and you can actually, you know, start with an orientation, seeing some of the...large size photographs and things like that, you really get attached quickly to the park. Once you get into the park...you quickly become an inhabitant, or a local, you know. It doesn't matter where you're from, you're in the Park, you're a user and you live there

To feel "at home" in the park after only one or two weeks is, when reflected upon, an unusual claim[19]. Why is it that we[20] feel so comfortable in this strange environment? I suggest that it is because the gear and the hike allows us to experience it in the ways discussed above – as scenery, as a catalogue of plants, as escape from the social, as challenge – and once we have mastered these dimensions it becomes familiar.

This act of appropriation is further reinforced in the layout and sequence of the hike. Figure 4.1 (Appendix 3, p. 185) shows part of a trail map given to hikers after

---

[19]Interestingly tourist discourse about more familiar environments, such as when urban dwellers go to another city or country, often refer to the fact that it takes months to "really" get to know a place.

[20]I use "we" here in order to dispel notions that I am adopting a holier-than-though attitude towards hikers. Critical examination of hiking is also critical self-examination. I mean to remind readers that my experiences articulate with the data in this interpretation.

their orientation in Pangnirtung[21]. As the map shows, there are a series of markers that hikers are encouraged to look for throughout the hike. These included spectacular scenery, especially Mt. Thor (Fig. 4.2 Appendix 3, p.186) and Mt. Asgard, hazards such as major river crossings, and the location of shelters and radios. One marker that is missing from the map is a cairn marking the Arctic Circle (Fig. 4.3 Appendix 3, p.186) which turns an otherwise unremarkable bit of trail into one of the highlights of the trip for many hikers. Hikers can use these points to structure their hike (e.g. we should make it to Windy campground today, Figure 4.4 Appendix 3, p.186) and gauge their progress. As these points are reached one develops a sense of accomplishment and increased familiarity. They can also be used as a short hand to appropriate the space of the park both for themselves and for people back home. Pictures are always taken (one participant took 20 rolls in a week!) reinforcing that one has actually been to the park and allowing you to piece together the hike for people back home. One respondent also compared her photos to those on the park web-site and in a calendar which suggests that photography often records the expected and the already familiar (see quote at beginning of this chapter)[22].

---

[21]A more detailed map was being prepared while I was there which is at a smaller scale and which shows more detail of contours and terrain.

[22]In follow-up interviews participants were asked to describe their favourite photos. One participant liked action shots crossing streams and many included themselves in the shot. Also, many people named a site -- e.g. my tent with mount Thor in the background, parade glacier, weeping glacier north face – rather than giving a description. For me this reinforces the interpretation that these sites have now become familiar places for people. As someone who has hiked in the park I am suppose to be familiar with such sites/sights by name.

Hikers also made the park familiar by purchasing souvenirs. Thus, one

However, what is in between these sites is unknown to the hiker and this makes the hike exciting and challenging. As one comes around a corner a new vista opens up, a myriad of creek crossings pose challenges and, of course, the weather is unpredictable. These elements of surprise are essential, because they allow hikers to personalize the hike within a safe context. Thus a small side trip or day hike can bring one to all kinds of personal discoveries such as unexpected vistas, swaths of tundra flowers, the glimpse of an arctic hare or the experience of dealing with a sudden storm. Therefore, although the route is planned, different hikers walk different paths and so appropriate the park for themselves and take pictures which are unique to their experience. But all these explorations take place within the "universe" of the Akshayuk Pass and the trail which provides the necessary bearings for a hiker. The trail provides a grounding, a norm of sorts, that the hikers can "play" with to varying degrees based on their skill and enthusiasm.

This personal appropriation is what deCerteau (1985) -- keeping with the analogy between spatial practices and speech -- calls the process of "perambulatory rhetoric". Thus perambulatory rhetoric is an analogy to verbal rhetoric – a stylized use of language (or in this case space) that shows mastery of language and norms in order to advance one's version of events. DeCerteau suggests that this spatial rhetoric is based on two practices or what he calls figures. The first is synecdoche, or "in essence, the naming of a

---

respondent bought a polar bear sculpture on a previous trip when he saw his first polar bear. Others collected rocks or dried flowers. The limited data collected on souvenirs, and the focus on the use of space, preclude a more detailed analysis of souvenirs at this time.

part for the whole in which it is included" and, second, asyndeton or the elimination of links such that the rhetoric 'jumps over linkages and it omits whole parts."(deCerteau 1985. P.136-37). These processes are reflected in hikers' appropriation of sites/sights – such as Asgard or Thor – to stand for the whole park and their use of pictures – unconnected snapshots – to recreate their experience, their appropriation of the park. Thus:

> Through such swellings, diminutions and fragmentations – the task of rhetoric – a spatial sentencing is created....The preambulatory figures substitute journeys with the structure of a myth for the technological system of coherent, totalizing space...[they are] a narrative cooked up out of elements drawn from shared sites, an allusive, fragmented tale whose gaps fall into line with the social practices it symbolizes. (deCerteau, 1985 p.137).

It is important to note that the "gaps" in such mythic narratives "fall into line with the social practices it symbolizes". Therefore, the selective use of certain sites – Asgard, the Arctic Circle, the flowers on the tundra – allow the hiker to successfully recreate the myth that one can escape into the remote wilderness and be at home, or at least comfortable.

Therefore, although the hiker may be looking for escape, there is still a desire to know what one is escaping in to (Rojek, 1985; Goss, 1993). The fear of nature as "Other" is contained. The gear allows hikers to turn what might otherwise be a harrowing experience into an experience of (predictable?) challenge, solitude and escape in a beautiful landscape. However, hikers' practices and perceptions reflect the views of the industrial societies which are their true homes and can reinforce them. Hikers come to know the land by virtue of the pack-sack full of industrially produced gear that shelters them from the elements. All societies have gear – i.e. tools – that allow them to live in their environment and interact with it, but what is particular in this case is that the gear

allows for a very limited and short-term interaction with the environment, which in many ways is a non-interaction. The gear extends, via travel, to make the hiker at home in any environment while being at home in none of them. Or, in other words, to make all environments to some degree the same environment which they compare on the same technical and aesthetic terms as they travel to new destinations. The hiker knows the land in a way that at the same time separates them from it and allows them to see it as remote even as they walk on top of it. Moss (1994) highlights this point in the following quote:

We [hikers C.O.] are wounded from the fall; we search the landscape for geography. We travel lightly, quickly, with excellent gear. We read maps and books; their lines articulate perception, anticipate terrain.

Traditional Inuit had no geographers. They were in the Arctic before it was north, before distance and direction fell into line; before north took hold and they became remote. (Moss, 1994 p.2-3)

Hikers, therefore, get to know a North that may have little in common with Inuit views of the land. This interpretation is reinforced by the fact that Auyuittuq is mostly rock and ice – a good portion of the park is an ice sheet -- and it does not contain any of the prime hunting grounds used by the Inuit[23] (Fenge, 1993).

CONCLUSION: Suggestions for encouraging reflexivity

The above analysis shows how hikers' use of the park can recreate the dominant human/nature dualism, which is damaging both to Inuit aspirations and ecological sustainability because it excludes people from the environment. Nature is the absence of the social and hikers experience reinforces that they have "escaped". However, as

---

[23]In fact, these were specifically excluded by the Inuit during Land Claim negotiations.

discussed at the outset, it is intellectually risky to jump from the interpretation of people's perceptions and practices while in the park to their political commitments vis a vis the environment when at home. In short, while it is apparent from participants responses that hikers seek to create and experience a wilderness that is the absence of the social, it does not necessarily follow that they are unaware of other connections to, and perceptions of, the land. I did attempt to collect data on participants' environmental commitments, but the data collected is limited and, therefore, it would be premature to draw any conclusions from it. In the first round of interviews only one participant indicated that hiking was related to a concern for environmental issues. In follow-up interviews only two out of seven respondents indicated that they supported, or would like to support, an environmental organization. The environmental groups mentioned were the Canadian Wildlife Fund, the World Wildlife Fund, the Sierra Club and the Audubon Society, all of which are organizations that focus on conserving "nature" rather than transforming the social relations which are at the root of many of our current ecological problems[24] (see Smith, 1990, O'Connor, 1994). One respondent said she practices environmentally sensitive lifestyle choices, but did not elaborate. Although this is suggestive that hikers environmental commitments lean towards strict conservation movements, it is hardly grounds on which to base an interpretation of how tourists' construction of nature, when

---

[24]The WWF is involved in trying to promote conservation that will not interfere with local groups living in an area. However, much of this is fraught with difficulties as the WWF seeks to encourage "traditional" activities and in so doing does not address the issue of how to create an ecologically sustainable *industrial* society. They also face problems of defining "traditional" and deciding what to do when so-called traditional groups seek to engage in industrial production such as mining.

acting as ecotourists, translates into their environmental commitments back home (or indeed if they have any). In follow-up interviews I also asked people what they would think if they came across Inuit hunting in the park. Only three out of the seven objected to hunting, which is a right the Inuit have under the Nunavut Land Claim, and one of those objected on grounds of safety rather than conservation concerns. Therefore, it does not seem to be the case that people's perceptions of the park translate automatically into a belief that conservation must exclude people or that Inuit use of the land might pose a threat to conservation efforts. It would be a fruitful avenue for future research to explore in more detail how ecotourists translate their experiences into environmental awareness, but I cannot do so here. However, the possibility of a critical engagement with ecological issues on the part of ecotourists is suggested by the fact that even though the environmental movement finds its roots in concepts of empty sublime wilderness (Connor, 1996), it has generated a diversity of campaigns and awareness including the critical approaches cited above. Therefore, with the above criticism of ecotourism in mind, I would like to try to highlight how interpretive material might be inserted into the park experience in an attempt to encourage tourists to critically reflect on their relationship to the environment, both in the park and when they are back home.

As suggested earlier, when I mentioned different ways that hikers might pursue an interest in flora and fauna (i.e. more engaged or simply cataloguing), one of the most fruitful avenues to pursue might be some form of interpretation material that hikers could take with them when they go into the park. Some participants did indicate that such material would be welcomed and one could see how it could be easily integrated into the

hiking experience. Hikers are often rushed to get out on the trail, but once there the pace slackens and their minds open for contemplation and, as noted above, the role of imagination and contemplation plays an important part in how the hiker perceives the land. While hikers may purposefully march from one site to the next in a very calculable fashion, there also times when people will wander about which is a spatial practice that may reveal the park in a very different light. In addition, while gear allows people to appropriate the park as "home"and create the perceptions discussed above, participants' concerns and difficulties concerning gear and risks also hint at their awareness of their reliance on gear, or the fact that they are not at "home". Therefore, even while meeting the challenge of the hike there may be an awareness created which can lead to a questioning of one's relationship to the land. This reflexivity is certainly apparent in the following quote from one participant on returning to Pangnirtung:

Actually today we went to the visitor centre and watched a movie on – 1960's black and white movie – on the life of the Inuit. Amazing, just amazing. Boy they're strong people..the things that they had to do, you just feel like wimps in comparison... And I think to put it in perspective it was fun to have the day here after you've been out there and you know what quantities you have to live with, to live on, when you're out there and then to come back and see these things and be able to relate to the environment that hasn't changed that much in the last forty years. Putting it back to a day when you don't have gortex and you don't have the tents that we do and ...pretty amazing

Such reflections should be encouraged and extended as I will discuss below. In addition, a sense of awe at the beauty of the land may also trigger reflexivity about one's presence in the land. The following is an excerpt from a group interview:

FIRST PARTICIPANT: And our friend who was with us, she lives in the North, she said you know, the trip was just so beautiful, the land was saying come and visit, but....the land is in control. It's on the lands terms. Ya. It was almost like.. back to almost a spiritual dimension to it.

SECOND PARTICIPANT: Ya, I guess it gave me something I've never felt before and that's a respect for the land. [unclear] You know before if I went camping if I'd light a fire I'd throw away the match. There, you know, a couple of times I threw away the match and then would go and pick it up, put it in my pocket. You don't even want to disturb this beautiful land, I don't know you feel so small, in this land that you really have a lot of respect for it. [unclear] it's a great feeling...I guess this is what will stay with me.
THIRD PARTICIPANT: you know it puts you in your place in the universe.

In this exchange the participants are clearly reflective about their connection to the land, but the connection remains thoroughly mystified. First, the land remains completely Other, something that one is not a part of, but at which one gazes and marvels. Second, and in a slight paradox, the land is also welcoming, one feels at home, thus extending that sense of appropriation discussed above. Therefore, although I am sympathetic to the sense of connectedness which the hike engendered for these people, one must seek ways in which such openness can be pushed further.

Brochures could be used as tools for guiding this exercise in contemplation by presenting a series of "stories" or "did you know" facts about the Northern environment and Inuit use of the land[25]. Presently park interpretation material (in Pangnirtung and on the Internet) focuses on the natural history from a western scientific perspective. In Pangnirtung some of the interpretation material in the Parks Canada Visitor Centre does mention that the hunting is an important part of sustainable development in the North, but it is not clear that tourists spend a lot of time in such spaces (see chapter 5). Therefore, interpretation taken on the trail might inform the hiker more about Inuit understandings of the land particularly in ways that are different from conventional western understandings.

---

[25]Another way may be through hiker "codes of conduct". For a discussion of these see Mason (1998).

In order to challenge the representation of nature as escape from the social, interpretation needs to focus as much on what is different between the Inuit views and the tourist views as on what they share. For example, do Inuit seek solitude in the land? Do they view the arctic as remote? How do Inuit use the land? One might even point out that the Inuit have excluded much of the prime hunting grounds which they frequent from the park, thus highlighting the different notions of conservation that are embodied in the Parks movement and the Inuit culture. The community might also want to consider a stronger emphasis on contemporary life in order to encourage hikers to start asking questions about how different contemporary societies interact with the environment. Of course, this approach is risky in the sense that southern hikers may adopt a critical stance to Inuit hunting or views of the land. This is a risk that must be assessed by the community, but presenting the information within the context of a mutual interest in the environment may reduce such risks. Research investigating ecotourists environmental commitments, as discussed above, may help in guiding such a project.

A second approach might be to take a novel approach to accomplishing Parks Canada's goals as laid out in the National Parks Act and in Parks Canada's Guiding Principles and Operational Policies (Minister of Supply and Services Canada, 1994). Canada's National Parks Act states that the "Maintenance of ecological integrity through the protection of natural resources shall be the first priority when considering park zoning and visitor use in a management plan"(National Parks Act, 1998 sect. 1.2). However, it is recognized in Parks Canada's guiding principles that "[parks] are not islands, but are part of larger ecosystems and cultural landscapes. Therefore, decision-making must be based

on an understanding of surrounding environments and their management" (Minister of Supply and Services Canada, 1994). It is also recognized that Parks Canada must provide leadership in this area by advocating environmental ethics and practices. When these guidelines are applied to the role of education and interpretation in the National Parks Policy it results in the following policy objectives:

> 4.2.5
> Parks Canada will relate park themes and messages to broader environmental issues to provide the public with opportunities to acquire the knowledge and skills to make environmentally responsible decisions.
>
> 4.2.6
> Parks Canada will provide interpretation programs on challenges to maintaining the ecological integrity of national parks in order to foster greater public understanding of the role that protected spaces play in a healthy environment.
> (Minister of Supply and Services Canada, 1994)

When reading these policy objectives in light of the above discussion it is clear that Parks Canada has the mandate to extend its interpretation materials in a way which highlights both local use of the land, as discussed previously, and which raises awareness about the connections with the industrial societies in which they are nested. For example, a growing concern for Northerners is the high levels of persistent organic pollutants (POPs) which are accumulating in the arctic ecosystem and especially in the marine mammals which are such an important part of the Inuit diet (AMAP, 1997). Parks Canada already draws attention to this fact in their Interpretive Centre in Pangnirtung on a display about Canada's Green Plan and the Arctic Environment Strategy. On one panel the text reads[26]:

---

[26] I will not engage in a detailed analysis of the interpretation material in this paper, but its presence must be noted. One half of the display combines images of Inuit hunting (scraping a polar bear fur, fish drying), arctic wildlife and close-up shots of Inuit and Inuit holding Canadian flags. The second half of the display shows images from the

...all that we experience in the arctic is interconnected and forms one living ecosystem. The well-being of seals in the ocean affects the health of Inuit that may eat them, the warm winds that melt the glacier ice to drinking water may also be blowing in global industrial air pollution (from author's field notes, 1999).

