

Place Identities and Tourism Representations of Nunavut, Canada



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Place Identities and Tourism Representations of Nunavut, Canada

*You may love it or hate it but you will not come away without being moved by it
(Roy, 2000)*

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Frontpage:

"Where is everybody? They are kayaking!" (Dave Reid, guide and owner Polar Sea Adventures. The floe edge near Pond Inlet. June 12th 2005).

Preface

As a student of cultural geography at the University of Groningen, I discovered to what extent people and places are connected to each other. I similarly learned that geography is everywhere and can be implemented in so many amazing ways.

In Nunavut, I learned an immense amount about its inhabitants; the way to live in a place remote and isolated from the rest of the world, for example. Nunavut is a very special place in this world, and it certainly has gained a very special place in my heart.

This is my Master thesis, written to conclude my career as a student specializing in cultural geography at the University of Groningen's Faculty of Spatial Sciences.

In the length of writing this paper, I have become indebted to many. I would like to thank Drs. Kim van Dam at the Arctic Centre, as well as Dr. Peter Groote of the Faculty of Spatial Sciences for their support in the realization of this project and this thesis. I also wish to thank them for giving me the opportunity to join this fantastic project and to do fieldwork in such an extraordinary place as Nunavut. Furthermore, I want to thank the Arctic Centre in general for making this project possible.

On a more personal note, I would like to thank my family and friends, with a particular emphasis on my parents, Wim and Mathilde Logtmeijer, for their support. And of course my brother and sister, Christiaan and Inge. I wish to express my gratitude to all the people of Nunavut and especially Pond Inlet, to whom I owe an exceptionally enjoyable six week stay. Last, but certainly not least, I would like to thank Maarten for supporting me in more ways than I could ever have imagined.

Annemieke Logtmeijer
Groningen, May 2006

Summary

In the first place, this thesis investigates the way Nunavut is represented in the context of tourism in both the Netherlands and Nunavut itself. In the second place, Nunavut's role in polar tourism will be discussed. Since the creation of Nunavut as an administrative region in 1999, its inhabitants have governed their territory themselves. Not surprisingly, the territory has been named Nunavut which means "our land" in Inuktitut. In the search for new opportunities in terms of economic benefit, tourism is seen as one of the most promising options, as people seem to have become increasingly interested in remote and special tourist destinations. In order to promote a particular place and attract tourists¹, the tourism industry tries to produce powerful images to promote a particular place and attract tourists. According to Rose (1995) feelings about place are embedded in sets of power and relations. Place identities are constructed and they are contested all the time. Nunavut is now a separate region of its own on the world map and is starting to see a growth in its tourism industry. Those involved in this region's tourism industry are trying to conquer a niche on the international tourism market. Through content analysis of different tourist brochures collected in the Netherlands and Nunavut, insider and outsider views were compared, contrasted and interpreted, as well as the different themes used in them. People involved in the tourism business in the Netherlands and Nunavut (in Iqaluit and Pond Inlet) were interviewed on their opinion concerning this representational issue.

Results have shown that the tourism industry in Nunavut and the tourist agencies in the Netherlands use different representations of Nunavut. In majority, the Dutch agencies show images of "pristine wilderness" and remoteness while tourism promotion in Nunavut adds the narratives of living people and cultures to it. Nunavut portrays itself more along the lines of a dynamic place where people live and are still very much influenced by traditional Inuit culture. As Suvantola (2002) suggests, "place and people are part of each other and are often used as promoting identification" (p. 37). The different communities are consequently more portrayed in the tourist identities of Nunavut, giving tourists on location a clear idea of how people live in the area nowadays. Finally, optional tourist activities are more often mentioned in Nunavut's brochures than in those of Dutch agencies, as the focus is also put on the individual traveler who has to make his or her own arrangements at the place of destination. In contrast, the Dutch agencies tend to offer all-in-one packages with activities and excursions included.

There is a strong competition from areas such as Iceland, Greenland, Svalbard and Alaska, which all have strong tourist identities. Nunavut on the other hand is still working on developing such an identity. Nevertheless, Nunavut's tourism workforce does not seem to think the other polar areas are much of a threat to them. On the contrary even, Nunavut sees a bigger threat in (and wishes to compete with) tourist destinations such as the Galapagos Islands, the Amazon and the games parks of Africa. If Nunavut succeeds in competing with these areas, the other polar areas will be unlikely to cause a problem. Overall, Nunavut's tourists seem to fit the profile of the Arctic traveller: the middle-aged, the well-educated, the adventurous and those who have enough money to afford such a trip. This type of tourist often has already

¹ A tourist is one who travels for pleasure. An traveller is one who travels or has traveled, as to distant places. In this study the focus will be on tourists. (Source: Website Dictionary.com, 2006 [http://dictionary.reference.com/])

seen other polar regions and comes to Nunavut to see something different: Nunavut distinguishes itself from other polar areas because of its unique history and the way the territory came into effect in 1999. Overall, Nunavut does fit the general images of the Arctic that are distinguished within the literature: Nunavut as a pristine wilderness, Nunavut as a place where people live and Nunavut as a resource frontier.

Considering these findings, it is interesting to note that the representational process in the Netherlands is slightly different from its counterpart in Nunavut. The value one attaches to images of Nunavut is different between insiders and outsiders. The insiders' view, that of the Inuit, is that of pride of their culture, and intent to share knowledge about this culture with the outside world. The Inuit are granted this view of themselves and their land in Nunavut's own tourist brochures. However, outsiders have a different view, as the cultural aspect of the area plays a role, but only a very remote one considering the role the natural environment plays. For the Inuit, their culture is a part of their daily lives and an object of pride, while for tourists the Inuit culture is another culture in the massive worldwide offer of cultures to discover. One of the main conclusions of this study is that place and identities are constructed and similarly contested continuously. Representations and identities of Nunavut are created and constructed by different kinds of sources and people. The tourist identities of Nunavut are mainly constructed in the tourism business itself and are still in the process of construction.

Table of contents

Preface	3
Summary	4
Table of contents	6
List of maps, tables, photo's and figures	8
Chapter 1 Introduction	9
1.1 Introduction	9
1.2 Formulation of problem.....	13
Chapter 2 Theoretical framework: representations and tourism in Arctic regions	15
2.1 Place identities and sense of place.....	15
2.2 Representations	15
2.3 Tourism and experience	16
2.4 Polar tourism	17
2.5 Typology of tourists.....	18
2.6 Tourism and spatial dynamics.....	19
2.7 Tourism, actors and networks.....	20
Chapter 3 Data gathering: methods and techniques	22
3.1 Introduction methods and techniques	22
3.2 Literature study	22
3.3 Content analysis	22
3.4 Interviews.....	23
3.5 Focus groups.....	23
3.6 Participant observation	23
Chapter 4 General representations of the Arctic in tourism	25
4.1 Representations of the Arctic.....	25
4.1.1 The Arctic as pristine wilderness.....	25
4.1.2 The Arctic as a resource frontier.....	26
4.1.3 The Arctic as a home for people	26
4.2 Expected representations of Nunavut as part of the Arctic	26
Chapter 5 Tourist representations of Nunavut in the Netherlands	28
5.1 Actors and networks	28
5.1.1 Beluga Adventures	28
5.1.2 Askja Reizen (Askja Travels).....	29

5.1.3 HT Wandelreizen (<i>Himalaya Trekking Hiking Travels</i>).....	29
5.2 Network connections.....	29
5.3 Representation of Nunavut by actors	30
5.3.1 <i>Tourist organizations</i>	30
5.3.2 <i>Image and pictures</i>	30
5.3.3 <i>Types of tourists and tourism</i>	31
5.4 Representations in travel brochures and travel books.....	31
5.4.1 <i>Travel brochures</i>	33
5.4.2 <i>Travel books</i>	35
5.5 Tourists	37
5.6 Other representational sources	40
5.7 Conclusion.....	43
Chapter 6 <i>Tourist representations of Nunavut in Nunavut</i>.....	45
6.1 Actors and networks	45
6.1.1 <i>Nunavut Tourism</i>	45
6.1.2 <i>Nunavut Government</i>	46
6.1.3 <i>Parks Canada</i>	46
6.1.4 <i>Local outfitters/ guides and youth</i>	46
6.1.5 <i>Tourists</i>	47
6.2 Network connections.....	47
6.3 Representation of the area by actors	48
6.3.1 <i>Nunavut Tourism</i>	48
6.3.2 <i>The Government of Nunavut</i>	48
6.3.3 <i>Parks Canada</i>	49
6.3.4 <i>Outfitters/guides</i>	50
6.3.5 <i>Youth</i>	51
6.3.6 <i>Tourists</i>	52
6.4 Content analysis: representation in travel brochures and travel books	53
6.4.1 <i>Travel books</i>	53
6.4.2 <i>Travel brochures</i>	54
6.5 Conclusions.....	55
Chapter 7 <i>Conclusions</i>.....	56
References.....	58
Websites.....	60
Appendices.....	61
Appendix A: List of brochures analyzed	61
Appendix B: List of travel guides analyzed	61
Appendix C: List of people interviewed	62

List of maps, tables, photo's and figures

Map 1: Map of Nunavut, Canada	11
Map 2: Map of Bylot Island, Pond Inlet	12
Map 3: Map of Canada	13
Map 4: Map North circumpolar region	25
Table 1: Numbers of Arctic tourists	18
Table 2: Types of tourists	19
Table 3: Tourism stages distinguished by Miossec (1979)	19
Table 4: Different stages of tourist destination's development by Butler (1980)	20
Table 5: Tourist numbers Nunavut, Dutch organizations	29
Table 6: Content Analysis of photographs in brochure Beluga Adventures 2004/2005	34
Table 7: Content Analysis of photographs in ten travel guides	35
Table 8: Why Dutch tourists visit Nunavut	38
Table 9: Association Nunavut by Dutch tourists	38
Table 10: Difference expectations Nunavut by Dutch tourists	39
Table 11: Availability information Nunavut by Dutch tourists	40
Table 12: Associations of Nunavut by the youth of Pond Inlet	51
Table 13: Content analysis Nunavut Handbook, 2001	54
Table 14: Content analysis of three brochures from Nunavut and one Dutch brochure	55
Photo 0: Frontpage, The floe edge near Pond Inlet. June 12 th 2005	0
Photo 1: Pond Inlet in June, 2005	10
Figure 1: Polar bears, natural environment	34
Figure 2: Kayaking, tourist activities	34
Figure 3: Cover Insight Guide Canada, culture	36
Figure 4: Cover North Canada, the Bradt Travel Guide, culture	36
Figure 5: Kek de jonge koper-eskimo (Kek the young copper-eskimo)	41
Figure 6: Eskimo by Jacob	41
Figure 7: Man kayaking and fishing with a harpoon	42
Figure 8: Inuit children	42
Figure 9: Ray Mears World of Survival	43
Figure 10: Tourism network Nunavut (with actors of this study)	45
Figure 11: Nunavut by Nunavut Tourism	48
Figure 12: Sirmilik, place of glaciers	50
Figure 13: Sirmilik National Park, bird sanctuary	50
Figure 14: Kayaking, Pond Inlet	51
Figure 15: Camping, Nunavut	51
Figure 16: Nunavut Handbook	53
Figure 17: Pelly Bay drum dancers, culture	53
Figure 18: Soapstone carver, culture	55
Figure 19: Girl with doll, people	55

Chapter 1 Introduction

1.1 Introduction

Tourism is a field of research in which a lot has been (and still is being) written, no true definition has yet been admitted. The definition of the World Tourism Organization (1993) is one of the most widely accepted:

"Tourism can be defined as the activities of persons traveling to and staying in places outside their usual environment for not more than one consecutive year for leisure, business and other purposes" (Johnston et al., 2000, p. 840).