Other global issues, such a climate change might also be used to draw out these connections, as would highlighting hikers' reliance on synthetic fabrics when on the trail, or the polluting effects of increased air travel (e.g. one could diagram ways that the Arctic is connected to the south). These issues directly connect the arctic environment to the industrial society and remind hikers that there is no "escape" from the consequences of our material production. This argument is not a form of primitivism that seeks to naively reject modern products (what would life in the North be today without synthetics or airplanes?) but an attempt to highlight hikers' connections to the environment rather than encouraging the protection of an environment which somehow exists "beyond" the hikers everyday world or which is disconnected from local needs. Again, such education tactics need to be carefully weighed so as not to detract from the parallel goal of attracting tourists and tourist dollars to the community. But if a longer term perspective is taken, then it certainly fits within the mandate of Parks Canada. Such issues need to be presented in a critical yet constructive fashion which encourages people to face them rather than seeking to escape them.

However, all this may be too much to put into a brochure taken on a hike in the

---

Park Significantly, the text stresses Inuit use of the land. The text seeks to inform visitors that Parks Canada is supportive of Inuit use of the land, and to give National Parks their place in larger government initiatives (e.g. the Green Plan). The display seeks to send two overall messages. First, it claims that Inuit concerns are heard by the Canadian government. Second, Parks Canada (and by extension Auyuittuq) plays a role in maintaining the ecological integrity of the North.

park. It is doubtful that hikers will read copious amounts of information, as many of them have indicated that learning about the environment is a secondary and opportunistic pursuit. Brochures would need to be carefully planned, with a few selections which might instigate thinking (but will not read as an accusation) and which do not expect too much effort from hikers on their holiday. In addition, instead of relying exclusively on the hikers practices in the park, one needs to also consider the hiking experience in light of tourists' experiences in the community and encourage hikers to learn about the community's connection to the land. This is again a potentially problematic proposal, because it engages with a debate about how much local people want to encourage hikers to spend time in the community lest they become overrun with mingling tourists. Once again, this must be decided by the community. However, the Parks Canada Visitor Centre could be a space that might allow for more extensive interpretation programs. In addition, it is by interacting with people and asking questions that tourists have an opportunity to better appreciate how people in Pangnirtung live and how they interact with the land. Unfortunately, at present it does not seem that tourists engage in such activities and conversations while in Pangnirtung, in large part because of the limited time that they spend in the hamlet and their primary focus on the park. Nevertheless, in discussing perceptions and expectations of Pangnirtung with participants it becomes apparent that they are in fact quite reflexive which seems to indicates that people are curious and open to new ideas. The next chapter reviews tourists' practices in Pangnirtung in order to shed light on how tourists learn about the community.

CHAPTER 5: TIME IN PANGNIRTUNG

INTRODUCTION

In this chapter I look at tourists' perceptions and expectations of Pangnirtung and their interest in Inuit culture. As a continuation of the analysis in chapter four, this chapter aims to respond to the problems of reflexivity raised in chapter one by highlighting how tourists develop their perceptions and what opportunities exist for reflexivity. In addition, in what follows I continue to focus on how practices are influential in forming and reinforcing perceptions. Again, the emphasis on practice is important in order to stress that tourism is a process whereby one's perception of place is an ongoing (re)construction of place grounded in praxis. Therefore, I will try to highlight how tourists' perceptions are related to how they use different spaces in the community. The first section of the chapter looks at people's motivations for visiting Pangnirtung and the different levels of commitment with which tourists approached learning about Pangnirtung. It will focus on the fact that tourists' paths are both tightly scripted and highly random; in looking to interact with local people tourists both seek out tourist facilities and wander and stroll about Pangnirtung. I look in more detail at two spaces in Pangnirtung in order to capture the element of performance which is involved in such encounters. In the second section, the indeterminate nature of tourists' performances is underscored by a discussion of how tourists learn by collecting a series of rumours and snapshots which articulate with previous understandings and dominant discourses. It is the articulation between rumour and dominant discourse that underscores the importance of tourism as a way of learning. In order to illustrate this process I look at three issues

which tourists raised – the issue of messy streets, discussions about the role or impact of tourism in the community and expectations concerning alcohol in Northern communities. Throughout this analysis I stress the "turmoil" of these rumours in order to capture the reflexive and self-aware nature which characterizes many tourists' perceptions and questions, but also the extent to which tourists fall back on preconceptions. In the final section I will discuss how the preceding analysis informs debates about the ideological character of tourism. Although I agree with MacCannell (1976, 1992) that tourism can recreate dominant discourses and shield tourists from contemplating the contradictions of capitalist society, the analysis in this chapter indicates that tourism is a much more open process than he allows. Reflexivity varies and some tourists are reflexive to the point that they reflect not only on their own positioning, but on the claims and judgements they and other tourists make.

MOTIVATIONS FOR VISITING PANGNIRTUNG

For most hikers an interest in Inuit culture was secondary to the desire to hike in Auyuittuq. Some hikers distinguished between a trip which they would take to learn about culture and a trip, like coming to Auyuittuq, that was focussed on scenery and challenge. Based on my observation of tourists in Pangnirtung, and comments from local people, there are clearly some hikers who have no interest whatsoever in learning about Pangnirtung or Inuit culture. However, in just over half the interviews there was an explicit interest in learning about Pangnirtung and in all but two interviews people were at least curious about the community once they had arrived. There seemed to be a feeling amongst many tourists that they simply did not have the time to learn about Inuit culture,

but that this did not reflect a lack of interest altogether. This was reinforced in the follow-up interviews when some tourists indicated that friendly people in Pangnirtung, or a chance to learn about Inuit culture, was what made a hike in Auyuittuq unique in comparison to other destinations. Tourists were interested in both the traditional, or historical, elements of Inuit culture as well as contemporary life in Pangnirtung, but they placed different emphasis on each dimension.

An interest in traditional Inuit culture was tied either to a longstanding interest in Inuit culture, pursued by reading books, or to the Inuit's ability to thrive in the Arctic environment. For example one respondent noted:.

...I've been interested in the Inuit forever. I loved it at school and, you know, I've been interested. You know, I'm certainly not an expert, but I've read recreationally...it has always seemed to me so extraordinary that people could actually live and make lives and all the sort of stunning sort of skills and knowledge they had to have to do that....I've always thought that's the most magnificent of achievements.

Others had not had a life-long interest in the Inuit, but were still interested, in some cases fascinated, with traditional skills and beliefs and a respect for a culture that was able to adapt and thrive living in what southerners perceive as a harsh land. This was further enhanced for some tourists when they compared traditional Inuit life to their experiences in the park. As an example, it is worth repeating the following quote already mentioned in chapter 4:

Actually today we went to the visitor centre and watched a movie on – 1960's black and white movie – on the life of the Inuit. Amazing, just amazing. Boy they're strong people..the things that they had to do, you just feel like wimps in comparison... And I think to put it in perspective it was fun to have the day here after you've been out there and you know what quantities you have to live with, to live on, when you're out there and then to come back and see these things and be able to relate to the environment that hasn't changed that much in the last forty years. Putting it back to a day when you don't have gortex and you don't have the tents that we do and ...pretty amazing.

This quote highlights the central role of the arctic environment in tourists' interest in the North, which in turn shapes their interest in the Inuit. Significantly, however, this interest in tradition did not lead to an expectation that contemporary Pangnirtung and its inhabitants would be a slice of the past. As one woman put it: *"People can't be cultural antiques."* Instead, I think it is fair to say that rather than expecting to see "cultural antiques", tourists view the present through the lens of the past. That is, it is the past which gives the present its distinctive character (e.g. just 50-60 years ago people were living a nomadic life on the land and now...)[27]. Nevertheless, people also had an interest in learning about contemporary Pangnirtung.

Some tourists explained their interest in terms of wanting to get to know and talk to people in the contemporary North rather than saying they were interested in a distinct category called "culture". For this group the interest is framed as getting to know a new part of Canada. For example:

I mean, we're all Canadians. I want to know as much about other Canadians as...I can find out.

I think it's something people need to understand. It's such a huge part of Canada...and it's a huge part of our culture, and landmass...and it's really interesting to come up here and talk to people and hear some of these stories [about people's lives].

This orientation is not divorced from an interest in tradition or history, but it is less informed by history and less focussed in terms of what one would like to see. As one

---

[27]When I say that people viewed the present through the past this is not a judgement. In fact, I would say that most academic interest in the North, including my own, is in part motivated by this unique history. The question for critical analysis is to ask how tourists (and academics) draw conclusions from this history, a point I will return to below.

participant noted: *"As a tourist, the more things that are within reach, the more fulfilling the experience"*. Therefore, in addition to designated attractions, things such as schools, civic infrastructure, and the character of homes may be of interest. This broader approach suggests a certain degree of randomness in tourists approach to learning about Pangnirtung and this is indeed the interpretation which is best supported by this research. In fact, this random approach was adopted by all tourists regardless of how they blended these two motivations[28].

For many, information about Pangnirtung was picked-up almost accidentally. As one person put it when asked if she ever travelled for an interest in culture:

> *...not so much, though you know sometimes...culture happens. It's there too and, you know, [if I'm] very excited about it or it's really interesting. But I don't specifically go for cultural activities.*

Those who approached Pangnirtung in this fashion generally spent very little time in Pangnirtung and even then most of the time would be spent in the hotel or campground, or in preparation for their hike. For some, however, this did not represent a lack of interest, but of time. Therefore, some people indicated that they would be interested in purchasing some kind of book about the region which they could read when they got home. Perhaps not surprisingly, people who had been North before, or who lived in the

---

[28]Apart from the practices which will be discussed in this chapter people also pursued their interest in traditional and contemporary Inuit culture by buying souvenirs. Therefore, while some bought ulus, or mukluks, others concentrated on art work. Art work was often bought only when people felt it had intrinsic artistic merit, rather than having a specific connection to Inuit culture. I suspect that although many prints and sculptures represent traditional pursuits the art itself -- bought as a work of art -- is seen as an expression of contemporary Pangnirtung. However, as stated in an earlier footnote in chapter 4, the data collected on souvenirs, and the focus of this paper, does not allow me to pursue this topic further.

North, were among those who expressed less of an interest in Inuit culture or Pangnirtung. Some felt they already had some level of understanding regarding culture and so felt no need on this trip to explore this any further, while for others it seemed to indicate that even after multiple trips they did not feel a desire to engage with local communities and instead concentrated on hiking. As a result, knowledge of local circumstances was picked up randomly, as rumours, from people met along the way -- locals or fellow tourists (see Zutnyk, 1996; this idea of rumours will be returned to below).

In apparent contrast to the random approach, many tourists adopted a much more purposeful approach and allotted time in Pangnirtung so that they could interact with local people (in some cases the extra time was due to delays in travel because of weather). However, this more involved approach is a difference of degree rather than of kind. These tourists would spend time in designated interpretation centres talking with staff and would also spend time walking about town talking with local people (often kids) and attending local events (see below under "Performances"). However, while the more purposeful approach allows for a wider variety of stories to be collected and interactions to take place, the knowledge gained is still largely a series of snapshots and rumours. People are able to collect more stories, but more of the same kind of fleeting interaction does not necessarily lead to more reflexivity or understanding. A key factor in this interpretation is realizing that people spend very little time in Pangnirtung. Most spent one or two days while some scheduled three, but the longest visits in Pangnirtung for those I interviewed were five days, and these were the result of flight delays and

unexpected early exits from the park. Therefore, no matter what one's orientation to learning about Pangnirtung, time simply does not permit a sustained interaction with local people.

By necessity, all interactions are brief and take place within a liminal state where both sides are predisposed to being friendly and polite, but with the knowledge that no sustained interaction or commitment is needed. People are on holiday, they are predisposed to seeking out a pleasant interaction with people with the hope that it might, but need not, allow them to get some sense of the place where they are visiting. Therefore, one is not likely to enter into politically or socially charged discussions. In short, people engage largely in small talk and learn by collecting and discussing rumours. These interactions may reflect a genuine goodwill on the part of both parties; people are trying to learn something and people are trying to tell them something about their lives. However, as Craik (1997) argues, the whole idea of cultural tourism (as expressed in tourism literature, not necessarily by tourists) embodies a romanticised idea of cultural intercommunication. Therefore, as was discussed in chapter one with regard to field research, goodwill does not overcome the barriers that exist between strangers which can only be negotiated, and even then never completely erased, after long periods of interaction. If such limits apply to a six week research project, they are even more relevant to a three day visit. Phillip Crang (1997) sums-up the negotiated character of tourism as follows:

> So, settings and the roles within them are not determined in a once-and-for-all way prior to the interactions between tourists and tourism employees [or local people C.O.]. Instead they are a matter of negotiation and contestation within those interactions, as tourists attempt to establish what product is actually being offered [or what they can ask

C.O.], and as employees [and locals C.O.] investigate what tourists think the product being offered, is what they would like it to be, and so on. (Crang 1997, p.146).

This interaction is certainly not always as calculated and conscious as the above quote suggests, but there is still a level of negotiation that is taking place. In addition, in Pangnirtung this interaction takes place across a cultural divide. Therefore, what one might call the "quality" of such interaction is quite varied. At its best it may resemble inviting a new acquaintance into your home, at its worst the interaction resembles a basic commercial transaction such as paying for your groceries.

PERFORMANCES

In order to pursue the nature of these interactions it is useful to conceptualize them as a series of performances (Turner, 1969). Since MacCannell (1976) first advanced the idea that tourism presents a series of stages on which tourists and locals perform, the dramaturgical metaphor has been applied and extended in the tourism literature (e.g. M. Crang, 1994; P. Crang, 1997; Endensor, 2000). This metaphor has proven useful because it captures not only the fact that tourism takes place in different spaces – or stages – which encourage certain practices – or performances – but it also allows one to acknowledge that the "quality" of the interaction is in part dependent on the "skill" of the performer (tourist). It also recognizes those ludic and limnoid aspects of tourism which authorize performances by tourists because the interaction is separated both temporally and spatially from one's ordinary life and, thus, is largely free of any repercussions or commitments. Tourists' performances are often not self-conscious and may be based on unreflective norms of appropriateness, but they may just as often be self-conscious and critical as one tries to demonstrate one's cultural sensitivity or even playful

as tourists manipulate norms to show either mastery or contempt of what is considered appropriate (Edensor, 2000). Such performances include nebulous practices such as how one walks and presents oneself (e.g. purposeful marching from site to site vs strolling and engaging people one passes) and more obvious practices such as how one challenges or adheres to the scripted use of spaces (e.g. museums) or the rituals of tourism (e.g. taking pictures or buying souvenirs). These performances then determine the kinds of interactions one is likely to have and, therefore, the kinds of information and messages that one will take away. This does not mean that one tourist may get the "truth" while another gets the "tourist line", but it highlights that tourists leave with different sets of rumours depending on where they went, how they acted, who they met and a myriad other indeterminable factors. Therefore, the nebulous character of these performances suggests that analysis is most usefully applied to understanding the possibilities for interaction which exist on the different stages of the tourism experience (M.Crang, 1994, see also chapter 4 on practices).

Figure 5.1 (Appendix 3, p.187) is a map of Pangnirtung given to tourists and it gives a sense of the range of tourist facilities in Pangnirtung. One can distinguish three key areas. The first I will call centre-town, along the waterfront, which consists of the key tourists facilities and government offices (buildings 12-21, excluding 17 and 18). This was the area most frequented by tourists because it contains the lodge (most tourists stay at the lodge not the campground), the Uqqurmuit Arts and Crafts Centre, a reconstructed Blubber Station (an interpretation of whaling days), the Angmarlik Visitor Centre and the Parks Canada Visitor Centre (Figure 5.2 Appendix 3, p.188). These are

all spaces which Endensor (2000) has characterized as enclavic spaces because they are designed for tourists and primarily used by tourists. As such they tend to spaces which are planned and disciplined with the intention of catering to tourists' expectations. "The rhythms and choreographies of enclavic spaces are characterized by purposive, directed movements along strongly demarcated paths. Such spaces are organized to facilitate directional movement by reducing points of entry and exit and minimizing idiosyncratic distractions" (Edensor, 2000 p.339). Surrounding the centre-town area is the area below the runway, known locally as downtown, and the area above is known as uptown (Figure 5.3 Appendix 3, p.188). Contrary to enclavic spaces, these public spaces offer very unscripted spaces for tourism performances. The downtown area was most frequented by tourists wandering the streets and gazing or who were looking for supplies at one of the three stores (buildings 17, 18, 23, note also the health centre #24). The Northern Store also contained a fast food outlet, the only restaurant in town, where one could get sandwiches, Kentucky Fried Chicken or Pizza Hut pizza. The uptown area was hardly frequented by tourists except along the road connecting the centre-town to the campground and day-hiking trails. Tourism in Pangnirtung, then, is a movement between the enclavic spaces and the public spaces of the streets and encounters are structured by how tourists use these spaces and how their paths weave the different spaces together. In what follows, then, I wish to look at two such stages; first I will look at the dynamics of interaction in public spaces, and second, I will look at spaces designed for tourists by looking at the two interpretive centres in Pangnirtung. My analysis in this section is based largely on notes taken during participant observation.

Strolling through streets and stores and gazing is perhaps the archetypical tourist practice (Urry, 1990) and captures the quintessential tourist dilemma of how to interpret what one sees in a meaningful way (Jacobsen, 1992). In Pangnirtung much of what one sees is familiar to North American tourists, but one is unsure if one should assign the same meaning to them in Pangnirtung. For example, stores are stocked with many of the same food brands as in the south, but because brands are often tied to social meaning about standards of quality, nutrition and good taste much of the food (a lot of it was dried, canned and prepared foods -- what one participant characterized as junk food) may be seen as distasteful to some tourists. The Pizza Hut/Kentucky Fried Chicken outlet at the Northern store is another example of a space which is likely strictly avoided and denigrated by the health-conscious back-packer when at home, whereas in Pangnirtung it is the only public place one can go for a bite to eat. Whether or not to avoid this space because of one's preconceptions becomes a dilemma.

One response to such uncertainty is to keep walking, to move purposefully and retreat to more familiar spaces (either the hotel or the tourism facilities). Probably many tourists do this in an attempt not to intrude in the domestic spaces of the community. An example of such an approach is one couple I met who had arrived late from the park after most facilities were closed and who were scheduled to leave the next morning. As we walked down the street they peppered me with questions about what people do in Pangnirtung and why few people were out on the street[29]. This kind of encounter --

---

[29]After seeing the satellite dishes they speculated people spent their time watching TV. I encouraged them to go to the visitors centre in the morning and find out more and to consider how many people left town to go on the land in the summer.

tourists talking to tourists, speculating -- is familiar to any one who has travelled and it is interesting how tourists who have been visiting longer become "experts". Another group related how they had met some of the Trent University students while they were hiking and they had told them about Pangnirtung[30], portraying it in a very positive light. This approach can result in one anecdotal snapshot colouring a tourist's perception of Pangnirtung. For example, the following is an excerpt from one participant's response to a follow-up question about how he learns when he travels. In the first round of interviews he had indicated that talking with people he met (mostly to other tourists) was his main way of learning (his schedule did not permit him any time interacting in Pangnirtung).

I found the people very interesting - outgoing, friendly and accommodating. I had the strange sense that I had known them for a long time. Unfortunately, I wasn't expecting the impact that alcohol/drugs has had on the native communities to be so salient. For example, I found it quite disturbing to hear, after I had purchased a carving in Iqaluit, that the carvers are invariably given advances on their work so they can buy alcohol. It becomes apparent that we, as outsiders to the community, can cause irreparable damage to a traditional way of life.

Even though this individual felt he had known the community for a long time, the reality is that he has no way of judging the validity of what he has heard about carvers. It is a rumour which then colours his or her perception not only of Iqaluit but of all "native communities". The carvers are cast as victims and the damage is irreparable. Admittedly, such a way of learning is just as likely to lead someone to a positive assessment as well.

In the above examples, then, tourists perform the role of spectators and do not try

---

[30]Unfortunately I did not think to ask what exactly they discussed with the group. The participants were keen to get to the hotel and relax after their hike.

to involve themselves directly. However, tourists can signal that they are interested in talking with people through innumerable subtle gestures (body language) or by trying to initiate conversations. According to the Nunavut Tourism Visitor Centre in Iqaluit, and some locals in Pangnirtung, smiling to people one passes in the street is the expected greeting in Inuit communities, a practice which differs from the practice in southern urban centres of avoiding eye contact with strangers. This simple gesture, then, can have great influence on what kind of interaction one might have. Most participants commented on how they found the locals to be open and friendly, but it is not clear how many interacted with people on the street, and whether they went beyond a cordial greeting, and how many confined themselves to enclavic spaces and tourism employees[31]. In order to move beyond the enclavic spaces requires a certain amount of social "skill". The importance of this skill at interacting became apparent at public events such as Inuit games and a community feast held for Nunavut Day and the Pangnirtung Music Festival and Baffin Island Inuit Games held in late July. In both cases tourists (and myself) stood as quintessential outsiders facing a language barrier and uncertainty about etiquette. Abandoning oneself to the uncertainty of how to act and participating was the only way out of the spectator position, but I only observed the Trent students (who had been there several weeks) taking such a "risk", while tourists stood by and watched. In interviews,

---

[31]Significantly, one participant became acquainted with the local nurses and visited their houses for supper. Unfortunately, I did not learn of the level of involvement until follow-up interviews and did not ask what she learned/discussed concerning Pangnirtung. Although the nurses where non-Inuit and had been in Pangnirtung for varying amounts of time, this kind of interaction is exactly the kind of spontaneous extension of the typical tourist/local interaction which could lead the tourist to discover many new things.

only four participants indicated that they had chatted at any length with local people outside of formal tourist facilities. This would seem to indicate that tourists do not attempt, or find it difficult, to step outside the norms of public performance which they have learned and that such new performances requires a certain amount of social "skill" and willingness to admit one's social confusion.

The situation is quite different in the enclavic spaces in Pangnirtung, which provide a more scripted space in which tourists can more confidently interact with locals (usually, but not always, employees). In such spaces it is easier to see how tourist spaces (i.e. the stage) can encourage certain interactions and how tourists' use of these spaces influences what messages they take from them. This can be shown by briefly considering the two spaces which were most frequented by tourists -- the Angmarlik Visitor Centre and the Parks Canada Interpretation Centre[32] [33]. Figure 5.4 (Appendix 3, p.189) shows a floor plan of both spaces. As indicated, the Angmarlik Centre has both facilities for local people – i.e. the library and the elder's/coffee room -- and tourists – i.e. the museum and elder's/coffee room – and as such it provides a unique space for tourists to interact with locals. Although this interaction is mostly limited to kids who use the library and run

[32]Other important enclavic spaces are:1) the Uqqurmuit Arts and Crafts centre, where tourists can not only purchase items but can also interact with artists in either the print-making or tapestry studios; 2) the Auyuittuq Lodge where most tourists stayed while in town. Unfortunately, the manager of the lodge requested that I not spend time there unless invited by guests. 3) The renovated Blubber Station which included displays on whaling techniques and a reconstructed model of a whaling boat. This space was only open for tourists who requested to see it.

[33]My interpretation of these spaces is based in part on a talk given by Dr. Peter Kulchyski on the use of space in Pangnirtung. Peter was leading the Trent University Field School.

about the museum, and elders who use the elder's room once a week[34], the centre is also used by local people who want to drop in and buy a coffee. The space is also somewhat circular and oriented around the elder's room, which is a space with comfortable chairs and tables, which invites one to sit and talk. The museum is connected to this room and so people who are drawn into the museum by its display of traditional artefacts may be drawn from looking at exhibits (a very scripted practice) into the elder's room where they may engage in conversation about what they have just seen. In addition, the staff at the centre were often praised by tourists as being an excellent source of information about Pangnirtung and for being incredibly friendly. Staff would strike-up conversations with visitors and encourage them to spend time in the elder's room or the museum. In particular, one staff member gave excellent tours of the museum during which he impressed tourists both with his knowledge of the artefacts and enthusiasm for telling people about contemporary Pangnirtung. Therefore, while the Angmarlik Centre can become an efficient channelling system for tourist who simply want to register with an outfitter at the front kiosk and move on to register for the hike at the Parks Canada Visitor Centre (they are side by side, see Fig. 5.2 p.188), it is also a social space for those who want to spend the time waiting for that chance encounter (I drank way too much coffee trying to do this). The elder's room, as a social space, gives people a place to stay between periodic wanderings to talk to staff at the kiosk or to visit the museum. This

---

[34]The elders do not speak English, but tourists could ask staff to interpret for them if they had questions. I did not witness any tourists doing so, perhaps because often elders were involved in games of cards, or other activities which tourists did not want to intrude upon.

space could also offer tourists who were camping a place to meet and discuss their experiences during the hike. Thus, the Angmarlik Centre offers tourists a stage where they can "legitimately" (i.e. there is a script) interact with local people.

In contrast to the Angmarlik Centre, the Parks Canada Visitor's Centre offered no such space which encouraged social interaction (Fig.5.4 Appendix 3 p.189). Upon entering the centre one is confronted with an Inukshuk[35] beyond which is the desk for registration. One side of the room is covered with displays indicating how Parks Canada plays a role in Canada's Green Plan and that Parks Canada is supportive of Inuit ties to the land and concerns for conservation (see chapter four). To the right of this space is a display of Inuit carvings and a natural history display that includes a polar bear stuffed and mounted with other animals one might (but not likely) see in the Park. This is also accompanied by some text and a series of photographs. This room also contains a work station with books containing information on the park, largely for people who are planning to do mountaineering. Beyond this room is a large room with a spectacular panoramic view of Pangnirtung fiord framed by the mountains of Auyuittuq. One cannot see the community through this window, which reinforces the focus on the Park and the adventure that awaits hikers (Kulchyski, 1999). This room is where hikers get their pre-trip briefing and also contains a large-screen TV on which people can view a series of movies dealing with life in the North or the Park[36]. However, this is not a room that

---

[35]A stone cairn used by the Inuit for navigation or as spiritual markers.

[36]The one most often offered to tourist was one of the Park set to music which offered panoramic shots of the Park and images of Inuit in contemporary and traditional garb. There was no verbal script/explanation.

encourages people to stay and talk because all the chairs are in rows and face away from the window towards the TV (Kulchyski, 1999). What's more, it was not a place frequented by local people. Therefore, although tourists can interact with park staff, and get information about the Park, I did not see people using it in the same social fashion as the Angmarlik Centre and it is primarily a place to prepare for one's hike. In contrast to the circular space of the Angmarlik Centre (people move between kiosk, museum and elder's room), the Parks Canada Centre offers a series of "dead-ends". This is reinforced by the fact that staff are wearing uniforms and have other tasks to busy themselves with when not talking to tourists. The Parks office, then, provides a very different "stage" than does the Angmarlik centre and encourages different kinds of performances by tourists and tourism employees. However, this is not to say that people will use these stages in the way that they have been scripted, but it does underscore how space may encourage different usages[37]. This in turn reinforces the fact that the tourism process is one based in praxis. However, in both enclavic and public spaces one can see that the tourism process is largely random and indeterminate as tourists collect whatever snapshots and rumours people are able to collect. This accidental character is captured by Jacobsen (1992) when he says that tourists seek only "*scenes* with *possibilities* for contact between hosts and guests" (Jacobsen, 1992 p.2 emphasis mine). The metaphor of "scenes" captures the casual nature with which tourists approach learning, but it also captures the sense of adventure (checking out the scene), the playfulness and innocence with which tourists

[37]It is worth noting that the two Visitor Centres are side by side and movement between them is encouraged by a large deck that connects the two buildings.

engage with the community.

RUMOURS

In conceptualizing the importance of rumour, one should not equate a rumour with a lack of truth. Rumours hold varying degrees of truth, but what is important is that one is uncertain about whether it is true or not. On the one hand, rumours pave over complexity and replace it with simplified injunctive statement about a "truth" which is not openly spoken. On the other hand, rumours themselves are complex social constructions which represent tourists' attempts to negotiate understandings about the nature of place. In this sense they may create complexity by opening up spaces for discussions around ideas that don't have the formality of the place myths which anchor dominant discourses about place. Therefore, the fact that a tourist's understanding is developed through rumour does not make it trivial, but instead is important in understanding how tourism may or may not challenge dominant discourses. This point is developed by Hutnyk (1996) in The Rumour of Calcutta. Referring to Calcutta, Hutnyk writes:

A story forms out of myths and legends, whispers, throwaway lines, cliches, sunset stereotypes, melodies, gossip, anecdote and conjecture. The city which assembles itself for travellers in this ragged-edge way is one of trinkets and souvenirs, misunderstandings and prejudices, as well as curiosity, ***communication and contemplation...*** " (Hutnyk, 1996 p.29 italics mine).

Using the idea of rumours Hutnyk sets out not to reject how tourists develop an understanding of place, but to problematize the limits inherent in all understanding and thus show more clearly how tourists' understandings are related to more authoritative texts and discourses. The production of all knowledge is also a collection of chatter,

images, throwaway lines, gossip, communication and contemplation. Even academic discourses about other people and places are not judged solely on objective criteria, but gain some of their legitimacy from shared assumptions and techniques amongst academics – academics who are also tourists in other times and places (Hutnyk, 1996 pp. 30-34). Rojek and Urry have noted:

> ... There are interesting parallels between academics and tourists in the ways in which they produce and interpret the "visual", especially as the former increasingly deploy photographic, filmic, televisual and other multi-media material...where does tourism end and so-called fieldwork begin? (Rojek and Urry, 1997 p.9).

This blurring of tourism and field-work problematizes the whole academic project of critically assessing touristic knowledge. Can tourists' experiences be judged inferior? On what grounds do academics claim their understandings are superior? One could enter a lengthy discussion on epistemology and fieldwork at this point, but in response to this challenge Hutnyk points out that rather than a trying to distinguish academic and touristic knowledge one might instead focus on how tourists' understandings reflect and articulate more dominant discourses, and hence can serve to reproduce them, or how rumours can actually inform dominant discourse. For example, many travelogues, such as DeToqueville's Democracy in America, are given great privilege in academic circles. More modestly, travelogues written by tourists who visited Pangnirtung are posted on the web as resources for future travellers (e.g. see http://www.rex-passion.com/Auyuittuq/Auyu.1.html). Therefore, one should not set up a true/false dichotomy whereby tourist's knowledge is simply false or trivial:

> This chatter of tourism is impoverished only in so far as a privilege is accorded to the serious talk of the social sciences on the very same topics. This is a question of undoing encrusted authority; the taunt of gossip reminds us to watch over those texts that are

authoritative, and those other texts that also have effect (Hutnyk, 1996 p.34).

Finally, if one is tempted to say that tourists' knowledge is "just rumours" one must be careful not to judge tourists by a standard that they themselves do not aspire to. So while tourists' interaction with locals in Pangnirtung may not reach the lofty goals of advocates of cultural tourism it may also be that "advocates...too often hope to attract the ideal cultural tourist who is highly motivated to consume culture [i.e. a cultural "product" C.O.] and possess a high level of cultural capital; yet most cultural tourism consumers are adjunct accidental or reluctant visitors" (Craik, 1997, p.121; see also Jacobsen 1992). As has been noted above, the notion of an accidental cultural tourist describes very well the practices which tourists engaged in during their time in Pangnirtung. As a result, even amongst those who were motivated to learn about Inuit culture, or life in Pangnirtung, there was amongst all but one a reluctance to state that they "understood" what they were seeing. Instead, what one finds is that tourists have questions and reserved judgements which form a tumult of rumours out of which people try to make sense of what they see.

Three issues discussed by participants

In order to show how this process works I will present people's comments on three issues which were raised during interviews when participants were asked about their impressions of Pangnirtung. These issues illustrate how rumour works and the varying degrees of reflexivity which exist amongst tourists. I will look at tourists' comments on the aesthetics of Pangnirtung (or the messy street issue), people's views of the role and impact of tourism and expectations concerning drinking in Northern communities. Tourists' responses indicate that many tourists are judging what they see against a

discourse which frames the Inuit as victims (see chapter one and three) and the resulting social ills which are (rumoured?) to be rampant in first nation communities (How bad are they? Does it apply to Pangnirtung?). Perhaps the most damaging aspect of this discourse is that it can (but need not) legitimize people's right to judge the victim. Therefore, if one sees something that one does not understand, or agree with, the other-as-victim discourse allows one to pass judgement, or understand, by appealing to one's non-victim position. The victim simply represents a damaged version of "normal" non-victim behaviour. Participants in this survey generally did not pass judgement in this way and were more reflexive and hesitant in passing judgement which highlights again how rumour is a dialogue with a dominant discourse. In addition, encompassing all of these three rumours, which I interpret as a background turmoil, is the "quality" of people's experience in Pangnirtung (i.e. did they enjoy themselves and feel welcome). It is this experience which appears to act as the final arbiter in passing a judgement on Pangnirtung and leads people to view the town in a positive light.

Messy streets

The discussions concerning messy streets and homes are a good example of how perceptions are formed from strolling and gazing. Past tourism surveys in Nunavut have noted that tourists are sometimes put off by what they perceive to be messy streets and unkept houses or lots (Reimer and Dialla, 1992; Milne et. al 1995). In Pangnirtung a minority of respondents did comment on this theme and the responses reflect varying degrees of reflexivity. In Pangnirtung high winds, and the fact that garbage does not neatly disappear to distant dumps (the dump is on the edge of town), means that there is

some accumulation in gullies and around the foundations of buildings. Perhaps more striking some houses were surrounded by scrap lumber, komatiks, dog houses, snowmobiles and ATV in various states of repair. However, whether the streets are messy or not is not the central point here. What is interesting is that it was noted and what people made of this "fact".