Business travel is travel with the purpose of business. Within Arctic regions, business travelers often form the largest group of visitors. Other purposes, as named within this definition can consist of for instance scientific research. In the context of this study two aspects need to be considered in addition to this WTO definition. Firstly, culture should be added in the definition, while it is a major player in the field when it comes to the choice tourists end up making when choosing a travel destination. Culture can be regarded as an important aspect within tourism, especially within Arctic regions. The indigenous culture is assumed to be one of the most important reasons why people are interested in these Arctic regions. Secondly, the definition used by the WTO lacks any mentioning of the relation of tourists with "the other". According to MacCannell (1992), a tourist is someone who leaves home to experience some kind of "otherness" somewhere else. One main incentive for tourists to want to experience this "otherness" seems to be the need to go away or maybe even escape normal life: home, work, etcetera. Within this study, culture is of great importance as it is an inherent part of tourism in the research area. "Otherness" is similarly important due to the fact that insider-outsider relations are part of the discussion.

The area of research is Nunavut; the recently created administrative region in the Canadian Arctic. Since its foundation in 1999, Nunavut's people have their own territory and government: "The government of Nunavut is a public government representing all people who live in Nunavut, both Inuit and non-Inuit" (Nunavut Handbook, 2004, p.101). The Inuit make up 85 percent of Nunavut's entire population, the territory has been named "our land" in Inuktitut, and to top it off, Inuktitut has become one of the official languages, alongside English and French. Nunavut is Canada's largest territory and takes up one fifth of the country's total land mass with its 1.9 million square kilometre. It also encompasses most of the High Arctic Islands, the Arctic Coast, Keewatin lands along Hudson Bay and Baffin Island (Kruk, 1997). In total, there are 26 communities scattered around the whole area, with a population of 27.688 in 2000 and an estimated 31.317 in 2005 (Nunavut Bureau of Statistics, 2000).

In 1999, research indicated that 18.227 travellers visited Nunavut, mostly by airplane, through one of the three gateways Cambridge Bay, Rankin Inlet and Iqaluit, by cruise ship, or by flying directly to lodges. Of these travellers, 72% were on location for business, the rest being vacation travellers. Business travel increased with 30% between 1998 and 1999 and vacation travel increased with 10% between 1994 and 1999 (Nunavut Tourism, 2000). Tourism directly employs about 500 people in Nunavut, in hotels, restaurants, as guides, or outfitters. Nunavut's tourism industry derives an estimated \$4.6 to \$13 million a year in direct and indirect revenues (Nunavut Tourism, 2003).

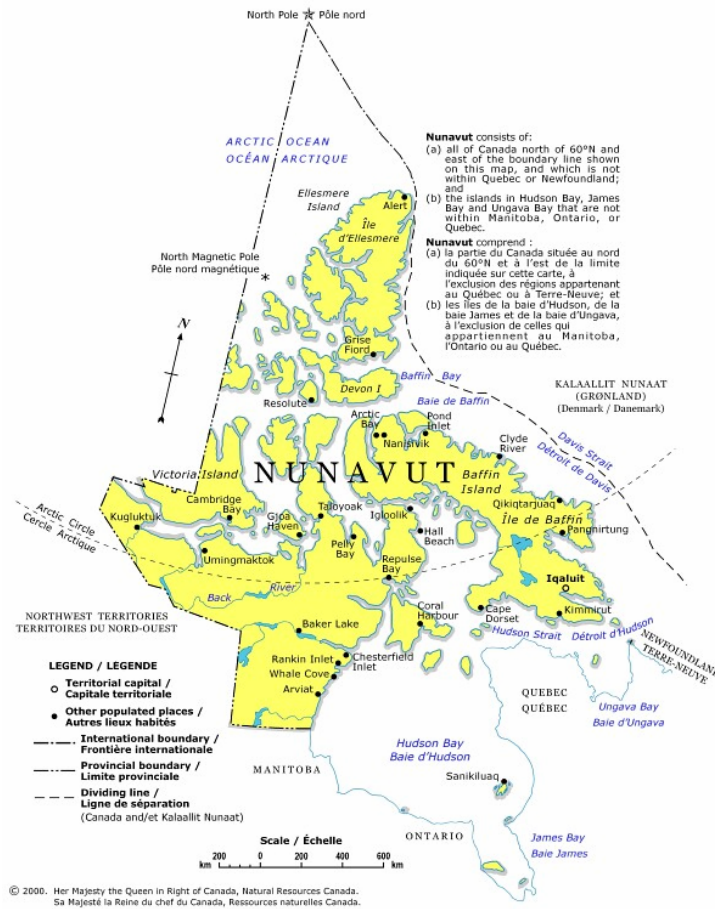
Nunavut's economy is regarded to be a "mixed economy" featuring both a "land-based economy" and a wage economy. Within Nunavut, income is required from four different sources. These four sources are: land-based economic activity or subsistence activity; commodity production whereby goods and services from land-based activity are sold and traded (e.g., sealskins); wage economy activity; and government transfers (employment assurance, social assistance, pensions etc.) (Nunavut Economic Outlook, 2001, p. 53). Tourism is seen as a wealth producing activity (Nunavut Economic Outlook, 2001, p. 73) as it creates income for businesses and residents. It can be of great importance for the future in terms of economic growth.



Photo 1: Pond Inlet in June, 2005 (Dave Reid)

The research and fieldwork for this study took place in both Iqaluit and Pond Inlet. Pond Inlet was chosen because it is one of the bigger communities that is already in a phase of economic development in terms of tourism. Pond Inlet is located on the North-Eastern shore of Baffin Island. The Inuit name of Pond Inlet is *Mittimatalik*, which stands for "the place where Mittima is buried". Pond Inlet has 1290 inhabitants (Nunavut Handbook, 2004). About 85% of the population is Inuit. The population is expanding rapidly the last couple of years. As Myers and Forrest (2000) describe, most of the employment in Pond Inlet is concentrated with a handful of employers for instance the Toonoonik Sagoonik Co-Op and the Hamlet Government. Other ways of gaining income are for instance marine mammal harvesting, hunting, trapping and fishing and mining. Mining is until this point in time in an explorative phase but nevertheless, also in this phase it generates jobs for a small group of people in the community. Tourism is besides mining also an opportunity for the future in Pond Inlet. Involvement of the local people and training is an important issue for tourism development. Pond Inlet does have the potentials for tourism development in terms of its highly valued natural assets and activities for tourists. The place is known because of the extraordinary scenery of icebergs and glaciers. This scenery is one of the reasons why the community attracts tourism. In 2001, Sirmilik ("Place of glaciers") officially became Nunavut's fourth National Park. The park encompasses

three separate land areas, of which one is Bylot Island which is also a bird sanctuary. Since the park's creation, more people tend to come to Pond Inlet, although the park still welcomes less than a hundred people a year. One of the attractions for tourists is the floe edge². Here, the chances of seeing wildlife and marine mammals like narwhales, bowhead whales and beluga's are quite high. Activities that tourists can take part in are for instance sea kayaking, hiking and skiing. There are four registered outfitters in Pond Inlet, namely: Polar Sea Adventures, Co-op Tuuniq Sauniq Outfitters, Sheatie Tagak and Charlie Inuaq, a local hunter. Of these four licensed outfitters, only Polar Sea Adventures is licensed to go into National Park Sirmilik.



Map 1: Map of Nunavut (Source: Website Polar Sea Adventures [www.polarseaadventures.com], 2005)

² Floe edge: this is the place where the floating water meets the ice and a lot of marine mammals and other animals can be found in search of food.



Map 2: Map of Bylot Island, Pond Inlet (Source: Website Polar Sea Adventures, www.polarseaadventures.com], 2005)

Nunavut is an interesting place for a research project on tourism and representation. Now it is not any longer regarded as an anonymous region within the greater Arctic. In that sense we can speak of a new region that can make a new start. In the search for new opportunities in terms of economic benefit in Nunavut, tourism is seen as one of the most promising options as tourists seem to be more and more interested in more remote and special destinations. As Hall et al. (1995) explain for arctic regions in general: "the poles have become highly attractive places because of the improvements of technology, the end of the Cold War, changes in consumer preferences, increased accessibility, and the never-ending search for new, marketable tourist products" (p. 1). Nunavut has now been put on the map as a separate region, and is beginning to see a growth in its tourism industry. Worldwide, the tourism industry tries to produce powerful images to promote their area, and attract as many tourists as possible. Within Nunavut this is also the case and not only by the tourism industry. The people of Nunavut are willing to show the outside world what Nunavut is: a new region that is willing to attract outsiders and tourists. In that sense it needs a lot of promotion as it is unknown by the large audience. Marketing plays a great role in this new, growing business, and one can observe that within tourism marketing, the area of destination's representation plays a major role. This process of representation is what will attract potential tourists and takes place in two different ways: one form of representation is shown in the area of destination, while another is shown in the area of origin. Subsequently, the question of who exactly produces these tourist identities arises, as well as what themes are popular to sell Nunavut as a tourist destination. Those involved in tourism in this region try to conquer a place on the difficult international tourism market.

The manner in which an area of destination is represented plays a crucial role within the tourism industry. Tourism brochures and tourist guides for instance are common means of representations of these destination. Visual material in here plays a crucial role. Showing pictures of the area of destination, for instance in brochures or on websites, is a way of informing tourists about these destinations. It is this manner of representing the area in question that is the main focus of this study. In order to

differ insider and outsider views on the representation for tourists, this study interpreted and contrasted them.



Map 3: Map of Nunavut, Canada. (Source: Website Polar Sea Adventures, [www.polarseaadventures.com], 2005)

1.2 Formulation of problem

According to Rose (1995), feelings about place are embedded in sets of power and relations and it can be said that place identities are constructed and contested all the time: "Places possess certain material and imagination-stimulating qualities. They are able to attract tourists because they also represent these qualities prior to the arrival of tourists" (Bærnholdt et al, 2005, p. 13). Tourist identities are a reflection of the marketers' perspective of a destination area. Nunavut's tourist identity on the international market is still developing, as its tourism industry is still very young and expanding. One can say that Nunavut's tourism industry is still in its infancy, compared to many other regions in the world. This is why this region is so interesting. Tourism representations play an important role in the whole process of developing an own identity. Competition on the international market is of importance because regions, areas or countries would like to distinguish oneself from the others on this market. This is why Nunavut's place on the international market of tourism and polar tourism will be discussed.