Only one participant felt the aesthetics of the community reflected badly on the community while another simply felt it was a fact of life in the North and gave it little more thought, but the final two struggled with what it represents. One respondent noted:

People generally don't seem to have a sense of neatness. You see piles of lumber and crap and old snowmobiles and stuff left outside the front door. There isn't a sense of...order. But that's...I'm probably the wrong person to ask, I'm a little anal retentive that way...I just accept it, that's the way that it is here. You have to give your head a shake and not apply your standards to a different culture.

This participant was only in town for one night, and had not expected any facilities in Pangnirtung and, therefore, he represents very much the accidental cultural tourist and his comments reflect a very casual, detached and non-judgmental approach. In the end he falls back on cultural relativity both as a way of respecting what he does not know, and avoiding engaging with the issue. However, a second tourist who explicitly stated he had an interest in learning about Pangnirtung, and who had more experience in the North having worked in the region as a surveyor, reflected more clearly the kind of back and forth that goes on as tourists try to assemble judgements from preconceptions and rumour. He started by expressing a desire to better understand Inuit culture in a way that was sensitive to historical context:

Well, I mean, we have a certain responsibility as Canadians, uh, to the Inuit people. I mean it...my exposure to their experience, uh...you know while I was working here [not in

Pangnirtung C.O.] [someone] said that ...things had stunk pretty bad here for a long time, to put it bluntly. And, uh, you know, it's very difficult to put the wrongs right over night. So, although it's long before my time, but well out of my jurisdiction...I certainly felt a kind of responsibility. You know I don't know where my life all kind of fits into making things right, or whether I belong in it. But that's...that's something to think about

And from this self-aware stance he addressed the messy street issue in the following way:

I was little disappointed to see the amount of garbage and trash, around town. I had expected -- because this is typical of all the northern communities, the amount of trash and junk that's laying in the creeks and the, you know, around all the houses -- but I had thought there might have been a conscious effort here to appease the tourist.

Question: [does the trash] detract from your experience?

No, it didn't detract at all....They don't stop me from coming, um, because I think I have kind of a global perspective, I've been in...you know mud huts in West Africa, and uh, sat in tents with Bedouin in the middle east.

Question: do you think it reflects badly on the town?

No, but I don't think it's the message the town wants to send to the rest of the world. I think it would go a long way, uh, just because that's the kind of standard that we as tourists, if you want to call us that, are use to. Like what goes home with us, one of the impressions, is the cleanliness, always, you know. And I think to be able to come away from a place saying "God it was beautifully clean" you know, I think that would sell. Better than people going back and saying "Geez, you know it was a great place BUT there was an awful lot of garbage in the streets". You know, oil drums rolling around and, you know the harbour and stuff like that...As I understand there's a cultural, thing here, about, you know...they use to dump things and they would degrade, right? Without consequence. But now we're in a different sort of..age. They don't disintegrate so quickly so they become, I think, a detractor to good will, let's put it that way.

These tourists are both clearly reflexive in assessing what they see and the second respondent clearly shows that there is a certain amount of hesitancy as he decides whether he can simply accept or justify what he does not like. This is also a good example of how rumour is involved in developing perceptions. In the second passage, the tourist makes reference to the rumour that there is a cultural tradition amongst the Inuit of just throwing garbage away because it would traditionally degrade. This was a reason which I heard

from both locals and tourists and it enters as a powerful corrective, or restraint, to any judgements which tourists may wish to pass because it raises the possibility that one is imposing one's values on the community. Something that tourists – "if you want to call us that" – are loathe to do. In both cases above, the respondents fall back on a kind of cultural relativity – what the second respondent calls the "global perspective" – in order to accept what they see. For the second tourist, this is also interpreted in light his understanding that "things had stunk pretty bad here" which further discourages passing judgements as he cannot know how much this history is related to what he sees now and what allowances he might make for it. In this second quote, then, one sees that reflexivity pivots around the discourse which sets the Inuit as victims of cultural degeneration at the hands of white culture. However, respondents do not have the time to engage more fully with the issues they confront and conclude by not passing judgement[38].

Comments on the role and impact of tourism in Pangnirtung:

In a similar fashion people commented on the role and impact of tourism in Pangnirtung and in the following comments one sees a combination of judgements based on gazing and interacting. It needs to be stressed, and I will return to this below, that people were very pleased with the tourism facilities and a few noted that they were way beyond what was expected. However, I wish to draw out here three discussions about tourism which point again to the dynamics of speculation as a way of learning and reflexivity or hesitancy in passing judgement. For example when asked if she felt she

---

[38]Not that I expect such an engagement on the part of tourists on holidays. I will return to this in the conclusion of this section.

was developing some sense of people's lifestyle after three visits north, one participant commented:

It's not a big focus, maybe a little bit...I think one of the most incredible things is the number of young people you see involved working in the area now just in tourism. I mean every tourism place you go has got three or four young people working in there. I think that's great....it's obviously providing them with jobs, it's giving them contact with other people and...and it's gotta be a little more exciting for them.

In contrast, a tourist from Inuvik was critical of what he felt were lost business opportunities in Pangnirtung. From his experiences in Pangnirtung, and difficulties getting what he felt was good trail information for the park (see chapter 4), he developed a long list of potential business opportunities for the community and wondered why they were not being acted on. The following quote indicates how he approaches the issue reflexively:

why people are not reaching out and taking that opportunity, is that something that comes from inside, is it something that has been taken away, is it something that wasn't in the culture, is it something that westerners expect in the culture and it's a value being overlaid which we have no right to expect....I don't know the answer to that question. But the theory behind the landclaim was provide the opportunity and we shall succeed. Well the opportunity is here...why aren't....they've taken the first step...they're sitting in the jobs, but the jobs could supply such more extensive opportunity...and these are tourism related jobs [unclear on tape]...and why people aren't taking the initiative to expand that opportunity, I don't know. I guess the flip side of it is...how far have we come since the 1950s and 1960s and maybe it is huge progress and maybe I'm measuring against the standards of the western arctic which has a different story of contact and a different time frame. Maybe my expectations are too high.

Both these respondents were people with extensive experience in the North (one as a tourist, the other as a business man), but they both felt that they didn't have the time or desire to really engage with getting to know Pangnirtung. Therefore, experience and rumours combine to form judgements, but they are given with a fair degree of qualification and restraint. In both cases, but more clearly in the second response, the

respondents are grappling with how to comment on what they see in the context of the social ills that are said to plague Northern communities. One begins to see here how these rumours interact with more authoritative discourses as the second respondent appeals to a discourse of the Inuit, or aboriginal people more broadly, as victims, as discussed in chapter one and three. He wonders if people are still struggling with that legacy, and if his "expectations may be too high", but as discussed in previous chapters, such speculation may not be welcomed by the Inuit.

This struggle was also played out by one woman who had made an effort to interact with local people, was very interested in traditional Inuit culture and was overflowing with praise about her experience in Pangnirtung. When I asked her if her interest in traditional Inuit culture led to her having any expectations about what she might see in Pangnirtung, her response shows both that she wonders about discourses of the Inuit as victims, and how she uses brief encounters in Pangnirtung to consider the issue[39]. I quote at some length because I feel it captures the dynamic I am trying to highlight and it also allows readers to better assess the interpretation I give.

I don't think [I had any expectations], I mean the thing is that you know I... the things that are described in the Longest Day, or in the studies that are prior to the fifties, describe a way of life that I know perfectly well doesn't exist any longer unless someone deliberately goes out and creates it, which some people are doing of course. So I had no sort of expectations. And, of course,, I've also...you know, read and know about the stuff that had to do with degeneration of a culture [unclear] what it means to transform them. So I didn't have a lot of expectations, you know I feel that I was pretty realistic. You know in some senses it was pretty much what I expected.

The participant, then, is clearly setting her answer within perception that Inuit culture has

---

[39]The exact question was: "What have you thought about Pangnirtung generally, did reading about the North or about Inuit Culture lead to any expectations?"

declined, but she is clear that although she didn't expect to see a slice of the past, she wasn't sure what to expect[40]. She then proceeds:

At the same time I really like it, you know....I mean I hope that the, it seems to me that the creation of Nunavut on the one hand it's a wonderful sort of dream, for there to be a nation for the Inuit. At the same time, it seems to me as a I listen to politicians focussing upon the creation of a jobs economy, um, you wonder how that will actually exactly become really...And so in relation to the creations of a jobs economy the sort of emphasis upon tourism is gonna – there will be no doubt there will be an increase [unclear]. And it's interesting to discover how that will change people's relationship to one another and to people that come in. Right now you find people very generous and...you know I was out at the [Inuit] games and I was sitting beside a woman [and] I was telling her about the hike and, telling her how beautiful it is, because she hasn't been up there...So she's telling me that she'd really like to go and see it and I'm telling her how great it was and how beautiful it was. And so she said: "Oh you're staying in the campground?" And I say yah we stayed in the campground and she says "(gasp) I just can't imagine that, you know, staying outside in the campground...so clearly here people don't go out on the land in summer time, that's fine. So you know, she said: "What happens, where do you bathe?" And I said well you know we went to the hotel today and showered, but it's fifteen dollars! So she says to me "Well why don't you just knock on one of our houses and tell them that you want a shower, everyone will let you in!" Well, of course, in some senses in the creation of tourism that's the kind of invitation you don't want people giving, right?!... but it's an interesting sort of thing to think about whether these forms of tourism, they're kind of ecotourism or adventure tourism [unclear], what they're direct contribution to the community that are associated with them really are...

What is interesting about this quote is the way that the Inuit games provided a stage for

---

[40] I feel compelled to keep reminding readers that in making these interpretations I am not adopting a holier-than-though attitude. I too did not know what I might encounter in Pangnirtung. Much academic discourse focussing on social injustice, or issues of misrepresentation, refers frequently to "marginalized" groups, but what is the character of the margins? Other texts talk about "Canada's colonies" and in non-academic media one often reads stories of social decline in Northern communities. In fact, I chose Pangnirtung in part because it was rumoured not be as "rough" a community as others on Baffin Island. I did not expect to find victims, but I had wondered what this historical legacy meant for my reception as a researcher and locals' attitudes towards tourists. Like the participants in my survey, I had to question dominant discourses in light of experience in order to decide how to act, how to do research and, as I write, how to interpret. It is this struggle that highlights the similarities between academic and touristic understanding. It is precisely for this reason that I did not write about Inuit views on tourism. (See Chapter two)

this participant to interact and collect stories or rumours (e.g. that not many locals go in the park[41], that you could just knock on someone's door and ask for shower), which then combine with an understanding of Northern contexts (the problems with creating a jobs economy), an apparent misunderstanding ("so clearly people here don't go out on the land in the summer") and her understandings of tourism development and cultural change lead to speculation about how the community is changing and how tourism might change the community. In a bit of a leading question, I later asked if she felt that she was dealing with a culture that was still very alive and vibrant, in order to draw out her perceptions of contemporary Pangnirtung. Again we see fleeting experiences and encounters combining to form a detached speculation, but in the end she reserves judgement:

Yes. Although I mean I think that...like I used to have questions about that, but I mean it's not really...I'm certainly no expert, right? But I found that [one of the staff at the Angmarlik Centre] in particular – I mean... no one has had the opportunity to tell me these things, right? -- but, um, with [this staff], the nice thing is that, as I was saying, the combination of a kid who would like to go to university and stuff, but who has, um, all of this respect and interest in traditions and practices...and the interesting sort of question is how to live both of those. Which will be wonderful to see how people work this out. And you know I think that....I mean I don't think it's for me to comment.

Question: You haven't been here long enough to say?

And even if I had been, it's none of my business, it's not my judgement to make.

This kind of reflexivity is heartening, but it is a tenuous thing because it is generated from such a tumult of rumours and speculation. The fact that I could even ask a question about the vibrancy of Inuit culture, and that she would respond that she "used to have questions about that" shows how rumours of the degeneration of Inuit culture structure tourists'

[41]Although not many locals go in the park in summer, I was told that there is winter and fall use of the park as people move between Qikitarjuaq and Pangnirtung.

(and researchers') discourses[42]. It would seem that the struggle is between two influences – the first discourses of cultural change, or degeneration, and the second a positive experience in Pangnirtung and a reflexive awareness of one's position as a tourist. The role of experience is even more apparent in people's comments on drinking.

Comments on the absence of drinking in public

People repeatedly stated that they really enjoyed the reception they received in Pangnirtung. The friendliness of the people was often referred to as a "surprise". However, for some people this surprise was due to an expectation that the community would be marred by excessive alcohol use. As one person noted:

[People are] very friendly as we discussed the other night at the campground. It seems to make a difference that this is a dry community to me. You know the kids on the streets everybody seems to be good.

For some this was because they had had negative experiences with drinking in Northern communities and had feared that the same might hold for Pangnirtung. For example:

We were in Norman Wells a couple of years back at the time of the Black Bear festival when they all get drunk and we camped in the camp ground and it was a very scary scene. So that aspect of the community we haven't seen here obviously. Everyone we've met here just seemed very receptive, very welcoming.

Or for another participant:

in my experience in a Northern community, single, female, young female, is not such a

---

[42]I must stress that I did not open questions about culture by reference to discourse of social ills, or Inuit as victim. I only asked people what they thought of their time in Pangnirtung or if they had any expectations. Only if a participant made reference to discourses of "decline" would I sometimes pursue this by asking if they thought the culture was still "vibrant" or "alive". To this degree, I must acknowledge my role in recreating the discourse.

safe thing. But I guess that the big thing that really impressed me was that this is a dry community and it's obvious. You see the difference...it's probably not completely dry, as much as, you know, you'd like it to. But the feeling of safety, you can feel it walking around the streets.

These fears are legitimately based in past experience, and the problems with alcohol, as was noted in passages by Inuit writers in the Nunavut Handbook, are real in many communities. Nevertheless, without any real knowledge about alcohol use in the community, Pangnirtung is being judged against a stereotype, and some limited experience, which links aboriginal people with drinking. As one respondent said when comparing the Inuit to other tribal nations he had visited in Africa :

Quite similar to some of the people I met when I was younger... what we called bushman...It's quite sad...people of Namibia, Botswana. And they have a similar highly refined functional tool usage... unfortunately the same problem, alcohol, money based economy, we destroyed them.

This respondent was particularly blunt and unreflexive in making judgements based on an understanding of first nations' cultures having been "destroyed" by money and alcohol. Here the Inuit are being judged against some romantic past. Interestingly, this same respondent, like all the others who made comment about alcohol, went on to praise the community for its friendliness and he felt that all tourists should make an effort to meet people. Therefore, unlike the other issues looked at above, the experience in Pangnirtung does much to challenge this idea and positive experiences led tourists to assume that the community is now doing well.

Interacting with people: the final arbiter?

The discussion above gives some sense of the turmoil of rumours: What does all the scrap in front of houses mean? What is the impact of tourism, why are some

opportunities not developed? Thankfully there is no drinking here! These issues are dealt with through speculations which are a combination of past knowledge, observation and conversations and they lead to different degrees of reflexivity on the part of tourists. These rumours are both a short-hand which paves over complexity in order to make sense of what one sees and complex negotiated understanding at the same time. However, what is common to all but one of the respondents who spent time in Pangnirtung is that they really enjoyed their time and their interaction with local people. Therefore, in the end their assessment of Pangnirtung is positive. The friendliness of people, the quality of service, the tourism facilities – all these things impressed people and left them with a very favourable impression. The one respondent who did not have this experience of friendliness was left with a rather neutral impression of the town. When asked what he did in Pangnirtung to get to know the local culture he replied:

Not a lot actually because I find this place here is more uh...I don't know if civilized [sic] is the right word...more in touch with the outside world here [than they were in a place like the Nortak [in Alaska which he had visited C.O.] and their probably not too open...I dunno.

And when asked if Pangnirtung met his expectations he replied:

In terms of Pang and area, just the same as every other town in the North... a scrap yard of the North....I've not come to marvel at Pang. It's just a base isn't it?

This rather sullen assessment is the result of little positive interaction with locals which reinforces perceptions of a shabby and remote village[43]. However, subsequent to our

---

[43]It is also interesting to note he perceive locals as less open because they have been in contact with "the outside". This suggests that one only meets friendly locals in places untouched by modernity. But this interpretation would require further follow-up to discuss this point.

interview this respondent started a home-stay[44] which allowed him to interact with a local family, and he had been staying in the Angmarlik Centre a fair bit talking with staff and other tourists. These experiences seemed to be overriding his earlier assessment. In a similar situation, another participant expected Pangnirtung to be resistant, even hostile, to outsiders but was a complete convert by the end of her stay:

When I got here this was sort of...the main thing was the park, that was the main goal coming here. And the park was beautiful and I love the hike, but what made my trip was my stop in Pang.

Therefore, positive interaction becomes a final arbiter and allows people to make an overall assessment of the place even when below the surface there are questions.

Although such positive encounters are not "authentic" in MacCannell's sense (i.e. they are a staged authenticity) it does not follow that they are somehow inconsequential in the negotiated process of learning which this chapter has described. Instead they represent moments of what Wang (1999) calls "existential authenticity". An existential experience involves:

personal or intersubjective feelings activated by the liminal process of tourist activities. In such a liminal experience people feel they themselves are much more authentic and more freely self-expressed...not because they find the toured objects more authentic but simply because they are...free from the constraints of the daily. (Wang, 1999 p. 352-353).

Thus existential authenticity is experienced as an "alienation-smashing feeling" (Selwyn quoted in Wang 1999) which can have a powerful and meaningful impact on the tourist. Wang argues that tourism thus provides a space where people can develop a sense of

---

[44]This is when a tourist rents a room in a local house. It is a bed and breakfast type of arrangement.

"communitas" as developed in Turner's (1973) discussion of pilgrimage. As Wang (1999 p.364) explains:

> Communitas is characterized by "liminality"...In communitas, structures fall apart, and differences arising out of the institutionalized socioeconomic and sociopolitical position, roles and status disappear. Instead a pilgrim experiences "a spontaneous generated relationship between leveled and equal total and individuated, human beings, stripped of structural attributes"(Turner 1973:216).

Tourists overall positive assessment may be a reflection of a sense of communitas developed while in Pangnirtung. Thus in Pangnirtung tourists come to know locals as individuals and not as representatives of Inuit culture, which may in turn go a long way to challenging dominant discourses. The idea of existential authenticity would then explain how people's experiences can transcend the turmoil of rumours discussed above and the more entrenched place-myths and discourses about place. Nevertheless, while a sense of communitas may go a long way in challenging misrepresentations, in its erasure of the institutionalized positions of locals and tourists it may also mask the power relations that structure the tourist encounter. I will return to this in the conclusion. In addition, when people are denied the opportunity of communitas, or more precisely deny it to themselves by rushing through town, then one can only speculate as to which encounters will colour their perception.

CONCLUSION

This chapter has dealt with the performative nature of tourism and the dynamic of rumours and experience in creating perceptions and encouraging reflexivity. As noted in chapter one, I do not wish to speak for the community in judging whether tourists reflect an acceptable amount of reflexivity, but have restricted my analysis and comments to how

people learn and what encourages reflexivity. However, in concluding I would restate why it is important to consider how tourism may recreate dominant discourses and, therefore, be considered as a potentially ideological practice. When this realization is combined with the knowledge that tourism is a very open process dependent on the nebulous qualities of tourists' practices (performances) one can begin to see how MacCannell (1976, 1992) developed a pessimistic outlook for the role of tourism in bringing about social understanding or change (see chapter one). The analysis in this chapter offers much more hope than MacCannell would allow, but I still end by sounding a note of caution.

Reflexivity is at its strongest, I believe, when people simply admit they do not fully understand the complexity of what they see and refuse to pass judgment. In this way they signal their openness to hearing alternative explanations in the future. They may also be indicating that they do not care, but this at least still has the virtue of not judging. Unfortunately some people act on their reflexivity by falling back on assumptions about cultural decline, and turmoil, in Inuit society since contact with Europeans. This response does have the virtue of signalling that tourists are aware of the injustices which Inuit people have suffered, but as indicated above and in chapter one, this discourse erases the constructive role that Inuit have played in their own history and how they have always been striving to improve their situation. It therefore opens the door for judging the Inuit as a passive and damaged culture which in turn legitimizes discourse about what they "should" be doing. Therefore, even while critical of the history of decline, the impulse to judge and offer advice recreates the historical relationship between North and south,

because much of the social hardship faced by the Inuit is as a result of southern bureaucracies applying southern standards to Northern realities (Coates, 1985). Therefore, even while tourists praise contemporary Pangnirtung, one must ask, even if no firm answer presents itself in the data, what part tourism plays in recreating or challenging a discourse which frames the Inuit as victims. For example, one respondent, who clearly felt tourists should be aware of the historical injustices faced by the Inuit and try to learn about Inuit culture, was firmly against hunting in the Park for conservation reasons and felt the community should tidy its streets to meet tourists' standards. Both these positions, it could be argued, continue a pattern of imposing southern norms on Northern culture. Another respondent, quoted above, went as far as to claim "we [Europeans] destroyed them". In contrast another tourists commented:

it really becomes clear looking at [the museum], that people living here...let me just move back a bit...one often has the impression that people lived a certain way and then Europeans came and that changed and then it didn't change much after that. Whereas you see here much more clearly long term change going on all the time.

There is no clear answer, then, but instead a constant open question between reproducing a discourse and challenging it.

In a similar vein, one must ask to what degree tourists are creating "innocent geographies" through their lack of engagement, which allows them to create the kind of ideological closure which MacCannell (1976, 1992) argues is at the heart of tourism. That is, if tourists' positive experience in Pangnirtung – their sense of communitas -- leads to an overly simplistic appraisal of the community, then one is erasing the past and the conditions which have created the present. For example one woman, who had had a very positive experience in Pangnirtung went on to translate this experience into an

assessment of how well the community is fairing:

Well it's a very mosaic kind of culture now...you don't know what zone you're going to be in. You come in [to the Angmarlik Centre] on an elders day and on one hand they're all there playing cards and on the other there's a frozen char sitting ready to be eaten. It's just a sort of really interesting mixture of the cultures and they just seem to have blended well together, they don't seem to be conflicting.

One must admit that such a positive appraisal is perhaps what the community might hope for from tourists rather than a negative assessment. However, it also erases the struggles that are surely going on in Pangnirtung today as they are in all economically marginal regions in a capitalist economy. Again, I am "telescoping to the big picture" (Hutnyk, 1996) to ask how tourism is involved in legitimating the unequal distributions of wealth in capitalist societies. In the transition from nomadic hunters to a government-supported wage economy, the Inuit have also become part of a system which has little need for what they "produce". This is especially true after the crash in the seal fur market. Therefore, looking at the issues of unkempt houses and missed business opportunities in tourism, one can speculate – again a rumour? – that it is lack of means and opportunity that keeps people from improving their houses or keeping salvaged parts, or lack of sufficient economic return which deters them from investing time and energy in tourism. The "real" reason is a matter for future research, but what is important to note here is that by explaining these issues solely in terms of cultural relativity – e.g. Inuit are used to throwing garbage away, or they don't like neatness – or by assuming that there is a kind of harmonious blending of past and present, tourists may be avoiding the fact that there is little economic opportunity in Pangnirtung. Tourists are representative of a class who are able to travel because the social and economic structures work to their benefit and in

touring people may be insulated from considering this fact.

Unfortunately, I was unable to conduct a second round of in-depth qualitative interviews where I could have discussed these points with tourists at greater length. However, returning to the central question of this study – how tourists learn about place – one can see that the process is indeed very chaotic and not amenable to solid prediction. Tourism is a process grounded in practice. Therefore, it is clear that it allows for challenging dominant understandings even while it allows for reproducing them. What is interesting about tourism is that it brings in contact people who would not ordinarily meet and in so doing it offers an opportunity for learning, of this there can be little doubt. However, the focus on tourists' performances should act as a caution to those who advance tourism as a means of socially sensitive economic development (e.g IUCN, 1993). No matter how well planned the exhibit or experience, much depends on how tourists make use of the space or engage with the people. Therefore, the greater the number of tourists, the greater the chances for the process to move beyond its scripted path with both positive and negative consequences in terms of perceptions or learning (see Butler, 1998). Nevertheless, the dynamic of rumours, fleeting experiences and past knowledge make for a very open process which one cannot simply state is ideological, as does MacCannell (1976, 1992).

CONCLUSION

This paper has explored how tourism is involved in the social construction of place by analysing the perceptions and practices of tourists visiting Pangnirtung in the summer of 1999. Perceptions of place are not trivial because such perceptions become guides for action and hence can have important political ramifications. Since the 1980s proponents of tourism, and especially ecotourism, have argued that tourism could play a central role both in providing sustainable economic activity to tourist destinations and providing a venue for tourists to learn about place (IUCN, 1993; Carter and Lowman, 1994). However, this view has been heavily criticized by those who see tourism as an example of the increasing commodification of social relations. These researchers have argued that the commodification of place simplifies the complexity of place by relying on already existing cultural signifiers (e.g sun and sand = paradise). In this way tourism becomes involved in recreating dominant discourses and images about place (MacCannell, 1976, 1992; Hutnyk, 1999; Bandy 1996). However, while it is important not to lose sight of how the process of commodification can capture understanding, and amplify already existing discourses, this paper argues that a narrow focus on commodification fails to capture the reflexive nature of (post) modern societies (Urry, 1990, 1995; Beck et al. 1994) and the complexity of the tourism encounter in Pangnirtung. In order to capture this complexity I have treated tourism as an example of the process of social spatialisation (Shields 1991), which includes analysis at the level of the social imaginary as well as material interventions in the landscape, rather than privileging abstract social structures. Social spatialisation focuses on the ongoing social

differentiation of places through the production and use of space understood as a social as well as a material entity. Shields' (1991) conceptualization of social spatialisation is founded on Lefebvre's (1991) conception of a three part spatial dialectic which shows how space is not a static container of social action, but is both product and a producer of social relations. In particular I have focussed on how an analysis of tourists' spatial practices highlights how space is constantly (re)created. Each chapter discusses how dominant discourses and representations are both recreated and challenged by tourists' practices and highlights how tourists' reflexivity might be encouraged. In this way it aims to do justice to the complexity and open ended nature of the tourism process. Tourism is seen as a process which involves the ongoing (re)construction of place through practice. In this concluding chapter I will review this process and discuss the limitations of this analysis.

The primary limitations of this project are due to the limited time I was able to spend in Pangnirtung and the difficulties of attempting in-depth qualitative interviews with a group of highly mobile and dispersed tourists. Therefore, this paper does not claim to present how the residents of Pangnirtung view tourism and tourists and how their use of space influences how and what tourists learn[45]. However, a longer project, which would allow a researcher to negotiate a more involved research relationship with the community, could usefully address these questions and extend the analysis in this paper. Not only would this give a clearer idea of the negotiated character of the tourism

---

[45] See Viken (1998) for a study which looks at how Sami communities approach tourism through different performances of ethnicity.

encounter, but it would also provide more critical purchase against which one could assess the political implications of what tourists are learning. However, in order to address this latter point one would also need to look in more detail at the relationship between tourists' practices, their understandings of place and their political commitments. While this paper engaged with tourists' perceptions and looked at how people develop their perceptions, I was not able to do in-depth qualitative follow-up with individual tourists. Therefore, this paper focuses on how tourists learn, and the implications this has for challenging or recreating discourses, but does not claim to expose how this tension was resolved. Such an analysis would shed more light on the validity of the interpretation given here. Finally, much of the social theory literature on tourism has been gender-blind and this paper is also guilty of this omission (exceptions include Squire 1995; Jokinen and Veijola, 1997). This paper could be usefully extended by looking more closely at how spatial practices and perceptions varied with gender and age. The interpretation of the data did not reveal any significant differences amongst participants' perceptions and practices due to these two axes of differentiation, but an analysis focussing on such differences might reveal some interesting findings. In particular, one might look at how experiences and constructions of place articulate with constructions of gender and age. With these limitations in mind I will now proceed to review the analysis which was undertaken.

Chapter three reviewed tourism literature in order to develop some sense of how Nunavut is represented to tourists at the level of the imaginary (Goss, 1993). This chapter is not a comprehensive survey of tourism literature about Nunavut and instead

focusses on literature that participants indicated they had used in preparing for this trip. This does not allow me to claim my analysis is valid for all tourism literature on Nunavut, but it does capture the non-systematic approach used by many tourists and hence fits well with my focus on how tourists learn. The key sources participants used to learn about the North were word or mouth, books about exploration, Inuit culture and natural history, magazines, brochures and Internet sites. Although it would be interesting in future research to explore what and how people learned through word of mouth I did not collect this data for this study (but see chapter five on rumours). Similarly, a comprehensive analysis of the books mentioned by tourists was not undertaken and instead I referred to the discussion in chapter one on dominant images and discourses about the North in Canadian culture (which included literature). Briefly, the themes discussed were conceptions of the Northern wilderness as empty, idealized and romantic notions of the Inuit or representations of the Inuit as victims of colonial rule; and finally the construction of the "True North" as a empty mythic landscape which acts as the uniting metaphor for Canadian federalism. It was also noted that these discourses are being challenged in contemporary Canadian culture by Inuit writers and by the creation of Nunavut, which has the potential to replace the idea of an empty "True North" by becoming a symbol of the flexibility of Canadian federalism.

These images are also used and challenged in the tourism literature which was analysed by looking at three tendencies, or strategies, used to represent Nunavut to tourists. The first is towards simplification which is the result of needing to present activities and sites of potential interest to the tourist with limited time and space. The

effect of such a compression is to make Nunavut appear as a dynamic and understandable place to the tourist. Thus, while tourists may only be visiting one small portion of the arctic they can situate themselves within a larger sweep of space and time which in turn saturates the landscape with a density of meaning. The risk in such a strategy is that both historical and contemporary Nunavut tend to be "sanitized" and conflict erased along with alternate views of the land. However, while this occurs to some extent in the literature reviewed here, it is argued that the fact that the Nunavut government still plays a central role in promoting tourism mitigates this tendency, as discussed further below. The second strategy analysed is to individualize the tourism experience for the adventure traveller. Thus, there is an emphasis on personal adventure in an empty wilderness and travel articles often follow a narrative describing how hikers are able to meet this challenge and make themselves at "home". This focus on the individual makes the tourism experience "innocent" by downplaying the world which exists beyond the park and the tourist's relation to that world. However, this tendency is mitigated by where the articles are published. Therefore, while magazines such as Explore and Backpacker are geared towards the outdoor recreation market and are essentially technical and travel magazines for outdoor enthusiasts, magazines such as Up Here tend to have a broader focus and include many articles about contemporary Northern issues and people. Furthermore, many participants indicated that they used brochures and guidebooks put out by Nunavut Tourism ; these are good examples of "transculturation", which is the final strategy discussed in this chapter. Transculturation is the process whereby marginal groups appropriate dominant modes of representation in order to do an "auto-

ethnography" which challenges misrepresentations (Pratt, 1992). While brochures such as The Arctic Traveller encourage tourists to see the North as home to the Inuit by using headings such as "Our Land" and encouraging tourists to investigate more controversial events in Nunavut's history, The Nunavut Handbook addresses these issues directly with essays by Inuit writers which challenge misrepresentations. Therefore, while it is clear that the tourism literature uses and recreates dominant representations of the North it is also clear that it offers a space of negotiating between tourists' desires and perceptions and Northern realities and aspirations. However, the outcome of such a negotiation depends very much on how tourists use tourism material. Some respondents indicated they had a read a lot of literature on the North while others indicated that they only used tourism literature for logistical questions. Therefore, while one can develop a sense of the range of materials which tourists are exposed to, any analysis of tourism literature is not sufficient for understanding how tourism is involved in learning. Therefore, in chapters four and five the analysis focussed on the tourism experience.

Chapter four and five focussed on the connection between tourists' spatial practices and their perceptions of Auyuittuq and Pangnirtung. The work of deCerteau (1985) was used to stress the importance of looking at how perceptions are not simply something that people believe, but are also reinforced and created through people's experiences and spatial practices. This focus on practice also highlights that people often perceive and use space in ways which transcend the way it was planned. Therefore, people "play" with what deCerteau (1985) calls the dominant spatial discourse in order to create a narrative which allows them to appropriate the spaces they inhabit.