This research project questions who is behind the tourist identities and what themes are popular in selling Nunavut as a tourist destination:

what tourist identities can be distinguished of Nunavut, Canada, as well in the Netherlands as in the research area?

This study aims at giving a greater insight in the experience tourists have, as well as the expectations they have of their destinations and the role tourist representation plays in this. To achieve this, the tourist representations in both the Netherlands and Nunavut will be revealed and discussed by showing the different views of the actors that are involved in this process and by analyzing visual material which is used by promoting Nunavut. Throughout the entire study the difference between insider and outsider views remains a crucial part of the discussion.

A second part of this research project questions whether the region is part of the Arctic or the North, and whether Nunavut can or should use the Arctic's general place identities like that of pure wilderness, ice, polar landscapes or polar bears. The main research question here is:

is Nunavut part of the Arctic (or the North), and can Nunavut use the Arctic's general place identities of, for example, pure wilderness, ice, polar landscapes, and polar bears?

The Arctic's general place identities will be discussed in chapter 5. As Nunavut is officially part of the Arctic it faces the problem of following these existing, strong representations of other polar regions, or to follow its own way and market something totally new and exclusively.

The research took place in The Netherlands and in Iqaluit and Pond Inlet, Canada. Main source of data is all the visual material that is being used to sell the tourism product of Nunavut. Second major source of data are the people involved in selling the "product" Nunavut. The data gathered originated from literature study, interviews, focus groups, participant observation and content analysis. These methods will be part of discussion in chapter 3.

Chapter 2 Theoretical framework: representations and tourism in Arctic regions

2.1 Place identities and sense of place

Places have certain identities that play an important role in tourism marketing: "Place is more than a location. It is interpretation and narrative that give identity and it is identity that transforms space into place" (Haque & Jenkins, 2005, p.4). Locations go hand in hand with meaning and feeling, and like Rose (1995) noted; feelings about place are embedded in sets of power and relations. Place identities are constructed and contested continuously and thus change all the time. Researching people's feelings about an area is not a simple task, but such research was nevertheless attempted by means of questionnaires and advertisement representations analysis, for instance.

The concept of sense of place is also of importance in this study. As Johnston et al. (2000) explain: 'Sense of place has increasingly been examined in human geography as an outcome of interconnected psychoanalytic, social and environmental processes, creating and manipulating quite flexible relations with physical place' (p .731). The feelings that people express and experience in relation to specific places are central in this approach. Rose (1995) stated that sense of place may be very personal as every place can generate different responses to specific places. Together with the sense of place, "other" or "otherness" plays an important role in the representation of place identities. Tourist locations have different dimensions on top of these: "tourist places are simultaneously places of the physical environment, embodiment sociality, memory and image. Tourism depends on these diverse but also overlapping notions of place'" (Bærenholdt, 2005, p.32). Edward Said's (1978) work on orientalism discusses "the Orient" as a cultural construction. The Orient is one example of a place which is represented in many ways and which resulted in strong images.

Tourist discourse is also a form of cultural production. As Suvantola (2002) explains about tourist discourse: "it places its actors, tourists, operators and locals (the Others) in their clearly defined roles" (p. 46). Traveling is a way of undertaking new adventures, a drive all humans have. "The other" is part of this new experience as the distance and difference between self and other attracts tourists out of their normal environment and is often characterized by exoticism as Suvantola explains (2002) explains: "the tourist discourse tells us to travel to experience ancient lifestyles of peoples who still live as they have through past centuries" (Suvantola, 2002, p. 47). The idea one has of "the other" tells quite a bit about the person and their place in the world.

2.2 Representations

Representations help us make sense of the world we live in: Hall (1997) suggests that representation is the production of meaning through language, and distinguishes two systems of representation. The first is one that depends on the mind's thoughts and the way we give meaning to the world by means of these thoughts. The second system of representation is language: "language consists of signs organized into various relationships" (Hall, 1997, p.28). Codes are used to translate concepts into language, and visual signs and images are of importance when passing on these representations to others. The interpretation of these signs varies per person as we all read the signs in the same manner, but how we interpret these and what meaning we give to them cannot be discerned due to its opacity. These representations are of

great importance within the tourism sector as they are the means of communicating the destination to the (potential) tourist. The representations used will be the determining factor in the attraction a tourist feels towards the destination. However, one person could interpret and associate completely different things to a representation than another person. Tourist brochures are imperative in order to communicate the tourist destinations towards the (potential) tourists. This is why Nunavut's tourism representation will be the subject of the discussion. Differences between the way people in the Netherlands represent Nunavut, and the way people in Nunavut represent their region will be revealed and questioned, also considering the question on whether Nunavut fits the profile of the general representations of the Arctic or not. As Santos (2004) explains: 'travel writers do not constantly create new representations but rather fall on previously established organizing narratives'(p. 123). It is in the line of expectations that traces of Arctic representations and narratives can be distinguished within Nunavut's representations.

2.3 Tourism and experience

Foundational studies in the geography of tourism have focused on four phenomena and their connection, which was distinguished by Pearce (1995): "Tourism is essentially about people and places, the places that groups of people leave, visit and pass through, the people so traveling, those organizers who make these trips possible, and the people who are encountered along the way" (Pearce, 1995, p. 1). Nowadays tourist experience and representations of tourist destinations play an important role in tourism business. To gain a better understanding of tourists' experiences and ways of interpreting representations, the case of Nunavut will be discussed. Tourism in Nunavut has formed itself a small niche on the international market and is worth researching as Suvantola (2002) explains: "In trying to understand a particular type of tourist, it is useful to devise a typology to help locate that particular type of tourists studied in the wider context of different kinds of travel. This reflection is the key to one's own experiences, and is the very key to increased understanding" (p. 64). Nunavut's tourists will not be revealed, but a better understanding will be offered instead. Furthermore, the way these tourists and the people involved in tourism handle these representation will be the main issue.

Travel guides, stories told by previous visitors, images on television, in brochures and books, create certain expectations. It is often hard for tourist to determine whether the expectations created on a certain location match what he or she is looking for. Tourists often look for the real, unspoiled and untouched culture, wilderness and nature. Every tourist has an individual motivation for his or her travel, as well as a personal set of preferences and expectations which results in combinations of different factors playing a role in the choice of destination.

Despite this individual motivation for tourists, different types and classifications of tourism are distinguished in the literature on the subject. One of the classifications is that of Smith (1989), who distinguishes five types of tourism: ethnic tourism, cultural tourism, historical tourism, environmental tourism and recreational tourism. The following types of tourists and activities can be found in Arctic regions and can be linked to Smith's classification:

- Nature tourism: tourists who come specifically for the bird colonies, whale or polar bear watching and the scenery. Travel options will usually be ski, bicycle, kayak and/or hike.
- Adventure tourism: those who travel and have activities such as climbing and sea kayaking as a main goal.

- Cultural tourism: where the cultural experience is central. Tourists wish to get in touch with the Inuit and learn how they used to live. Traditional clothing, music, arts and crafts and such, play an important role in travels like these.
- Sport hunting: summer tourists who come to hunt polar bear, fish or char.
- Tours: this category contains those who do a customized tour by boat and skidoos. Tours consist of whole-in-one packages including accommodations, food and trip, such as cruise ships for instance.

For instance environmental tourism matches nature tourism in a broad sense. Every type of tourism that can be distinguished does attract other types of tourists. Creating a clear division between these types can be difficult as different types tend to cross each other's boundaries. For instance, a "cultural tourist" may also have recreational purposes and vice versa. One niche on the international tourism market is of particular interest for this research: polar tourism, a type of tourism restricted geographically to the polar areas. This type of tourism will take up a part of the discussion in the next paragraph.

2.4 Polar tourism

There need to be no discussion when categorizing Nunavut as one of the areas that attracts polar tourism, as it is geographically placed in the polar area. However, the term polar tourism does encounter some problems when it comes to its definition. Because of the large amount of travelers with a scientific or work-related purpose in their trip, it is hard to make the distinction between those and true tourists. Nevertheless, a definition of polar tourism was attempted in Hall et al. (1995): "all travel for pleasure or adventure within polar regions, exclusive of travel for primarily governmental, commercial, subsistence, military or scientific purpose" (p. 8). Polar tourism encompasses tourism in Arctic and Antarctic regions as well as some sub regions. The numbers of tourists of the different Arctic regions and countries are listed in table 1. below. It is difficult to distinguish the group of tourists within Nunavut because a large part of the visitors are coming for governmental, commercial or scientific purpose. As already noted in the introduction, this group forms 72% of the total amount of travelers. According to the definition of WTO (1993) of tourism, 18000 travelers visited Nunavut in 2000. According to Hall's (1995) definition, only 5100 people can be defined as tourists. This study focuses at tourists more specific than travelers. Because the group of tourists is not very large, some data originated from respondents that did fit the profile of traveler. An difficulty here is that some people are traveler and tourist the same time. The main purpose of their travel is for instance governmental work but in their spare time they also take part in tourist activities. Regulation of polar tourism is essential for the protection of the region, as it is known for its vulnerable and untouched character. For instance, tourist facilities and even the attendance of tourists can lead to disruption and damage to the local communities. In the past few years, there has been a clear augmentation of the amount of programs started in polar tourism, aimed at enhancing economic development and scientific research in the areas. The polar regions are among the world's last tourism frontiers (Hall et al. 1995). As Nuttall (1998) explains: "Arctic tourism depends on images of wild nature and frontier history. Increasing numbers of tourists visit the Arctic, attracted especially by the idea of experiencing wilderness, but also by idealized images of traditional indigenous cultures" (p. 125). Nunavut is new on the international tourism market. Questions can be asked regarding its profile as an Arctic region and the representational issues that play a role in terms of tourism marketing.

Country of origin	Numbers	Year
Greenland	32.000	2002
Iceland	277.800	2002
Svalbard	41.000	2001
Alaska (USA)	254.000	2001
Yukon (Canada)	32.000	2003
Northwest Territories (Canada)	33.120	1999-2000
Nunavut (Canada) *	5.100	2000
Kamchatka (Russia)	41.000	2001
Lapland (Scandinavia) **	600.000	2002

Table 1: Numbers of Arctic tourists (Sources: Pagnan, P.L. (2003) The impact of climate change on Arctic tourism – a preliminary review, Tunisia: World Trade Organization

* Nunavut Tourism, 2000

* *Huuhtanen M. (2003) *Business forces elf layoffs*,

[http://www.lawrence.com/news/2003/dec/21/business_forces/] In: USA:The Lawrence Journal-World, 2005)

2.5 Typology of tourists

Tourists form an important part of the tourism network as they are the ones who visit the area and bring back stories. Their experiences are important for potential tourists who wish to visit the place of destination in the future: "understanding of the experience of one can add to the experience of another" (Suvantola, 2002, p. 4). Besides the different types of tourism, different types of tourists have also been distinguished in the literature in question. Categories still used frequently in tourism studies are those of Cohen (1972) and Plog (1972). Their approaches are each listed in table 2. France (1997) describes the different types of tourist as following: "at one extreme there is the small group of drifters and explorers who are prepared to try new, exotic and challenging situations in which there is a degree of risk, in order to obtain a novel and more authentic travel experience" (p. 4). These tourists will travel mostly on organized trips. The psycho centric and organized mass tourists are in search of a familiar tourist destination to stay at during their holiday. France (1997) describes the experience of these tourists as following: "their experience is created for them by the holiday industry and the perceived reality of their destination is rarely a true reflection of local life, but one which has been tamed and packaged to reduce contact with the indigenous population" (p. 4). As mentioned earlier, categories tend to be superfluous, and tourist classification is certainly no exception. The two types of tourists described above are no absolutes but rather two ends of a scale, as there is a wide variety of tourists placed between the authentic and the adventurous tourist. Those who choose to visit Nunavut are likely to be placed in the category of institutionalized or organized traveler. Viken (1995) makes a three-way distinction of tourists concerning Svalbard: the conqueror, the naturalist and the scientist. In this case; the conquerors are those for whom it is of major importance to have been to that specific region or country. The type of tourist is of importance for the experience they have on the place of destination, as different kinds of tourists have different expectations and bring other representations of their destination back home. The different kinds of tourists that can be distinguished in Nunavut also have different purposes and will experience other experiences.

	Cohen (1972)	Plog (1972)	
Non-institutionalized traveler	Drifter Explorer	Allocentric	Adventurer in search of new travel experiences
Institutionalized traveler	Individual mass tourist	Mid-Centric	Individual travel arrangements made to increasingly well-known destinations
	Organized mass tourist	Psychocentric	Package holidaymakers in search of familiarity at their destination

Table 2: Types of tourists (Source: France (1997) In: The Earthscan Reader in Sustainable Tourism)

2.6 Tourism and spatial dynamics

In addition to the approaches that focus on the experience tourists have, the market focused approaches will be discussed here. The purpose of this is to get an idea of Nunavut's place as a tourist destination on the international market. Many ideas and theories have been developed and give a better understanding of the spatial dynamics of tourist destinations. Important contributors to this aspect of tourism are Butler and Miossec, who are still used and quoted amply. Miossec (1976) categorized tourism development in five different stages which are described in the table below.

0. Passage, no tourism: isolated, shortcoming of knowledge and interest.
1. Pioneer tourist place: area is not yet discovered by tourism.
2. More tourist places: tourism starts to develop, area starts to get a place in the perception of tourists
3. Beginning hierarchy and specialization: successful development, more tourist places start to exist, tourist transport networks start to develop.
4. Hierarchy and specialization: specialization of different tourist places starts to take of for example in terms of prices and facilities.

Table 3: Tourism stages distinguished by Miossec (1979) (Source: Venema (1998) Ontwikkelingsmodellen, Ruimtelijke dynamiek van toeristenplaatsen)

Miossec's model was used by a lot of researchers involved in tourism. The fact that this model sheds light on spatial dynamics in different dimensions is the reason for its success: it encompasses the stages of development but also other stages, for example the stages which involve the development of facilities. The model gives us also insight into the development of the tourists, the local people and the governors in the area. A disadvantage according to Venema (1998) is that "the different stages do not fully follow each other synchronically while this is being suggested" (p. 6). Tourism, for example, can be in the stage of specialization, while the locals' and governors' attitude still remains in the observational, pioneer stage, causing dissonance, which in its turn can lead to an unfavourable development. Despite shortcomings, both models were used to analyze and predict the stage at which tourism is in Nunavut, and its place on the international market.

Butler (1980) made a model in which he typified the different stages of tourist destinations' development which are listed in the table below.

1. Exploration stage: Characterized by a small number of tourists, individual travel arrangements and irregular patterns. The use of local facilities and contact with local residents are likely to be high.
2. Involvement stage: Numbers of visitors increases, some local residents will begin to provide facilities primarily or exclusively for visitors.
3. Development stage: This stage reflects a well-defined tourist market area, shaped in part by heavy advertising in tourist-generating areas. Progress, local involvement and control of development will decline rapidly. Local facilities can disappear being superseded by more up-to-date facilities by external organizations. Changes in the physical appearance of the area will be noticeable.
4. Consolidation stage: The rate of increase in numbers of visitors will decline, although total numbers will still increase, and total visitor numbers exceed the number of permanent residents. A major part of the area's economy will be tied to tourism.
5. Stagnation: The peak numbers of visitors will have been reached. Capacity levels for many variables will have been reached or exceeded, with attendant environmental, social and economic problems.
6. Decline stage: The area will not be able to compete with newer attractions and so will face a declining market. Rejuvenation may occur, although it is almost certain that this stage will never be reached without a complete change in the attractions on which tourism is based.

Table 4: Different stages of tourist destination's development (Source: Butler 1980)

Noteworthy here is that not all areas experience the stages of the cycle as clearly as others. The way a particular area develops depends at the number of visitors, accessibility, government policies and the number of similar competing areas. These factors are also of importance for the case of Nunavut. According to Butler's (1980) examples of the second stage, the involvement stage could be found in Latin America and in parts of the Canadian Arctic. Nunavut could probably be defined as being in the involvement stage, as tourism is slowly growing.

2.7 Tourism, actors and networks

In tourism, a whole network of parties and actors is involved. Within this network tourist discourse plays an important role: "the tourist discourse is the whole of both individually and socially constructed ideas and practices of (and relating to) tourism; it contains the ideas of how to be a tourist" (Suvantola, 2002, p. 45). In this study, the main actors are tourist organizations in the Netherlands and those in the place of destination, Nunavut. Lodged between these two actors are the tourists who visit the place of destination and bring their experiences back home.

According to Goodall (1990), the tourism industry is mainly a private sector characterized by a concentration of small businesses in the destination areas. The tour operator arranges these packages and forms the base from which several possibilities reach the client. Goodall (1990) distinguishes four different options available within the tourism industry.

- First of all, the tour operator can be an independent organization, responsible for the package of the travel. This means that the tour operator is, among

other things, responsible for the booking of accommodation and transportation. Tour operators will offer the trip by means of a whole network, ranging from travel agents to tourists. This way of traveling takes up most of the tourism industry.

- The second possibility is for the travel agent to be skipped. The tour operator then sells directly the trip to the tourist.
- The third possibility is having the travel agent directly responsible for the packaging of the trip. Here, the tour operator is the actor with no role.
- Finally, the producer of a base service, like a flight company or a hotel chain, is the one to fill in the role of tour operator, resulting in the company selling the trip directly to the client.

Since the 1960's, tour operators have increasingly been playing the role of standard holiday salesman. The fact that the sum of the whole package is cheaper than all the individual services together is what has made this formula a success. A segment of the market is focused on cheap sun holidays where the destination has been playing an increasingly remote role. Due to the development of communication technology, tourism networks have become easier to deal with. These networks consist of different nodes, each representing a different organization or cluster of organizations. Different channels are now available to potential tourists looking for information, leading to a decreased role of the travel agent. According to Shaw and Williams (2002), the choice between making individual arrangements and relying on a tour company depends on personal knowledge, experience and resources, the difficulty of making arrangements, and the attractiveness of the holiday package offered. Nevertheless, international tour companies still play a crucial role in the international tourism industry.

For a tourist destination area, in this case Nunavut, tourist operators from inside and outside are important. They both play a role in attracting tourists and in delivering a product to tourists. How this network works will be discussed in chapter 5 and 6. An important aspect here will be the representations of the tourist destination.

Chapter 3 Data gathering: methods and techniques

3.1 Introduction methods and techniques

The main questions of this study concern the tourism representations of Nunavut in Nunavut and the Netherlands and the place of Nunavut with its tourism representations within Arctic tourism in general. In the previous chapters Arctic tourism and representations have been discussed. The preliminary conclusion was that representations of a particular area, region or country plays a major role within tourism marketing. As already mentioned, Nunavut is an interesting subject, because it is a rather new territory. To find out about these tourist representations one must operationalize the research by which these representations can be measured. Several methods were being used which will be elaborated upon in this chapter. The first part of this study consists of finding out what tourist identities of Nunavut can be distinguished in the Netherlands. The second part consists of tracking the tourist identities that can be distinguished in Nunavut itself. Main source of data is all the visual material that is being used to sell the tourism product of Nunavut. Second major source of data are the people involved in selling the "product" Nunavut. For both parts, the tourist identities of Nunavut in the Netherlands and in Nunavut, several methods were being used. These methods used were: literature study, content analysis, interviews, focus groups and participant observation.

3.2 Literature study

Firstly; studying the literature of the field of research, the subject and the research question is imperative, as literature study results in a better insight in the subject of research: representations and the representational process within tourism study. By means of studying literature of the field of research, the main definitions and theories regarding tourism and tourism representation were revealed. More insight was also given by means of literature study in the field of research, Nunavut.

3.3 Content analysis

In second place, content analysis was done on travel brochures and books available in the Netherlands. Content analysis can be defined as: "the method (of content analysis) is based on counting the frequency of certain visual elements in a clearly defined sample of images, and then analyzing those frequencies" (Rose, 2001, p. 58). In a practical sense this implied for this research that different categories were distinguished to subdivide the pictures published in the brochures that were collected in the Netherlands. One brochure in particular will be analyzed, as it has the most photographic material. Then tourist guides available in the Netherlands were analyzed in a similar way by looking at the most frequently used themes and the notifications that attract attention. This research method has been proved and used before by Bhattacharrya (1997) for research on the representations of India by analyzing different guide books and the textual and photographic material used in here. Therefore it was used in this study as well. Pictures within these brochures of Nunavut will be coded and analyzed afterwards. With this analysis, the kind of images used in Nunavut's tourism business will be revealed. To do this; the three biggest brochures with the most photographic material collected in Nunavut will be analyzed, as well a other sources such as a geography book; a children's book, a child's painting and the lyrics to a song. These immensely varying sources should give an accurate idea of the wide variety of representations of Nunavut.

3.4 Interviews

Thirdly, those involved in Nunavut's tourism business in the Netherlands were interviewed. One interview was taken face-to-face and the other two were taken by means of questionnaires sent and returned by email. The aim of these interviews was to determine how, and in which manner the area is marketed and finally how and who decides on the tourist identities and how this process of representation is formed. Seven tourists from the Netherlands were chosen out of a group of tourists to take part in this research project. They were interviewed on their experiences in Nunavut by means of a questionnaire. Employees in organizations involved in tourism, at the regional level, in Nunavut and Pond Inlet in particular, were also interviewed. Once again, the respondents were asked about those responsible at the different levels for tourist representations and how these images were constructed. These efforts resulted in 27 interviews with tourism employees (for instance governmental employees, chief park warden National Park Sirmilik and outfitters and guides) and 18 interviews with youths at the Nassivik high school in Pond Inlet. The youths were asked about their views on tourism development and their ideas on Nunavut and Pond Inlet's representation. The youth forms an important group as they are more capable in handling with modern forms of media as for instance the internet. Some tourists were not officially interviewed, but notes were taken from informal conversations with them. All interviews were recorded and transcribed. Afterwards the transcriptions were analyzed.