In chapter four I analysed how hikers' spatial practices in Auyuittuq can be involved in recreating notions of an empty wilderness which excludes, or which is somehow outside or beyond, society. This conception is problematic to the extent that it clashes with Inuit's desire to *use* the land. In addition, it can recreate the dominant dualism that sets humanity apart from nature and which avoids addressing how to create a sustainable industrial society. How then is hiking involved in this perception? Hikers are attracted to the Auyuittuq primarily for its spectacular scenery, which is defined largely as a series of unusual elements such as mountains, hanging glaciers and 24-hour daylight. Imagination and cultural learning play a significant role in this appreciation of the landscape. This is highlighted by the fact that for some an appreciation of the scenery is combined with a view of the Arctic as "marginal", which adds an element of ruggedness to the hike and can give it an almost mythical character. An interest in flora and fauna amongst only a minority of hikers signals the rather detached relationship hikers develop with the environment. Instead, most hikers relate to Auyuittuq in terms of seeking solitude and challenge while in the park. However, this solitude is very much a construct which is understood primarily in contrast to the routines of the industrial societies from which hikers come. The contrast with everyday life is also felt in the physical labour of the hike which allows one to feel in touch with one's body and one's environment. These contrasts reinforce the perception that somehow nature is beyond or excludes society. This feeling of getting beyond is also closely tied to the challenge of the hike which is another factor which motivates people to do the hike. Interestingly, many hikers felt that the hike represented a moderate challenge in comparison to other

Northern destinations and, hence, challenge becomes involved in ranking destinations with more difficult destinations representing increasingly "pure" nature. Hikers' concerns about being prepared for the challenges of the hike also point to the importance of gear and detailed trail information in helping to create hikers' perceptions. A well planned trip can give the impression that one "knew" what to expect and hence gives a sense of familiarity to the landscape. However, this knowledge is very much a detached and technical knowledge gleaned from the park brochures and other outdoor recreation enthusiasts. In addition, the success of such knowledge depends very much on the hike taking place within the knowable universe of the hiking trail and, therefore, hikers are seeking a predictable challenge. This appropriation of the park – a process of starting to feel at home – is also reinforced by the layout of the trail, which offers a series of sites/sights which the hiker can use to gauge his or her progress, but which also give a sense of familiarity. Of course, the space in between is still an unknown quantity for the hiker, which leads to a sense of discovery, and the hiker can wander off the trail and create his or her own unique experiences of the hike. Both of these practices can add to the sense of being at home in a new land. Therefore, the hiker experiences the hike as a escape from the social and this perception is reinforced by one's ability to feel at home in the park.

However, it is not intellectually credible to extrapolate from hikers' perceptions of the park to their environmental commitments. I was unable to collect enough information to draw any conclusions in this regard and this omission would be a fruitful avenue for future research. However, it is apparent from the data I did collect that people

did not necessarily equate conservation with the exclusion of people. Therefore, one is prompted to look for how reflexivity might be encouraged in order to get hikers to think about their relationship with the environment. While many hikers do engage in very calculable and purposeful practices, as discussed above, there are also times when hikers wander and the data indicates that these wanderings stimulate reflexivity. In addition, having gear fail to work can be a powerful spur for reflexivity because it destabilizes the process described above. An intimate exploration of flora and fauna also indicates a more engaged relationship with the land. Therefore, an analysis of practice shows how hiking recreates dominant discourse but also points to where reflexivity could be encouraged. Chapter four concluded by suggesting that brochures, which hikers could take with them on the trail, could be useful tools for directing hikers' reflexivity towards understanding both their relationship with the environment and how it differs from the Inuit's perception of the land. Of course, such brochures would need to be developed in tandem with the community and with a clear understanding of the risks involved in discussing differing perceptions. However, it may offer an opportunity for encouraging hikers not to see the environment as beyond society, but intimately linked to social production.

Tourists' use of space in Pangnirtung also highlights the continual tension between recreating and questioning dominant discourses. None of the participants interviewed expected the Inuit to be "cultural antiques", but people did question how the past related to the present. An interest in Pangnirtung was motivated by varying degrees of interest in traditional Inuit culture and the contemporary community. In all cases

tourists pursued their interests in a rather random fashion which included visiting tourist facilities, strolling the streets, attending public events and engaging in chance encounters. What people learned was very much dependent of the practices they engaged in while using different spaces in Pangnirtung. These interactions were conceptualized as performances in order to highlight the negotiated character of the tourism encounter and also the importance of social skill on the part of tourists who wish to move beyond their position as spectators. This is particularly important where tourists are unsure about the social norms which apply in different spaces in the community. Thus nebulous qualities such as one's body language are important components of performances in public spaces and determine the type of interactions one might have. However, in the enclavic spaces of tourism facilities, performances are more scripted and hence one sees more clearly how the design of the stage is also important. Thus, while the Angmarlik Visitor Centre was designed in such a way as to encourage interaction between locals and tourists, the Parks Canada Visitor Centre was focussed away from the community and was used mainly as a place to plan one's hike. Therefore, how tourists wove together public and enclavic spaces, and the "quality" of their performances, determined what they might learn about Pangnirtung. Tourists end up collecting and creating a series of rumours about Pangnirtung which they use to try to develop an understanding. Rumours are important for two reasons. First, they often articulate with, and rely on, more dominant discourses and hence can be involved in recreating them. Second, they are themselves complex social creations which indicate tourists' attempts to negotiate an understanding of place and so are more open and flexible than more established place-myths. Therefore,

rumours problematize the process of knowledge creation and can act as a taunt to the encrusted authority of more established discourses. I examined this process by looking at how tourists discussed their perceptions about messy streets in Pangnirtung, the role and impact of tourism in the community, and drinking in Northern communities. In all cases participants were reflexive about their position as tourists and some even questioned the claims that they and other tourists make. In many cases tourists are gauging what they have seen and experienced against a discourse which portrays the Inuit as victims of colonial rule and southern bureaucracies. In the end however, most withhold judgement and instead what appears to dominate is a positive experience while in Pangnirtung which leaves them with an overall positive assessment of the community. Such "existential authenticity" (Wang, 1999) allows tourists to transcend socioeconomic and sociopolitical structures and interact with locals as individuals, rather than as tourism employees or spokespersons for Inuit culture. Such interactions can go a long way in challenging dominant discourses, but they do not erase questions about how the random and rumour filled tourism experience may also recreate unwanted perceptions. For example, the discourse of Inuit as victim may lead tourists to feel they can judge the community which in turn recreates the dynamic of southern imposed norms which gave rise to the original injustices. An overly simplistic positive assessment of the community may also erase the structural inequalities which bring economic hardship to regions such as Nunavut while giving some people the privilege to be tourists. The data indicates how this may happen, but it also reveals high degrees of reflexivity which challenge such notions. Therefore, while the focus on tourists' performances should act as a caution to those who advance

tourism as a means of socially sensitive economic development, it does not allow one to simply state tourism is an ideological practice.

Tourism is not simply a process of commodification, but should be more broadly understood as a process of social spatialisation. The development of a place as a tourist destination does not simply involve the commodification of place through marketing, but also the construction of new buildings in the community and new possibilities for social interaction. In short, it produces a new space which can be analysed as a dynamic social process by using Lefebvre's three part spatial dialectic. In particular, an analysis of spatial practices has revealed how tourism in Pangnirtung is involved in challenging and recreating dominant social understandings of place. This also points to where interventions might encourage greater reflexivity on the part of the tourist. Tourism is an ongoing process of (re)creating understandings of place at the level of praxis.

APPENDIX 1: Communication with Hamlet of Pangnirtung and NRI

1) Letter to the Hamlet of Pangnirtung, April 26, 1999
Hamlet of Pangnirtung
PO Box 253
Pangnirtung, NT
X0A 0R

Attn: Joanasie Maniapik, Mayor
Rita Mike, SAO

April 26, 1999

Dear Mr. Maniapik and Ms. Mike,

I am Masters student in geography at Carleton University in Ottawa and I am interested in doing research on tourism in Pangnirtung this summer. I am writing to introduce myself and to find out if the community would be interested in my proposed work. I apologize that I have not contacted you sooner.

I am interested in how the tourism experience influences the tourist's perceptions of the North. Included with this letter is the project summary that I have sent to the Nunavut Research Institute as part of my application for licensing. I will be preparing a more detailed project proposal and I would welcome input from the community. If there are specific concerns that people in Pangnirtung have regarding tourism that could be addressed in my research I hope to learn about them. If you feel that there are particular people in the community who may be interested in this work I would appreciate if you could either let me know where I can contact them or give them my contact information.

I would like to stay in Pangnirtung for July and August dependent on community support and the amount funding I manage to secure. As a student my research funding is limited, but I was wondering if there may be a family in Pangnirtung who would be willing to rent me a room.

I hope that this research looks like it could be of some value to the people of Pangnirtung. I look forward to hearing your comments and answering any questions. Thank you for your time and consideration.

Sincerely,
Charles O'Hara
1 Spruce St. Apt. 2
Ottawa ON, K1R 6N6
Phone: (613) 230-3625
FAX: (613) 520-4301
e-mail: cohara@chat.carleton.ca

2)Non-Technical Project Summary: sent to community and as part of research license application

Note: This was my initial project summary sent to the community and NRI. At this stage I was trying to arrange interviews with the clients of a local tour operator who did trips to Pangnirtung, but that fell though.

Tourism and perceptions of the North
Non-Technical Project Summary
Charles O'Hara
MA candidate
Department of Geography
Carleton University, Ottawa ON
Mailing address:
1 Spruce St. Apt. 2
Ottawa ON, K1R 6N6
Phone: (613) 230-3625
FAX: (613) 520- 4301
e-mail: cohara@chat.carleton.ca

I propose to look at the perceptions of the North that are developed through tourism literature and the tourism experience. These perceptions are important because they translate into action. The anti-sealing campaign in the 1980's is an example of how misguided perceptions of place can lead to harmful action. By the year 2000 tourism will be the largest industry in the world and I understand the its importance is growing in the North. Tourism may become an important avenue for non-Northerners to understand the North.

I would like to do my research in Pangnirtung because it has had a relatively long history of tourism. I would like input from the people in Pangnirtung, but my initial proposal is to start by researching tourism literature to see what kinds of images and ideas are used to "sell" the North to the tourist. I will attempt to arrange interviews with tourists who are planning to go to Pangnirtung to get an idea of their motivations to go North and their expectations. I would then like to spend up to two months in Pangnirtung observing the tourist experience and talking with people in Pangnirtung about their perceptions of tourism. In particular, what do the people of Pangnirtung feel that the tourist wants and do they feel that the tourist understands their situation? Can the tourist encounter be improved? I hope that my time in Pangnirtung will give me a better idea of what the tourist encounters when he or she travels to the community and what they do not see or understand. Upon returning to Ottawa, I will arrange follow-up interviews with the tourists who I had interviewed prior to their trip to Pangnirtung to see if their time in the North changed their perceptions. All my interviews will be carried out in way that ensures confidentiality and anonymity.

3) Follow-up letter to the community on June, 7 1999
sent to: Joanasie Maniapik, Mayor and Rita Mike, SAO

June 7, 1999

Dear Mr. Maniapik and Ms. Mike,

I am following up on a letter I wrote April 26th regarding my proposal to do some research on tourists in Pangnirtung. I am interested in studying tourists' motivations for going to Pangnirtung and the perceptions of the North that they form before and during their holiday.

I am writing to let you know that my project has received approval from the Carleton University Ethics Committee, which is the next stage in the application process with the Nunavut Research Institute (NRI). I have sent a translated copy of my methods and questions to the NRI and I imagine it will be forwarded to the community in the near future.

Since you community has been the focus of a lot of research on tourism since at least 1983, I thought that perhaps I should introduce myself a little better and explain my motivations for wanting to come to Pangnirtung. I have been attached a short explanation that expands on my research interests. I hope it helps in better explaining how I chose Pangnirtung for my research. I would welcome any comments people may have.

If the community is interested in supporting my research I was thinking that I would try to arrive in early July and stay until the end of August. I feel that this length of stay would allow me to observe how tourism works in Pangnirtung. In addition, it should give me time to consult with people in the community in order to figure out when and where to interview tourists in a way that is minimally disruptive to the community and tourists' holidays.

I would like to rent a room from a local family. If the community is thinking of approving my research, could you please forward my name to people who might be interested in taking on a border. I have limited funds, but can pay a fair price.

Thank you for your time and consideration. I look forward to hearing from you and perhaps meeting you this summer.

Sincerely,
Charles O'Hara

4) Explanation of Research:
Note: The following explanation was sent along with my second letter on June 7, 1999

Research Interests and Proposal
Charles O'Hara (MA candidate, Carleton University Ottawa)

I am presently doing a Masters of Geography focussing on environmental issues. I am interested in how communities can develop sustainable development alternatives. Tourism has often been put forward as a good option for sustainable development and I want to explore the tourism economy. I am interested in what effect tourism has on communities and why tourism is a growing industry. I have chosen to focus on how tourism is involved in the tourist's perceptions of the place they are visiting and the tourist's motivations for travel.

Like many Southern Canadians (and perhaps like the tourists who I wish to interview) I have always been interested in North. However, my studies, and three years living in Whitehorse, have taught me that the images and ideas about the North that are available to non-Northerners may not capture Northern realities and concerns. Yet perceptions of a region, or community, can have an impact on its ability to articulate and develop alternative economic strategies. I am interested in how non-Northerners develop ideas about the North and how tourism is involved in this process. I want to interview tourists and ask them what sources they have read to learn about Pangnirtung and observe what the tourist experiences and sees where he or she visits (in some ways I will be like a tourist reflecting on my own experience). I also will look at tourism brochures and web pages to see what kind of information and images are available to tourists. Tourism in Nunavut, and Pangnirtung in particular, I think is quite unique because there is a high degree of local control over what kind of images and ideas are presented to the tourist. There appears to be lots of opportunity for the tourist to learn about Nunavut and Pangnirtung.

I am also interested in tourists' motivations for travel. This is closely tied to people's perception of place, but expands into looking at the role that travel plays in the life of the tourist. By the year 2000 tourism is expected to be the biggest industry in the world in terms of employment and trade. The growth in tourism, it has been argued, reflects changes in the global economy and urban industrial cultures. I want to explore this idea by looking at who travels to Pangnirtung and how travel fits into their lifestyle. In many ways I am exploring my own urban culture because I think understanding this culture is important to seeing the prospects for a more sustainable future.

I hope this has given you a better idea of why I would like to come to Pangnirtung and the types of questions I hope to explore. I hope that my research into tourism and the tourist culture might be of some value to the people of Pangnirtung. I welcome any comments or suggestions for modifications. In the end I am aware that these ideas are drawn from my own experiences and research interests and should the community decide to approve my research I thank you for the opportunity to learn about tourism, the tourist and Pangnirtung.

APPENDIX 2: QUESTIONNAIRE GUIDES

1) Questionnaire Guide: Pangnirtung Interviews
(Before each interview, participants were given a consent form that explained my project and outlined my commitment to guarantee their anonymity.)

Participant's name:
Gender:
Occupation:
Where are you from?:
Who are you travelling with?:

1) Where have you travelled in the past? What kinds of experiences do you look for (enjoy) when you travel? What attracted you to Pangnirtung?

2) How did you find out about Pangnirtung?

3) Did you read or watch anything specifically for this trip or have read about the North and Pangnirtung before?

4) Did an interest in Inuit Culture, the creation of Nunavut or Northern History play a role in your decision to come North? Do you feel you have learned more about the North and is there anything you would like to better understand about the North and/or Inuit Culture? [here I also asked if they were interested in going to Kekerten or doing a home-stay]

5) Will you purchase anything to take home? How do you remember a trip, are souvenirs very important?

6) Did Pangnirtung meet your expectations? Was there anything that surprised you? Were the services what you expected? [here is where I asked about prices as well because of outfitter input].

7) Can I contact you for a follow-up interview? Follow-up interviews will be used to clarify issues or comments made during the initial interview or to get comments on themes and ideas that developed out of all interviews.

2) __Follow-up Questionnaire__

Note: The questionnaire was not strictly copied and sent to each participant. but varied according to responses in the initial round.

Pangnirtung Tourism Survey, Summer 1999: Follow-up Interviews

QUESTIONS:

1) Why is a hike in Auyuittuq different (or even more preferable) than a hike in other mountainous regions such as the Rockies or the Himalayas?

2) What amount of infrastructure development would you like to see within Auyuittuq National Park Reserve (for example: signs for direction or interpretation. bridges over rivers. walkways to protect sensitive areas, an increased number of campsites, cabins or radios)?

3) Would you say that you became aware of the North as a possible travel destination through your interest in outdoor adventure travel (e.g. hiking) or did your interest in coming North precede your interest in outdoor activities?

4) Was your visit to the Angmarlik Centre museum a memorable part of your trip? What impression(s) did it leave you with?

5)Ecotourists are often associated with a desire for learning in the tourism literature. Would you say this is important in your travels? Apart from museums and interpretation centres can you give examples from Pangnirtung that indicate how learning (about the people. the environment or yourself) is part of your travel?

6) Please list all the souvenirs that you purchased or collected (if none please indicate none) and describe your favourite photograph from your time in Pangnirtung or the park.

7)Do you belong, or would you like to belong, to any environmental organizations (Please list which ones)? Would it detract from your trip to see hunting going on in the Park. or on your way to the Park?