3.5 Focus groups

In fourth place, focus groups were created, using people from a large group of tourists on a business trip, and a group of high school youths. A focus group can be defined as "a special type of group in terms of purposes, size, composition, and procedures. The purpose of a focus group is to listen and gather information" (Krueger and Casey, 2000, p. 4). The tourist focus group consisted of three participants and the focus group at the Nassivik high school in Pond Inlet consisted of six youths. Focus groups were chosen because by means of a focus groups interviewees feel more confident and are more willing to speak and they can interact with the other interviewees. The interviews with the people who took part in a focus group were also recorded and transcribed. Afterwards the transcriptions were analyzed.

3.6 Participant observation

Finally, the method of participant observation was used. This method of qualitative data research is used to observe the field of research and consequently collect data. The researcher is physically present on the research location and collects his or her data under normal, everyday circumstances and by means of participating in the activities taking place. The advantage of participant observation is that "our experience of participating in a social situation takes on meaning and coherence from the fact that we are inside the situation, part of it. The participant observer, on the other hand, will experience being both insider and outsider simultaneously" (Spradley, 1980, p. 57). Participant observation gives the researcher the opportunity to see and experience how participants in the field of research act and why they act in the way they do. A fieldwork diary was kept to make notes on the spot that could prove to be important for the study. A digital version was made of this diary and this diary was also analyzed on specific notes that were of importance of this study.

The use of all these methods together resulted in a description of the different place identities of Nunavut in the following chapters. As much as possible was looked at all

the parties and organizations in different ways that are involved in delivering the tourism product of Nunavut.

Chapter 4 General representations of the Arctic in tourism

4.1 Representations of the Arctic

According to Hall et al. (1995), various descriptions of the Arctic exist: “the most common are based on indicators of climate (e.g. the tree line) or solely the latitude (e.g. the Arctic Circle at 66° 33' N) (p. 7)” (see map 4). The Arctic is also known as the North, but this definition is extremely vague and can refer to almost anywhere. The North has been an inspiration for a lot of people to write, read and talk about as Grace, (2002) describes: “Above all the North has been and continues to be written about and represented in verbal images and tropes, and in a range of sign systems besides language” (p. 21). Grace (2002) describes the different representations of the Arctic, the way the Canadians look at the North and its importance. The focus in this chapter is placed on the different representations of the North (or Arctic). Within the literature, different kinds of representations of the Arctic can be distinguished: The most common representations are the Arctic as a clean, “pristine” and vast wilderness (Johnston, 1995, p. 28), the Arctic as the last frontier (Hulan, 2002, p. 116) and the Arctic as a home for the people who live there (Grace, 2002, p. 230). These three representations will be discussed in more detail in the following paragraphs.



Map 4: Map North circumpolar region (Source: Website Polar Sea Adventures [www.polarseaadventures.com], 2005)

4.1.1 The Arctic as pristine wilderness

The first representation is that of the Arctic as a ‘pristine wilderness’. This would probably be the most common representation of the Arctic and is often used in tourism: “Tour companies market the Arctic as a land of superlatives and extremes, where nature can still be experienced as raw and pristine. The brochures they produce entice the visitor with descriptions of untrammelled wilderness, fascinating Native culture and abundant wildlife, so that a trip to the Arctic is promised to be an unforgettable encounter with majestic scenery, cathedral icebergs, the midnight sun

or a mystical aurora borealis, friendly indigenous people, and with whales, bears and other animals" (Nuttall, 1998, p. 133). These representations, pictures and images of nature and wildlife, play an important role: pictures of nature often express the remoteness, the wide view and the emptiness of the land. These are the main factors that seem to attract tourists to the Arctic. As Johnston (1995) describes, "the chief attraction is the existence of a landscape which has alluring wilderness qualities" (p. 27). Johnston (1995) distinguishes different elements of the local environment in this attraction due to wilderness, such as hunting and fishing, wildlife viewing, landscape photography and kayaking. Pictures that can play a role here are those of nature, mountains, glaciers and marine mammals.

4.1.2 The Arctic as a resource frontier

In the second place, the Arctic is represented as a resource frontier. This representation can be traced back to the days of gold mining in the late nineteenth century. The Arctic is seen as a region of enormous wealth in terms of natural resources such as gas, oil and minerals. This representation is often associated with the harsh and empty character of the Arctic. The Arctic in this representation is also regularly associated with masculinity and rugged outdoor types (Hulan, 2002). The last frontier image gives the urge to know more about the Arctic. This frontier image is not used much anymore, perhaps because of the growing number of tourists that actually come to the Arctic. Pictures that can play a role here are those that emphasize the emptiness and remoteness of the area.

4.1.3 The Arctic as a home for people

Finally, the Arctic is often represented as a place where people live, also including the people who live and work in the Arctic. Most of these inhabitants are Inuit, Indian or Métis³: "Despite local difference, most of them are united by language, Inuktitut, and a shared orature and culture, but one need to reflect upon the marked differences in sculpture to appreciate the differences in material culture and artistic expression" (Grace, 2002, p. 231). The Arctic as a home also has associations with the self-determination of the indigenous people and the claims for land of the past decades. The cultural aspect is often included in the view of the Arctic as a home and according to Van Dam (2005), this view is based on the importance of the traditional indigenous economy which relies on land and marine mammals. Pictures that can play a role here are those of people, the built environment and cultural performances or skills.

4.2 Expected representations of Nunavut as part of the Arctic

In view of the representations discussed above, we can develop certain expectations towards the representations of Nunavut. Three representations were distinguished regarding the Arctic; the Arctic as a wilderness, as a frontier and as a home for people. If Nunavut considers itself part of the Arctic, it will use these general representations. In the following chapters, the tourist representations of Nunavut will be revealed; first the representations used in the Netherlands followed by those in Nunavut. It is only when the representations have been found that they can be compared to the general representations of the Arctic. One would expect to find representations of Nunavut as a place of pure wilderness and a place where people live. The wilderness perception could be in majority, as the people of Nunavut are searching for ways to develop the economy. In order to achieve this, tourism

³ Métis people emerged out of the relations of Indian women and European men (Source: Website Métis National Council [www.metisnation.ca], 2006)

development seems to be one of the most promising options. The representation of Nunavut as a place where people live could be in majority if the people of Nunavut have finally achieved the foundation of the territory of Nunavut. Nunavut means “our land” and its inhabitants are proud to live in this region. If Nunavut is seen as the new destination within tourism, and not so much as being part of the Arctic, other representations are likely to be revealed.

Chapter 5 Tourist representations of Nunavut in the Netherlands

In this chapter, the representation of Nunavut in the Netherlands will be discussed. Firstly, the network's most important actors will be discussed and secondly, the representation of Nunavut by these actors will be incorporated in the discussion. Tourist organizations will also be discussed, followed by tourists themselves, and representations in travel guides, representations in tourist brochures available in the Netherlands, and tourist organizations' opinion about this issue. Thirdly, to illustrate its importance, five other types of Nunavut (and Arctic) representations will be discussed.

5.1 Actors and networks

In this paragraph, the different parts of Nunavut's tourism network in the Netherlands will be discussed. The international travel industry forms the framework for tourism. Here, tourist discourse is an important aspect which, according to Suvantola (2000), is affected by the industry, made somewhat evident in travel advertising, in which the basic tenets of the tourist discourse are expressed. A form of tourism that can be considered very different in terms of actors and networks, is mass tourism. Shaw and Williams (2002) describe mass international tourism as a "product of the twentieth century, especially of the post-1945 period" (p. 29). International tourism travel to Nunavut is only a small and fragmented part of its total tourism market, making the actor-network relations regarding Nunavut more transparent and less complicated than the networks in mass tourism destinations. For the latter, the actor-network relation is, generally speaking, complicated and opaque. Nowadays, the role of the travel agent within the tourism network is declining slowly as internet plays an increasingly bigger role in helping tourists make their own arrangements, rendering travel agencies almost obsolete to book a trip.

Nevertheless, when mass tourism is not at play, an important actor in the tourism network tends to be the travel agency or organization in the country of origin. For this research project, an inventory was made of the market for Arctic trips in the Netherlands. The market for Nunavut can be considered very small and fragmented as there are only three travel organizations that organize package tours to that destination and send over an estimated 50 people from the Netherlands, annually. The statistics of the three tourist organizations are listed in table 5. According to Goodall (1990), these travel agents are directly responsible for the packaging of the trip. The tour operator is the actor that plays no role here, as tour operators usually play a large role in mass tourism destinations. There are more organizations that have Canada in their package, but Nunavut is not included in these. Another important actor which is part of the network are the tourists who visited Nunavut and potential tourists who will visit Nunavut in the future. They are the ones who, in the end, bring their experiences back home and share them with friends and family. As explained in Bærenholdt et al. (2004) "tourist places are produced spaces and tourists are co-producers of such places" (p. 10). The tourists will be discussed after the topic of the tourist organizations in the Netherlands.

5.1.1 Beluga Adventures

Beluga Adventures started as a result of the passion for Arctic and Antarctic areas the owner had developed. Different kinds of trips the founder made, lead to the idea to set up a travel agency that would specialize in offering tours to Arctic and

Antarctic areas. In addition, the agency is specialized in whale watching tours. Since 1998, Beluga has been organizing trips to the area now known as Nunavut. Beluga not only offers kayaking and trekking tours of Ellesmere Island, but also nature tours with specific attention to photography by giving extra attention to musk oxen, narwhales and whales. Also, the company offers a tour with an icebreaker cruise ship around Ellesmere Island and finally a Greenland/Canada expedition cruise. With these four activities, Beluga has a varied offer of possibilities for tourists. The groups are small and count eight to sixteen people. On a cruise ship, tourists from the Netherlands share the ship with tourists from other countries. These ships are of the smaller variant, allowing for 50 to 100 people.

5.1.2 Askja Reizen (Askja Travels)

Askja Reizen profiles itself as the specialist in the adventurous nature tours of Iceland, Greenland, Svalbard, Alaska, Canada, New-Zealand, Australia and Antarctica. Askja Reizen offers both group travels and individual trips as well as two different possibilities for Nunavut. First of all, Askja offers a Greenland/Canada cruise where nature, animals and the Inuit culture are the key words (Website Askja Reizen, 2005). Furthermore, they offer help to individual travelers for flights in Nunavut.

5.1.3 HT Wandelreizen (Himalaya Trekking Hiking Travels)

HT Wandelreizen is specialized in trekking expeditions to remote areas of the world. One of their tours goes to Nunavut and consists of two hiking tours on Baffin Island, around two different communities. In 2004, HT Wandelreizen included Nunavut as a tourist destination for the first time.

Organizations	2003	2004	2005
Beluga Adventures	No data	8	12
Askja Reizen	1	5-10	0-5
HT Wandelreizen	No offer of Nunavut as destination	12	0

Table 5: Tourist numbers Nunavut, Dutch organizations (based on numbers given by the organization, 2005)

Besides what these three organizations offer, one can find more ways of getting information about, and traveling to, Nunavut. The main organizations that provide information like mentioned above are the Canadian Tourism Commission and the Canadian Embassy.

5.2 Network connections

The three organizations mentioned earlier work in small networks, due to the fact that the links between the actors are very short and direct: from the travel agent to the organizations in the area of destination, and from travel agent directly to the customer. The tour operators are not included in this network as they only tend to play an important role in mass tourism.

Contacts between the travel agencies, the outfitters and organizations on location are usually built up over time. The agency's employees visit the areas annually to see what has changed, and revive the contacts with local organizations and outfitters. An agent at Beluga (2005) mentioned that her agency tries to work with the locals as often as possible. Nowadays, most of the contact between the destination area and the Netherlands happens by means of internet and e-mail

contact, as it is considered to be the easiest way to keep in touch. In addition, the tourist agencies are associated with a shipping company that offers cruise ships, they also have contacts and links with First Air, the local aircraft company, as well as with Nunavut Tourism, the main tourism organization in Nunavut.

The organizations use the internet to reach their clients and produce annual brochures to offer their tours. The organizations also attend shows to promote their company and further enlarge their network with new actors in the business and potential clients.

Nowadays more and more vacations are booked and catalogued through the internet, which reflects the fact that the world of traveling is ever more influenced by the process of globalization. This development also leads to a counter reaction; people increasingly search for new options and new adventures as they are more consumption oriented and seek spectacle. People want to consume the experience: "Many residents of the fast world are world travelers -either directly or via the TV in their living room- so that they are knowledgeable about many aspects of other cultures. This contributes to cosmopolitanism, an intellectual and esthetic openness toward divergent experience, as well as images and products from different cultures" (Knox and Marston, 2001, p. 261). These images are partly produced by the agencies that organize travels to places and partly by stories of those who have been to the destination in question. This is also the subject of section 5.3: the representation of the area by different actors.

5.3 Representation of Nunavut by actors

Here, the different actors involved in the representational process of Nunavut in the Netherlands will be discussed. These are the three tourist organizations that organize travels to Nunavut and tourists.

5.3.1 Tourist organizations

The three organizations mentioned in section 5.1. gave their ideas and thoughts about the representation of the area in a series of interviews. Employees of these organizations were interviewed and filled in a questionnaire in which they were asked about two issues central to this study: the representations of Nunavut and whether tourism in Nunavut is part of Arctic tourism. This division accounts for the subdivision into one part on the images of Nunavut and the pictures used to represent it, and a second part, on the type of tourism and tourists that undertake such trips. This illustrates again how pictures play a crucial role in tourism representations.

5.3.2 Image and pictures

One of Beluga's agents explains that they would like to alter the image that most people have of Arctic regions. One of the ways Beluga tries to achieve this is by publishing pictures that are opposite to what most people would expect; for instance, the traditional clothing of the Inuit. As an agent at Beluga explains: "You do not see that much traditional clothing anymore in Canada and Greenland. You do in some areas, but only during the winter. During the summer everybody looks the same as we do, you do not really see the difference" (Interview with Van Eijdsden, 2005). Nevertheless, in Beluga's brochure there are some pictures of locals in traditional clothing and in addition, also some with modern clothing. Images that could scare potential tourists are also published, like that of a stretched polar bear skin. In lectures, Beluga pays more attention to these controversial or surprising images and explains why these traditional skills are still used, in order to get rid of the taboo.

Askja Reizen also adventures itself into publishing pictures that could scare potential tourists or could withhold them from buying a trip. However, they similarly inform those who do buy a trip about the way of life and hunting, for instance. Askja publishes images which, according to them, are connected to the area, like certain animals or landscapes. According to Schadee (2005), there is little tourism from the Netherlands to Nunavut; a couple of dozens at the most visit the region every year.

HT Wandelreizen tries to use somewhat exotic images to represent the area and attract clients: 'People must feel that those things are the things they are going to see. In terms of Nunavut the image of the polar bear is very strong, exclusive and beautiful' (Interview with Boslooper, 2005). The target group of HT will not be withheld by any pictures of seal skins or hunting. These images may be published, but only with detailed explanations on the why's and how's. The three organizations all find it important to show clients what they will see, once arrived at the destination, and to create a realistic image of the area, all three agencies organize lectures and special information evenings to inform the clients to a larger extent than what can be found in brochures and on the internet. Slide shows is a means often used in such presentations. HT Wandelreizen is the only organization that stated they wanted to create an exotic image, but simultaneously, an image true to the area. This while the term exotic is not typically connected to the Arctic in the minds of most.

5.3.3 Types of tourists and tourism

According to Van Eijsden (Interview with Van Eijsden, 2005), those who visit Nunavut are the real polar travelers who have money, or people who have seen many places and want to see something different. Tourists tend to head for Greenland or Svalbard rather than Nunavut because the chances of seeing wildlife are much larger: "You must be very lucky to see any animals at Ellesmere Island, the area is so wide. A cruise is a better option to see something of the area" (Interview with Van Eijsden, 2005). According to Boslooper (2005) tourists are often caught by the "Northern feeling" and tend to have visited other Arctic regions such as Iceland, Greenland, Svalbard or Norway previously. The idea of visiting yet another Arctic area tempts them. Some tourists chose for Nunavut to do extreme outdoor sports like crossing the ice package while others, such as birdwatchers and fauna-enthusiasts, come to watch certain animals like narwhales or polar bears. HT Wandelreizen has regular customers who like to visit new destinations and take part in unusual activities in areas where the tourist infrastructure is minimal. The agency's trip to Baffin Island is inspired on the travel stories of H.W. Tilman who climbed many mountains in the Himalayas in the '30 and '40 of the last century. HT Wandelreizen advises their clients to be physically well prepared and train appropriately before adventuring on such a trip. To ensure that the travelers are experienced, HT Wandelreizen's clients are required to have done this kind of trekking trip in remote areas before. Tourists who visit Nunavut are regular polar tourists but are those who want to see something new and have been to other Arctic regions before. Furthermore, the type of tourist in this case is the more adventurous type, as distinguished by Plog (1972) and Cohen (1972) (see also paragraph 2.5). These are tourists that are prepared to try new, exotic and challenging situations in which there is degree of risk.

5.4 Representations in travel brochures and travel books

The three travel agencies in the Netherlands each have a website and annually publish a travel brochure in which they present their travels. These brochures were analyzed by means of content analysis: "the method of content analysis is based on

counting the frequency of certain visual elements in a clearly defined sample of images, and then analyzing those frequencies" (Rose, 2001, p. 56). The sample in this case in fact is the whole population, namely the brochures from the three organizations in the Netherlands that organize trips to Nunavut. In order to be representative, the analysis must address all the images relevant for the research question (Rose, 2002). The codes used are the following: natural environment (including wildlife), social life and people, built environment, tourist activities and culture. These codes are based on earlier research by Bhattacharyya (1997) and Van Dam (2002). Bhattacharyya distinguishes the categories of authentic sights, the natural world, historical site and social life. The categories chosen in this study are relevant to the research questions as they have links to the general representations of the Arctic, distinguished in chapter 4. With these categories, research can be done on condition that the representations in the brochures and guide books fit the general representations of the Arctic.

In the category *natural environment*, the focus is nature and wildlife pictures of mountains, glaciers, polar bears and musk oxen for instance. In the category *social life and people*, the focus is mainly close up pictures of individuals or locals together in groups, taking part in their social life. In the category *built environment*, on the other hand, the focus is on the communities, houses and buildings. The latter category was chosen to analyze whether the brochures and travel guides paid sufficient attention to the present way of life of the Inuit, as opposed to their ancient way of life. The fourth category, that of *tourist activities* focuses on activities tourists can take part in. This category was chosen to analyze whether the same activities are shown as in other Arctic regions. Tourist activities that are important in the Arctic are whale and wildlife watching and dog team races, for instance. The last category, *culture*, was chosen to find out whether culture plays an important role in the representations of Nunavut. A major player in representations of the Arctic is its cultures, which is illustrated by the use of pictures of cultural activities, performances like igloo building and drum dancing for example. The category *culture* has close links with the category *people* as people are often involved in cultural performances and cultural practices.

On top of the three travel guides mentioned earlier, all travel books available in the Netherlands that contained a section on Nunavut, were collected. Once more, all the pictures of the different travel guides were analyzed as described in the former section. The same codes were distinguished and used to analyze the pictures. The different books and brochures were compared and conclusions were drawn concerning what kind of image the books and brochures gave of Nunavut, which aspects were more or less represented and which information was missing or maybe even incorrect. Some noteworthy individual results will be presented.

This kind of analysis was chosen because images and pictures play a crucial role in the representation of areas and places, and (potential) tourists tend to be very sensitive to them. By publishing brochures and books, tourism organizations hope to touch tourists and eventually convince them to buy a trip and visit the place. As Bærenthold et al. (2004) explain: "professional representational strategies in marketing do of course contribute to the making of tourist places, and thereby also to tourist's expectations" (p. 11).

The results of this part of the research will be compared with the image people involved in Nunavut's tourism industry want to bring forth, which will be discussed in the following chapter. The role of pictures in the tourism industry is certainly not negligible, and most places will call up certain images, luring people into wanting to see those images when they visit the destination: "the quality of places as being

symbols of something else is exploited by travel advertising. Its intention is to turn destinations into symbols of images and ideals that respond to our wishes and dreams. Thus we become lured to those destinations" (Suvantola, 2002 p. 34). Advertisements, brochures and descriptions in books and travel guides can play a large role in making us want to visit those places.

5.4.1 Travel brochures

Because there are just three organizations, their brochures will be discussed separately. Beluga Adventures' brochure contains the most visual material, which is why this brochure was used in a content analysis. Beluga Adventures is the organization with the most extensive offer of pictures and descriptions of their trips. They have many different kinds of trips and spend a couple of pages on Nunavut in their brochure. The pictures used are mainly illustrative of nature and wildlife. The pictures showing people represent the mix of traditional and modern life: there is a picture of a man and one of a group of women who are probably taking part in some cultural performance as they are all wearing the same traditional clothing. Some traces of the modern world are to be found, such as an all terrain vehicle, visible on the background of the picture with the women and a dog laying down on a skidoo. Nevertheless, the main focus in the pictures is usually the scenery; pictures of the tundra, of ice landscapes and a great amount of animals such as polar bears (figure 1.), birds, owls, narwhales and muskoxen. Fewer pictures are shown in the tourist activities category (figure 2.), where some maps are published to show the route of the trip. When searching on the internet one can find more information and pictures on the specific trips. Some pictures are the same as in the brochure but there are many others to be found. During lectures and slide shows for those who booked a trip to Nunavut, more pictures of hunting and seal skinning for instance, are shown.

Beluga's brochure was more specifically analyzed by means of content analysis. The results are listed in table 6. The pictures (15 in total) in the brochure were arranged in the following categories: natural environment (including wildlife), social life and people, the built environment, tourist activities and culture (including arts and crafts). The brochure (N=15) most often showed the natural environment as the focus of the photo (53%), followed by social life and people (20%). The pictures of the natural environment mainly showed wildlife such as ice bears, whales, muskoxen and birds, while the pictures of people and social life captured locals who posed for the camera as well as modern elements such as the skidoo. Very few pictures of the built environment were used nor were cultural elements or tourist activities.