APPENDIX 3: FIGURES

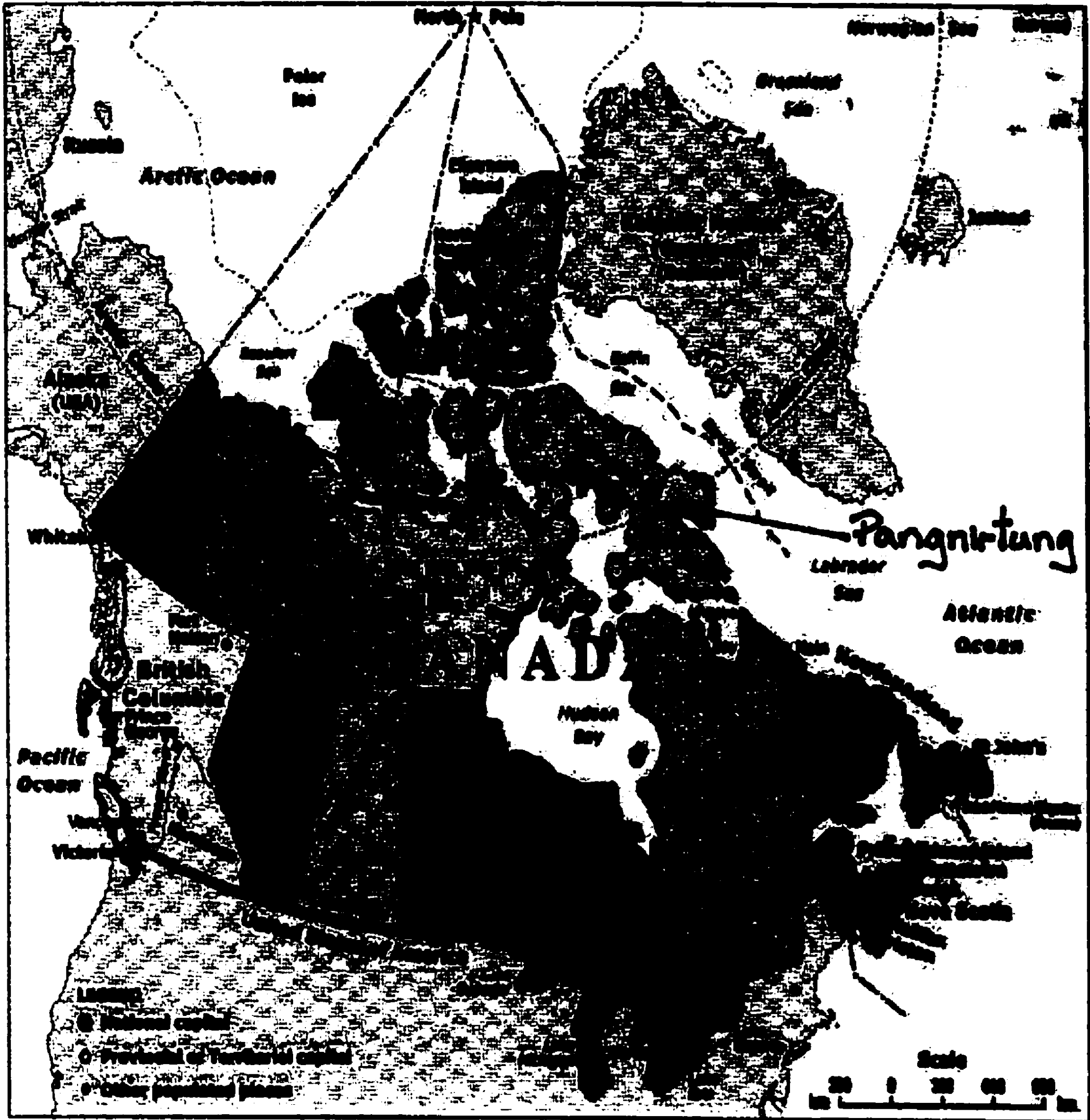


Figure 1.1 Location map of Pangnirtung

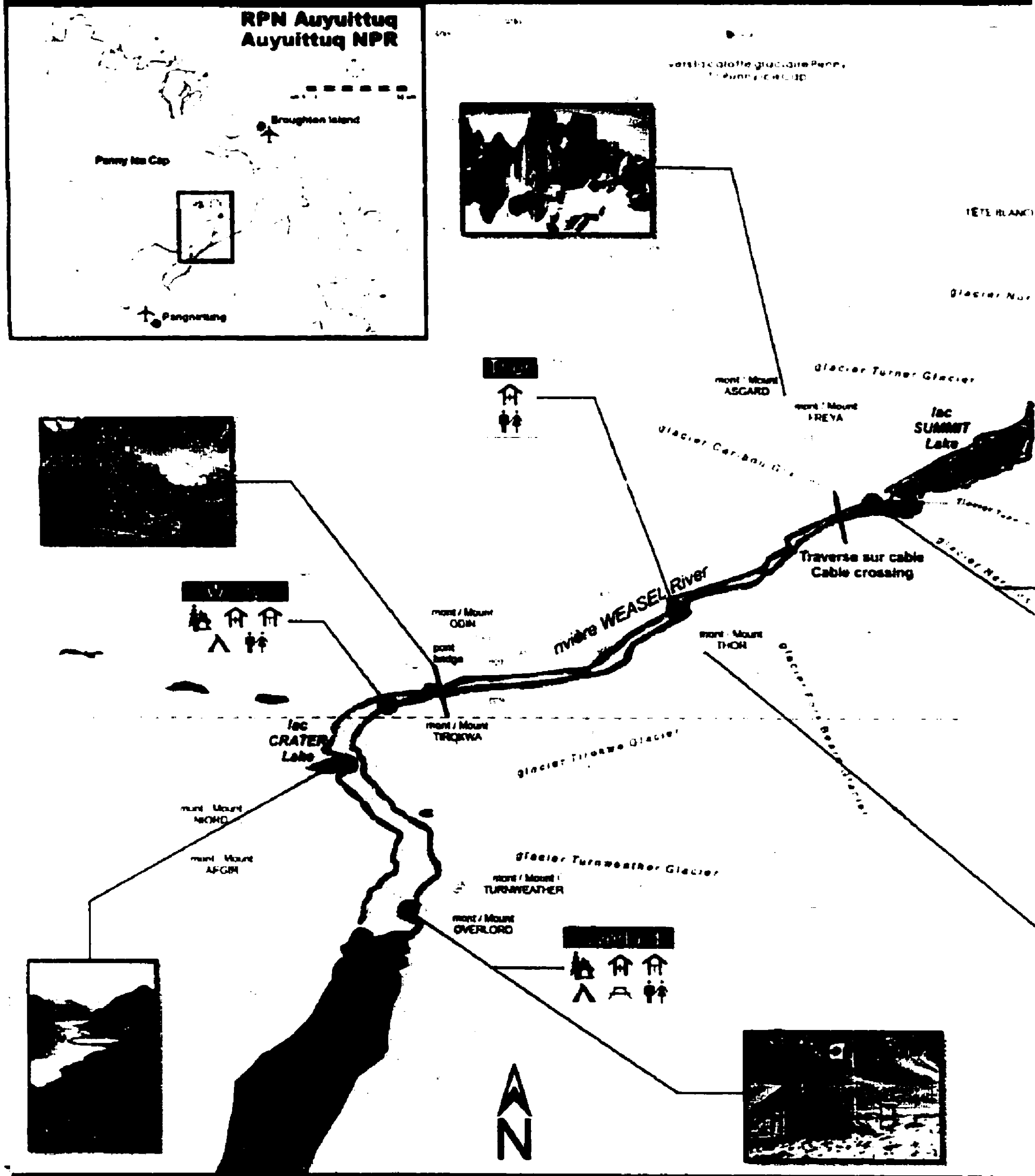


Figure 4.1: Portion of the trail map of Auyuittuq given to hikers, summer 1999 (some slight distortion in scanning). Note that sites/sights are clearly marked and highlighted

Figure 4.2 Mt. Thor

Figure 4.3 Arctic Circle marker

Figure 4.4 Windy Campground (first night destination)

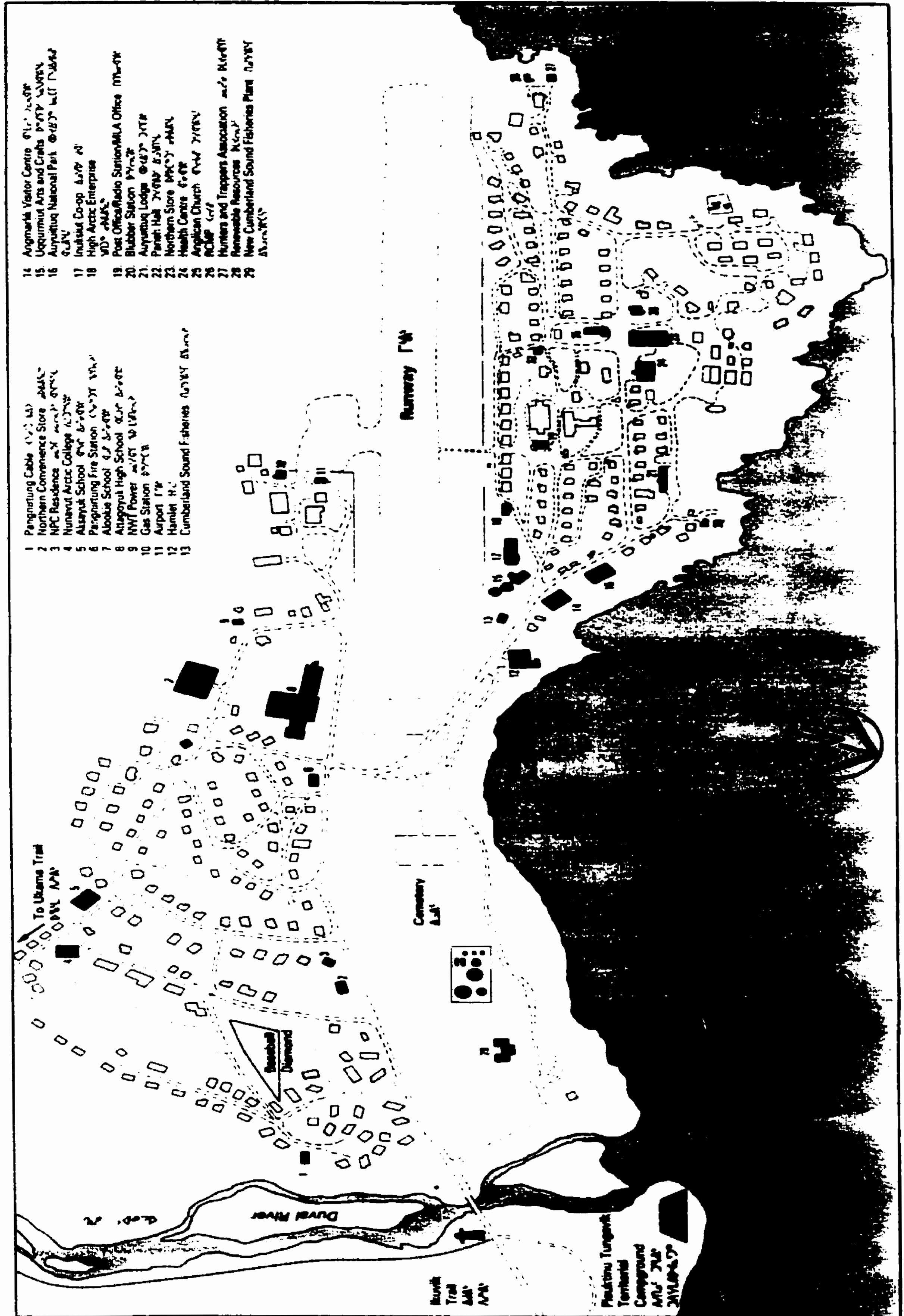


Figure 5.1 Map of Pangnirtung given to tourists (Source: GNWT brochure on Pang., no date)

Figure 5.2: Angmarlik Visitor Centre (left) and the Parks Canada Visitor Centre (right) with "downtown" Pangnirtung in the background. While it is hard to tell from this shot. the window of the Angmarlik centre looks over the harbour, but the window of the Parks Canada Centre frames a stunning view of the Fiord looking towards Auyuittuq.

Figure 5.3: "Uptown" Pangnirtung looking towards Auyuittuq

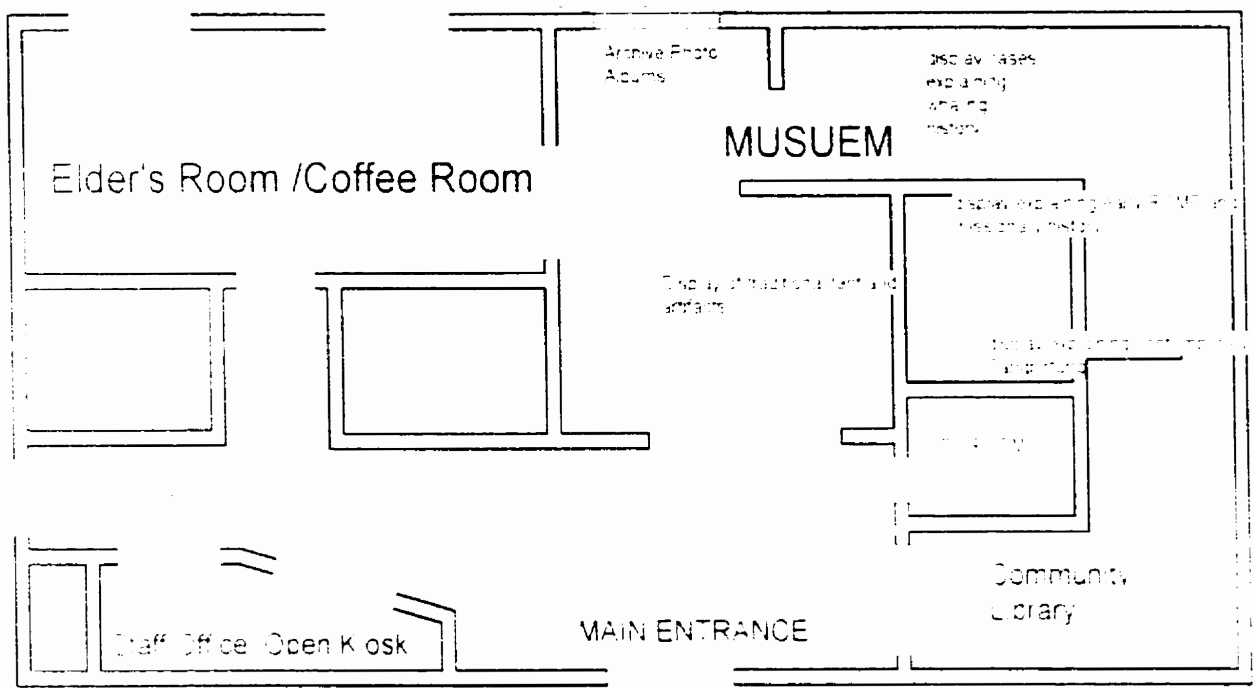
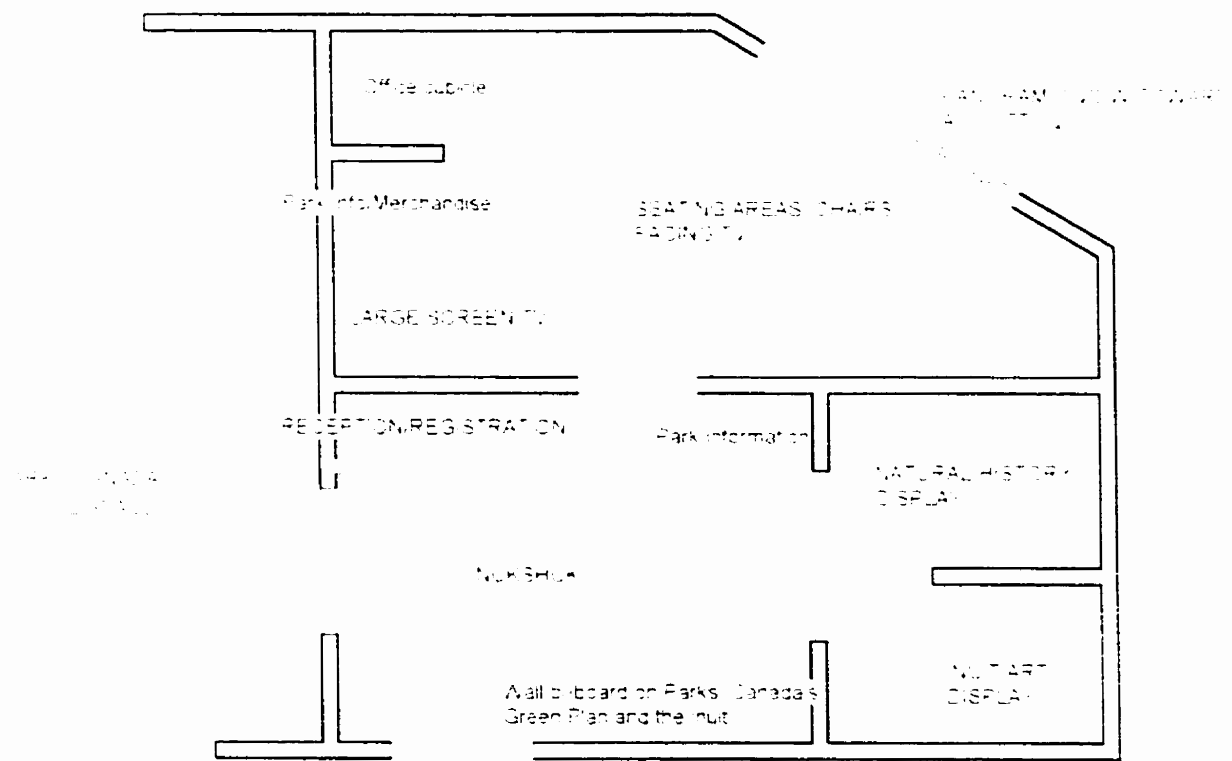