Askja Reizen does not offer trips to Nunavut in their brochure, however one can find such a trip on the internet, accompanied by a description of it. On the site, there was one picture of mountains, used for Canada as a whole: "Land of Lakes and Mountains". There was an option to see some pictures but this link did not work and in addition, there was also no map included in the description of the trip.

HT Wandelreizen published half a page on the trip to Nunavut in their brochure. There was one picture to be found of a polar bear with two babies. This particular photo was probably published because the first group to go on this tour was reported to have seen quite a lot of polar bears. In addition to the photo, further illustration was to be found in the form of a map, containing the route of the trip.

	Number of pictures	Percentages
Natural environment	8	53%
Social life/people	3	20%
Built environment	1	7%
Tourist activities	2	13%
Culture	1	7%
Total	15	100%

Table 6: Content Analysis of photographs in brochure Beluga Adventures 2004/2005 (N=15)



Figure 1: Polar bears, natural environment (Beluga Adventures Reizen 2004/2005)



Figure 2: Kayaking, tourist activities (Beluga Adventures Reizen 2004/2005)

It would be difficult to draw any conclusion out of the analysis of just three brochures and some information found on the internet. Furthermore, there is a great difference between the three organizations in terms of the information and pictures they offer in their brochures. Beluga Adventures is the only organization specialized in Arctic and Antarctic regions, which makes it seem obvious that they should pay relatively more attention to an area like Nunavut than the two other agencies, as they have other orientations. HT Wandelreizen specializes in hiking trips to remote areas of the world and Askja Reizen specializes in adventurous nature trips in a range of countries varying from Canada to Australia. Nunavut is just one pawn in the wide variety of possible destinations for such trips.

Nevertheless, these three brochures comprise all the tourism information, in terms of brochures, available in the Netherlands, which means it should give a clear impression of the marketing of this destination. The overall focus is mainly placed on nature and wildlife with a slight cultural touch. Some themes are used to represent the Arctic in general, and are not so much typical of Nunavut itself.

In the next chapter, the brochures from local outfitters and organizations will be analyzed more closely and conclusions will be drawn out of a comparison between the Dutch and local brochures. As done with the Dutch brochures, three brochures collected in Nunavut will be used in a content analysis.

5.4.2 Travel books

In this section the different books and brochures available in the Netherlands will be discussed. The goal is to examine some general characteristics of the style and contents the travel guides might show. All the pictures in the different guide books will be part of this content analysis and once more, the same codes will be used to categorize the pictures. The link between tourists, guide books and brochures is of importance, as Bhattacharyya (1997) describes: "At the outset, it is recognized that while all guide books are likely to fulfill certain functions for the prospective tourist, their content and hence the representation they present of tourism destination are likely to vary. The guide book is a crucial part of the touristic process, because it mediates the relationship between tourists and destination, as well as the relationship between host and guest" (p. 372).

For this analysis, 12 travel books were analyzed, as listed in Appendix B. Some of the books were mainly about the Arctic while others were mainly about Canada and dedicated only a very small part of their book to Nunavut. The parts which did include Nunavut were analyzed and the pictures coded, in order to compare the books and consequently draw conclusions. The results are listed in table 7.

The pictures in the brochure, of which there were 67 in total, were put in different categories, namely; natural environment (including wildlife), social life and people, the built environment, tourist activities and culture (including arts and crafts). In the brochure (N=67), culture is most frequently the focus of the photo (43%) followed by the natural environment (28%) and social life and people (15%). Only few pictures of the built environment, cultural elements and tourist activities were found. Two examples of pictures in these brochures are figure 3 and 4. Figure 3 is a picture of a man fishing with a harpoon, figure 4 is that of a man with a dog team, both pictures thus depicting activities inherent to the Inuit culture. One could categorize these two pictures with the code of people/social life, yet this code was not chosen because the activities and traditional clothing seem to be of greater importance.

	Number of pictures	Percentages
Natural environment	19	28,4%
Social life/people	10	14,7%
Built environment	7	10,5%
Tourist activities	2	3,0%
Culture	29	43,3%
Total	67	99,9%

Table 7: Content Analysis of photographs in ten travel guides (N=67)



Figure 3: Cover Insight Guide Canada, culture

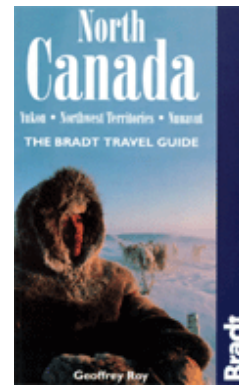


Figure 4: Cover North Canada, the Bradt Travel Guide, culture

Some general remarks will be made concerning the contents of the travel guides: firstly, not all guides included Nunavut, although all the travel guides were published after 1999, meaning that they could have paid attention to it. The last couple of years, more travel guides that pay attention to the North as a whole were published, such as: *Lonely Planet, The Arctic (1999)*.

Secondly, some communities were described more than others, making it clear that there is a certain hierarchy in the different places and their roles as tourist destinations. Communities such as Iqaluit, Rankin Inlet, Pangnirtung, Cape Dorset and the region Baffin Island were described in almost all the travel guides that paid attention to Nunavut. However, far less attention was paid to communities such as Pond Inlet, Resolute and Arctic Bay, even though Pond Inlet is known as "the pearl of Baffin Island" by the locals. *The North Canada Bradt Travel Guide (2000)* on the other hand, was very complete and the author even apologized for the fact that he had left out the smaller communities. The author wrote that those communities may be added in later editions, when they will have grown somewhat. The author described 17 communities in total, which surpasses the attention most other travel guides give them.

Thirdly, it is not remarkable that the high cost, the fact that there are no roads, the small choice in accommodation, the changeable weather and the short season are thresholds when one thinks of traveling to Nunavut. The problems of drugs, alcohol and abuse were also paid attention to, and ascribe a negative image to Nunavut.

Fourthly, a lot of the travel guides paid quite some attention to the environment and its difficult character. With phrases like: "The landscape is incredibly harsh: barren, treeless, frozen tundra dominates most of the year, with sub arctic forests, mountains, glacier, and icy lakes and rivers" (*Eyewitness travel guide Canada, 2002 p. 322*) they seemed to almost try to convince the readers that it is nearly impossible to travel up North and live there.

In the fifth place, all travel guides paid attention to activities tourists can take part of. Most of the activities described in the travel guides were the same. The National Park Auyuittuq, close to Pangnirtung received a lot of attention, especially for its scenery and the possibility to hike across trails. The other National Parks of Nunavut received much less attention. Auyuittuq is probably the most accessible and most well known one. Activities mentioned a lot were dog sledding, hiking, kayaking, fishing, whale watching, wildlife and bird watching. Sometimes archaeological sites with old Thule remains were referred to, yet most of the time, these places were not described and tourists tend to not know about the history of their destination and what to expect. Addresses and phone numbers of outfitters and organization which

organize trips for tourists were to be found in the guides, but they were not that many of them because there are not that many options as and people involved in tourism often switch jobs after some time. This way, publishing incorrect data in the guides was avoided. People involved in the tourism business seem to change jobs quite often, which is why in the latest edition of the Nunavut Handbook (2004), there were not as many contact numbers as in the 1998 edition (Interview with Rigby, 2005). Tourists are therefore advised to check their possibilities in advance in order to avoid very unpleasant surprises.

Finally, the life of the Inuit nowadays was not a major subject in these guides. Most said that the Inuit now live somewhere between the modern and the traditional world, making their lives a mix of both. Some communities were described as being very traditional, but this probably means surprisingly little to the readers who need more information in order to form a proper image. These guides often contained very small amounts of pictures, and when there were any, they mostly represented traditional tents, igloos and locals in traditional sealskin or caribou clothing.

An analysis of the texts and accompanying photographs reveals an emphasis on the traditional life of the Inuit, their isolation from the rest of the world and the "pristine wilderness" character of the environment. There is often little or no information about the Inuit's contemporary way of living. The accompanying photographs mostly show people in traditional clothing as well as wildlife and nature.

5.5 Tourists

Those who are interested in traveling to Nunavut gather information through the travel agencies and brochures. When they decide to book a trip, the organizations prepare information evenings where they provide the clients with more detailed information about the trip and the area. Those in the organization who are specialized in these kinds of trips have visited the area and can tell the clients about their personal experience. This personal experience has a high value for clients, as one local outfitter in Pond Inlet explains: "What people love is personal stories; they love personal experiences" (Interview with Reid, 2005).

Because of privacy matters, it is difficult to find all the types of tourists that might go to Nunavut, and interview them. Tourist organizations do not publish information about their clients. Which is why those analyzed in this research were found by searching on the internet. The people found on the internet were part of a group from the Netherlands who visited Nunavut in 2004 and a few of them were able and willing to participate in this research. These tourists were part of a group that visited two communities -Clyde River and Pond Inlet- and took part in two hiking tours in the area. The trip was in an experimental stage as it was the first time it was being organized by HT Wandelreizen. All the data collected originates from tourists of this particular group that visited Nunavut. Most of the travelers in this group had not heard of Nunavut before, and a few of them were used to taking part in these experimental trips, whereas others decided to go because of the brochure. Seven members of this group were asked a number of questions about their experiences in Nunavut. This represents approximately fourteen percent of the total amount of tourists from the Netherlands who visit Nunavut annually. Although the numbers are small, the information gives some insight in the associations Dutch tourists have with Nunavut. The group that was used in this analysis does not include all types of tourists. The group seem to fit the adventurous type of tourists (see paragraph 2.5). Most of the people of this trip used to take part in these kind of hiking trips and like to travel to remote areas in the world. Other types of tourists are not included in this analysis and of course their associations might be different.

A questionnaire was sent by e-mail to the tourists and after they filled it in, it was returned. The first question they were asked was why they visited Nunavut. Answers varied from the possibility to hike, to the unknown and unique character of the area. People choose for this destination because it is not a "standard destination". Here one can note again that these people are the more adventurous type of tourists, also because this trip was a test for the travel organization.

Interviewee	Why visiting Nunavut?
1	It is not a standard destination; because it was a "test trip", we could fill it in partly ourselves.
2	There is not much known about it, it seems to be cold and inhospitable, reason enough to go there on holiday.
3	The nature and the possibility to hike far above the polar circle.
4	The possibility to make two backpack hiking trips.
5	The unknown aspect of the area, the emptiness, the unique character, the chance to see polar bears in their natural environment.
6	To take part in an organized hiking trip.
7	To take part in an organized hiking trip.

Table 8: Why Dutch tourists visit Nunavut (Source: Questionnaires tourists 2005)

Participants in this trip were also asked about the associations they had regarding Nunavut. They were asked what they thought of, when thinking of Nunavut. The answers varied but all pointed in the same direction. Nature and environment play an important role and words such as "remote", "emptiness", "unspoiled", "rough" and "pure" were used to express felt associations with Nunavut. The Inuit and history were also two answers which were named, indicating that the locals play an important role in the associations with Nunavut.