Figure 5.4: **Angmarlik Centre (above) and Parks Canada Centre (below). Note especially** how the space of the **Angmarlik Centre is more circular inviting people to sit and talk in** the elder's room.(source: **Author's sketch Not to scale)**



WORKS CITED

Abu-Lughod, L. (1993) "Introduction" in Writing Women's Worlds: Bedouin Stories. Berkeley: University of California Press. pp. 1-42

Alasuutari, P. (1995) Researching Culture: Qualitative Method and Cultural Studies. London: Sage

AMAP (1997) Arctic Pollution Issues: A State of the Arctic Environment Report. Oslo: Arctic Monitoring and Assessment Program

Anderson, M. J. (1991) "Problems with tourism development in Canada's eastern Arctic" Tourism Management. Sept. pp.209-220

Ashcroft, B., Griffiths, G. and Tiffin, H. (eds). (1995) The Post-Colonial Studies Reader. London: Routledge

Atwood, M. (1972) Survival. Toronto: Anansi

Bandy, Joe (1996) "Managing the Other of Nature: Sustainability, Spectacle, and Global Regimes of Capital in Ecotourism" Public Culture. 8 539 -566

Beck U. (1994) "The Reinvention of Politics" in U. Beck, A. Giddens and S. Lash (1994) Reflexive Modernization: Politics, Tradition and Aesthetics in the Modern Social Order. pp. 1-55. Stanford: Stanford University Press

Beck U., Giddens, A., and Lash, S. (1994) Reflexive Modernization. Stanford: Stanford University Press.

Blackfeather (1999a) www.blackfeather.com

Blackfeather (1999b) blackfeather menu. Brochure published by Blackfeather Adventures: Ottawa.

Britton, S. (1991) "Tourism, capital, and place: towards a critical geography of tourism" Env. and Plan. D.:Society and Space. 9 451-478

Brody, H. (1975) People's Land. Markham: Penguin Books

Butler, R.W. (1998) "The role of tourism in remote communities" in in M.E. Johnston, G.D. Twynam and W. Haider (eds) Shaping Tomorrow's North: The role of tourism and recreation. pp. 54-68. Thunder Bay: Centre for Northern Studies, Lakehead University

Burawoy, M (1991) Ethnography Unbound Berkeley: University of California Press.

Burgess, J. "The Production and Consumption of environmental meanings in the mass media: a research agenda for the 1990's" Trans. Inst. Br. Geogr. 15 139-161

Canadian Geographic (1999) "Nunavut: Special Report on the New Territory"in Canadian Geographic 119 (Jan./Feb.) pp. 37-64

Carter E. and G. Lowman (eds.) (1994) Ecotourism: A Sustainable Option? Chichester: John Wiley & Sons

Cloke and Perkins (1998) "Cracking the Canyon with Awesome Foursome: Representations of Adventure Tourism in New Zealand" Env. and Plan. D: Society and Space. 16. 185-218

Coates, K. Canada's Colonies: a history of the Yukon and the Northwest Territories. Toronto: Lorimer

Craik, J. (1997) "The Culture of Tourism" in C. Rojek and J. Urry (eds.) Touring Cultures. pp.113-136. London: Routledge

Crang, M. "On the Heritage Trail: maps and journeys to Olde Englande" in Environment and Planning D: Society and Space. 12 pp.341-355

Crang, P. (1997) "Performing the Tourist Product" in C. Rojek and J. Urry (eds.) Touring Cultures. pp. 137-154. London: Routledge

Cronon, W. (1996) "The Trouble with Wilderness; or getting back to the wrong nature" in W. Cronon (ed) Uncommon Ground: Rethinking the Human Place in Nature pp.69-90. New York: W.W. Norton & Co.

deCerteau M. (1985) "Practices of Space" in Blonsky (ed.) On Signs pp. 122-145. Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press.

Endensor, T. (2000) "Staging Tourism: Tourists as Performers" in Annals of Tourism Research. 27 pp.322-344

England, K. (1994) Getting Personal: Reflexivity, Positionality, and Feminist Research. Professional Geographer 46 pp. 80-89

Ernerk, P. (1999a) "Inuit Culture: The Kivalliq Region" in The Nunavut Handbook. pp. 76-78. Iqaluit: Nortext Multimedia Inc

------------ (1999b) "Inuit Spirituality" in The Nunavut Handbook. pp 80-82. Iqaluit: Nortext Multimedia Inc.

Explore Magazine (1999) "Issue 100 Years of Outdoor Recreation in Canada". 100. (Nov./Dec.) Whole issue

Feifer, M. (1985) Going Places. London: MacMillan.

Fenge, T. (1993) National Parks in the Canadian Arctic: The Case of Nunavut Land Claim Agreement." Environments 22 pp.21-36

Fennell, D.A. (1999) Ecotourism: an introduction. London: Routledge

Flax, J. (1992) "The End of Innocence" in J. Butler and J.W. Scott (eds.) Feminists Theorize the Political. pp. 445-463. New York: Routledge

GNWT (1996) Tourists Visiting Nunavut: A Profile. Iqaluit: Dept. of Economic Development and Tourism

Goss, J.D.(1993) "Placing the market and marketing place: tourist advertising of the Hawaiian Islands, 1972-92" in Environment and Planning D: Society and Space. 11 pp. 663-688

Grant, S.D. (1998) "Arctic Wilderness – And Other Mythologies" Journal of Canadian Studies 32 pp.27- 42

Grater, W. (1994) "Auyuittuq National Park Reserve" in Explore June/July pp.24-28, 30-31

Greenfeld, K.T. (1999) "Under the Billboard Sky" in Outside (Dec.) pp 104-111.

Grekin J. (1993) Towards an Understanding of the Community Level Impacts of Tourism: the case of Pond Inlet, NWT. MA dissertation. Montreal: McGill University

Hall, C.M. (1994) "Ecotourism in Australia, New Zealand and the South Pacific: Appropriate Tourism or a New Form of Ecological Imperialism?" In in E. Carter and G. Lowman (eds.) Ecotourism: A Sustainable Option? Chichester: John Wiley & Sons

Harlin, J. (1999) "Landscape of the Soul" in Explore (May) pp. 59-67

Harper, K. (1999) "History" in The Nunavut Handbook. pp. 63-69. Iqaluit: Nortext Multimedia Inc

Higgins, R.J. (1983) The Commodification of the Wilderness: An Analysis of the Outdoor Recreation Market in Canada. MA dissertation. Ottawa: Carleton University

Hunter, J. (1998) "The New North: A revamped Arctic begins building for the next generation" Maclean's 111 (August) pp.14-19

Hutnyk, J. (1996) The Rumour of Calcutta. London: Zed Books

IUCN (1993) Parks and Progress: 4th World Congress on National Parks and Protected Areas. Gland: IUCN

Inuit Tapirisat of Canada (1993) Negotiating Research Relationships in the North. A background paper for a workshop on Guidelines for Responsible Research. Yellowknife, NWT.

Jacobsen, J. K. S. (1992) "Tourism as Hermeneutics" unpublished paper given at the 3rd National Norwegian Congress of Sociology, Hofoten Norway.

Kulchyski, P. (1999) Unpublished talk on "The spaces of Pangnirtung". Trent University "Bush School". Arctic College Pangnirtung campus. July 20th.

Lash, S. (1994) "Reflexivity and its Doubles: Structures, Aesthetics and Community" in U. Beck, A. Giddens and S. Lash (1994) Reflexive Modernization: Politics, Tradition and Aesthetics in the Modern Social Order. pp. 110-173. Stanford: Stanford University Press

Lash, S. and Urry J. (1994) Economies of Signs and Space. London: Sage Publications

Long, N. (1992) "From Paradigm Lost to Paradigm Regained? The case for an Actor-Oriented sociology of development" in N. Long and A. Long (eds.) Battlefields of Knowledge. London: Routledge. pp. 17-40

Lefebvre, H. (1991) The Production of Space. London: Blackwell.

Llewellyn-Watson, G. and Kopachevsky, J.P. (1996) "Interpretations of Tourism as a Commodity" in Y. Apostolopoulos, S. Leivadi and A. Yiannakis (eds.) The Sociology of Tourism. pp. 281-300. London: Routledge

Lundgren, J. (1989) "Patterns"in G. Wall (ed.) Outdoor recreation in Canada. pp. 123-162 Toronto: John Wiley and Sons

MacCannell (1992) Empty Meeting Grounds: The Tourist Papers London: Routledge

--------------- (1976) The Tourist: A new theory of the leisure class. New York: Schoken Books

MacKay, I (1988) "Twilight at Peggy's Cove: Towards a Genealogy of Maritimicity in Nova Scotia" in Boderlines, summer pp. 29-37

Marshall Macklin Monaghan (1982) Pangnirtung Tourism Community Study. Report submitted to GNWT Department of Economic Development and Tourism and the Hamlet of Pangnirtung.

Mason, P. (1998) "A rationale for tourism codes of conduct for the Arctic region" in M.E. Johnston, G.D. Twynam and W. Haider (eds) Shaping Tomorrow's North: The role of tourism and recreation. pp. 19-36. Thunder Bay: Centre for Northern Studies, Lakehead University.

McHaffie, P.(1997) "Decoding the globe: globalism, advertising, and corporate practice." Env. and Plan. D: Society and Space 15 73-86

Meekitjuk-Hanson A. (1999a) "Inuit Culture: Baffin Region" in The Nunavut Handbook. pp. 70-75. Iqaluit: Nortext Multimedia Inc

---------------------------- (1999b) "Life in Nunavut Today" in The Nunavut Handbook. pp.87-90. Iqaluit: Nortext Multimedia Inc.

Merrifield, A. (1993) "Place and Space: A Lefebvrian reconcilliation". Trans. Br. Inst. Geogr. 18 pp.516-531

Milne, S. et al. (1995) Tourists to the Baffin Region: 1992 and 1993 profiles. McGill Tourism Research Group Industry Report no. 11. Montreal: McGill University

Milne, S., Grekin, J. and Woodley, S. (1998) "Tourism and the construction of place in Canada's Eastern Arctic" in G. Ringer (ed) Destinations. pp. 101-120. London: Routledge

Milne, S., Ward, S. and Wenzel G. (1995). "Linking tourism and art in Canada's eastern Arctic: the case of Cape Dorset". Polar Record 31 pp. 25-36

Moss, J. (1994) Enduring Dreams: An Exploration of Arctic Landscape. Toronto: Anansi

Minister of Supply and Services Canada (1994) Heritage Canada Guiding Principles and Operational Policies. Government of Canada: Ottawa

Naples, N.A. (1996) A Feminist Revisiting of the Insider/Outsider Debate: The "Outsider Phenomena in Rural Iowa" Qualitative Sociology 19 pp. 83-106

Government of Canada (1998) National Parks Act

Northwinds Arctic Adventures (1999) www.northwinds-arctic.com/lien6.htm

Nunavut Tourism (1999a) The Nunavut Handbook. Iqaluit: Nortext Multimedia Inc.

Nunavut Tourism (1999b) The Arctic Traveller Iqaluit: Nortex Multimedia. Inc

O'Connor M. (1994) "On the Misadventures of Capitalist Nature". In M. O'Connor (ed.) Is Capitalism Sustainable?

Parks Canada (1999) www.parkscanada.pch.gc.ca/parks/Nunavut/Auyuittuq/auyuittuq_e.htm

Pottier, J. (1991) "Representation and Accountability: Understanding Social Change Through Rapid Appraisal" Unpublished article based on a paper presented to the International Conference on Institutions, Culture and Change at the Local Community Level, 25-30 November 1990

Pratt, M.L. (1992) Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation. London: Routledge

Prosser, R.F. (1992) "The Ethics of Tourism" in Copper, D.E. and Palmer, J. (eds.) The Environment in Question. London: Routledge

Rossman, G. and Rallis, S. (1998) Learning in the Field: An Introduction to Qualitative Research. London: Sage

Reimer, G. and Dialla, A. (1992) Community Based Tourism Development in Pangnirtung, Northwest Territories: Looking Back Looking Ahead. Unpublished report prepared for GNWT Economic Development and Tourism, Baffin Region.

Reimer G. (1994) Community participation in research and development: a case study from Pangnirtung, Northwest Territories. PhD Thesis. Hamilton: McMaster University

Ritzer and Liska (1997) "McDisneyization and post-tourism: complementary perspectives on contemporary tourism" in Rojek and J. Urry (eds.) Touring Cultures. pp 96 - 112. London: Routledge

Rojek, C. (1997) "Indexing, Dragging and the Social Construction of Tourist Sights" in C. Rojek and J. Urry (eds.) Touring Cultures. pp. 52-74. London: Routledge

Rojek C. and Urry J. (1997) "Transformations of Travel and Theory" in C. Rojek and J. Urry (eds.) Touring Cultures. pp. 1-22. London: Routledge

Said, E. (1978) Orientalism.New York: Vintage Books

Shields, R. (1996) "The Dialogical Challenge to Verstehen". British Journal of Sociology

Shields, R. (1991) Places on the Margins: Alternative Geographies of Modernity London: Routledge.

Shields, R. (1999) Lefebvre, Love and Struggle: Spatial Dialectics. London: Routledge

Smith, N. (1990) Uneven Development Oxford: Blackwell

Thompson E.P. (1967) "Work, Time-Discipline and Industrial Capitalism" Past and Present 38 pp.

Towner, J. (1996) An Historical Geography of Recreation and Tourism in the Western World 1540-1940. London: John Wiley and Sons.

Tungavik Federation of Nunavut (1987) "Land Claims, National Parks, Protected Areas and Renewable Resource Economy" in J.G. Nelson, R. Needham and L. Norton (eds.) Arctic Heritage. Ottawa: Association of Canadian Universities for Northern Studies

Turner, V. (1969). Ritual Process: Structure and Anti-structure. Chicago: Aldine

Turner, V. (1973). "Centre Out There: Pilgrim's Goal". History of Religion 12 pp.191-230

Urry, J. (1990) The Tourist Gaze. London: Sage

Urry, J. (1995) Consuming Place. London: Routledge

Urry, J. (1996) 'Mobile Cultures' (draft) published by the Department of Sociology, Lancaster University at: http://www.comp.lancaster.ac.uk/sociology/soc030ju.html

Viken, A. (1998) "Ethnic Tourism – Which Ethnicity?" in in M.E. Johnston, G.D. Twynam and W. Haider (eds) Shaping Tomorrow's North: The role of tourism and recreation. pp. 37-53. Thunder Bay: Centre for Northern Studies, Lakehead University.

Vlessides, M. (1997) "In the Shadow of Thor" in Up Here (Jan./Feb.) pp.30-33

Wang, N. (1999) "Rethinking Authenticity in Tourism Experience" in Annals of Tourism Research 26 pp.349 -370.

White, P.A. (1998) "Appealing and Marketing to the North American Ecotourist" in M.E. Johnston, G.D. Twynam and W. Haider (eds) Shaping Tomorrow's North: The role of tourism and recreation. pp. 75-97. Thunder Bay: Centre for Northern Studies, Lakehead University.

White, R. (1996) "Are You and Environmentalist or Do You Work for a Living?" in W. Cronon (ed) Uncommon Ground: Rethinking the Human Place in Nature pp.171-185. New York: W.W. Norton & Co.

Wenzel, G. (1991) Animal Rights, Human Rights: Economy, Ecology and Ideology in the Canadian Arctic. Toronto: University of Toronto Press