Interviewee	Association Nunavut
1	Emptiness and ice plains.
2	Beautiful rough nature.
3	Remote special area, not yet discovered by tourists, rich history, spectacular glaciers.
4	Unspoiled Arctic wilderness.
5	Inuit, polar bears, glaciers, total emptiness
6	Pure nature, polar bears, unknown, undiscovered.
7	Pure nature, polar bears, unknown, undiscovered.

Table 9: Association Nunavut by Dutch tourists (Source: Questionnaires tourists 2005)

Another question asked was whether there were things that differed from their expectations or were completely unexpected. The results are listed in table 4. The answers varied from "none" to "nature" and "culture". The nature was often rougher than expected and there was more wildlife to be seen. One participant noted that the weather was more stable than he or she expected, while one of the known characteristics of the weather in the Arctic is that it is quite variable. Another participant noted that the Inuit culture was as expected although yet another found the communities depressing. The tourists did have certain expectations towards the culture and the people, yet as one person notes, there was a missing insight in the

changes the communities went through when leaving their nomadic lives for settled ones. There were certain expectations towards these insights.

Interviewee	Difference expectations and reality Nunavut
1	None.
2	More rocks than expected.
3	Depressing communities, missing insight in changes communities went through when going from nomadic life to settled life.
4	None.
5	Hiking trip tougher than expected, Inuit culture was as expected; the weather was more stable than expected.
6	It was rougher, more uninhabitable and whiter than expected. There was also more wildlife than expected.
7	More uninhabitable, rougher and whiter (glaciers and ice) than expected and more wildlife

Table 10: Difference expectations Nunavut by Dutch tourists (Source: Questionnaires tourists 2005)

Although there only were seven participants, their answers give us some insight in the different experiences people have as a result of visiting a place, like Nunavut for instance. As we see in the interviews, some may be more nature orientated, and others more culture oriented. All tourists have different preferences regarding what they will find important in their travel, which results in differing experiences. In the interviews done, the wilderness takes a large proportion of the representations of the Arctic, as well as that of a place where people live. This shows the tourists did have certain expectations towards the culture they were meeting, namely that of the Inuit.

Information is a very important factor for tourists. They want to be informed well enough to be able to make proper decisions. On the basis of the information they receive, they construct their ideas and images on which their expectations are built. For tourist organizations such as travel agencies, it is very important to make sure that the images and ideas on which tourists base their expectations fit reality. One of the questions asked concerned the information and its availability: "Is there enough information and is it of good quality?"

The answers are listed in table 11. It seems that in the eyes of these tourists, there was not that much information. To obtain it, they felt they had to search for it extensively, mainly on the internet. However, more information was available on location. This illustrates that such trips can be arranged from abroad, yet not in detail, as more information is required, which can only be found on location.

Those interviewed prepared their trip by searching on the internet, reading some books, reading HT Wandelreizen's brochures and watching several documentaries. Some also read *the Nunavut Handbook* and watched the movie *Fast Runner*, but the internet seems to be the most consulted source of information. The tourists interviewed can be characterized as the type that seeks that unique and exciting experience. They are distinguished by Cohen (1972) as the drifters and explorers and by Plog (1972) as the allocentric type of tourists. They do not wish to travel to places where everyone else is going: "When there are travel guides available in the regular bookstores, it is not that fun anymore" (Tourist HT Wandelreizen, 2005).

Interviewee	Availability information Nunavut
1	It is not a standard destination, when you search well there is enough information available.
2	Yes there is enough available, it is fun that it is unknown.
3	Roughly there is enough information but not to plan a trip in detail, at the place of destination we found more information that we needed.
4	Surprisingly a lot of information is available in the visitor centre (Iqaluit).
5	For a hiking trip of more weeks there is little information available, you have to search out for yourself and be flexible.
6	The information that is available is pretty brief.
7	The information available is very minimal.

Table 11: Availability information Nunavut by Dutch tourists (Source questionnaires tourists 2005)

As long as there are not that many visitors from the Netherlands, the area will not get that much attention in the Netherlands. When people spread their stories, and especially their positive experiences, more people may become interested. So far, Nunavut is very unknown to people, and especially tourists in the Netherlands. Other Arctic areas and countries such as Greenland, Alaska and Lapland receive more attention within the tourism industry. People know what they can expect there and are more familiar with such places, as areas like these have already had strong tourist identities for a longer period of time. As Suvantola (2002) explains: "Travel to an alien place removes familiarity" (p. 43). Although people like new and unknown experiences, the unfamiliar aspect of Nunavut may also withhold certain tourists from visiting this region.

History and culture are characteristic for the building of an identity, in concordance with other Arctic regions. Nunavut is new, not only for the people of Nunavut, but even more so for the tourism industry in the Netherlands, which is why Nunavut is still putting great efforts into building its tourism reputation. The group of tourists interviewed was very enthusiastic and had the feeling they were undertaking a special and unique trip. This is probably one of the most important aspects people search for when they visit the area; it is characteristic for this kind of tourist. If more tourists from the Netherlands plan to visit Nunavut, it will help strengthen the tourist identities develop in the Netherlands.

5.6 Other representational sources

Some representations of the North are very standard and stereotypical. This often starts with education, and children's books can play a somewhat downgrading role as well. The "Eskimo"⁴ seems to be a typical character in different kinds of children's books: "Survival and extinction are the two predominant themes in children's literature and school textbook about the Inuit, mirroring those in books for adults" (Hulan, 2002, p. 71). A few examples will be given as an illustration of the representations of the Inuit and the North in other sources than travel guides and brochures. Representations can be found everywhere and play an important role in our daily life. They form the basis of our knowledge, the place we have in the world and how we act and look towards our world as Hulan (2002) explains in the case of young people: "By romanticizing tradition, texts for young people give Inuit culture a pure, a historical form that functions as a static repository of difference and identity"

⁴ The word Eskimo means 'eaters of raw meat' and is now considered offensive in North Canada.

(p. 74). Five examples were chosen to illustrate representations of the Inuit and the Arctic in non-tourism related sources.

The first is a children's book; *Kek de jonge Eskimo* (Kek, the young Eskimo) by N. Van Hichtum. The book was published in 1930 by Kluitman in Alkmaar, The Netherlands. On the first page, it was written that the book was for boys and girls aged up to 10. A passage of the book was translated by myself from Dutch to English:

"Kek was not really poor, although he had no possessions at all. The Eskimo's are a nomadic group of people and they have to take all their belongings with them on top of their sledges from one place to another. No wonder they do not take long to possess the things they need and no more. Kek never had to worry about whether he would play with his train, his plane or his radio today. He didn't even know what these things were for, but he was never bored. There are always a dozen things to do in the polar areas which a healthy boy can do and be occupied with all day. There was no nation more cheerful than the Eskimo's" (Translated from Dutch to English).

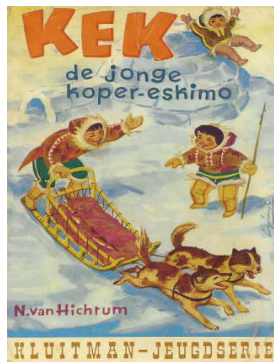


Figure 5: Kek de jonge koper-eskimo (Kek the young copper-eskimo) (Source: Marktplaats, online advertisement 2005)

The second example is a drawing made by Jacob, my seven years old nephew who made a drawing of an Inuit hunter in Nunavut.



Figure 6: Eskimo by Jacob

In his imagination this is the way an "Eskimo" looks like: a man in a fur parka and a harpoon. Surprisingly, the word Eskimo is a word only used by outsiders: the Inuit

do not use this term. Hulan (2002) mentioned about the romantic and idyllic ideas: "Children learn that Inuit culture is "a miracle of survival" (Shemie, 3) because "they accepted what life brought and improvised when it fell short of their needs" (Siska, 11)" (Hulan, 2002, p. 71). These children are Canadian children. There are of course other groups of individuals in the world that are part of the same representation "game", such as certain African tribes or the Australian Aboriginals. Places develop certain identities because of the process of representations dominated by prejudices about certain types of groups and certain kind of places: "We cannot study people and place independently of each other. It is the relationality of people and place that is so important to geographical understanding. People construct places; places construct people" (Holloway & Hubbard, 2001, p. 7). According to Holloway & Hubbard (2001) these relationships are always changing and are not what they seem to be; they change all the time and derive their identities from each other.

The third illustration comes from a geography book. In the Netherlands, only little attention is paid to the subject of the Arctic and the Inuit. When it is treated as a subject, most the attention is focused on the different nature zones in the world, of which the Arctic with its land ice and floating ice is one. The example used here was taken from a geography book for the first grade in high school. The method used is called *de Geo*, which was published by Thieme Meulenhoff in 2004. In this book, the Arctic is treated in terms of the different nature zones and the theme of living in the Arctic. The title of the paragraph in question is: "The savage nature, the polar region". Different regions are discussed in this paragraph, and there are a few pictures with under script. It does say that the locals no longer live in camps but that they have wooden houses with modern furniture and television. The pictures that are used are the "traditional" kind of pictures: Inuit in parkas with reindeers, skins, kayaking and hunting. One picture shows a man on a skidoo and a couple of children.



Figure 7: Man kayaking and fishing with a harpoon (Source: De Geo, 2004)



Figure 8: Inuit children (Source: De Geo, 2004)

The fourth example is the lyrics to a song found on the internet. The other examples mentioned before were all Dutch examples of representations. The artist is unknown and the song is a modern approach to a particular representation of Nunavut. It describes in a sarcastic way how Nunavut came into existence and that the only time the author would visit Nunavut, would be when the ozone layer will be burnt away and Nunavut turned into a tropical tourist destination.

'When the ozone is burned away I think I visit Nunavut for a tropical holiday.'

When searching on the internet, one can find many examples of such kinds of lyrics and songs. The lyrics used in this example are typical, because they describe the way Canadians from the South think of Nunavut and the fact that they often have no clue what happens there: *"It is not that we don't give a damn, we don't mean to make fun of it, but one fifth of my country is also Nunavut"*. This is another interesting approach; the way the Canadian people think about the North and the knowledge they have of it. Grace (2002) wrote *Canada and the idea of north* in which an awareness of the changeable character of places and their representations is described: "If Frobisher Bay can become Iqaluit, Pelly Bay return to Arviliqjuaq or Kurvigjuak, and Nunavut emerge from the NWT (itself once Rupert's Land), then anything can happen on a voyage north" (Grace, 2002, p. 17).

The last example is Ray Mears' TV series; *Extreme Survival*. Ray Mears is a British author and TV presenter on the subject of bush craft and survival techniques. Ray says: "Despite our sophisticated lifestyles, humans are out of place in most parts of the world and unable to survive for long without proper clothing, food and water. As well as talking to scientists and medical experts and using my own survival expertise, I'll be recreating some remarkable survival stories where people have survived against the odds in the most inhospitable places around the world" (Website Wikipedia, 2005). In one of the episodes, Ray visits Pond Inlet, where he learns to survive like the Inuit used to do. With some elders of the community he learns to fish, sow and build an igloo in order to stay alive, out on the land. The representation of Nunavut in this TV series is that of a region with a harsh environment. The way of life of the Inuit nowadays is not shown much in this episode as emphasis is placed mainly on how the Inuit used to live in the Arctic environment.

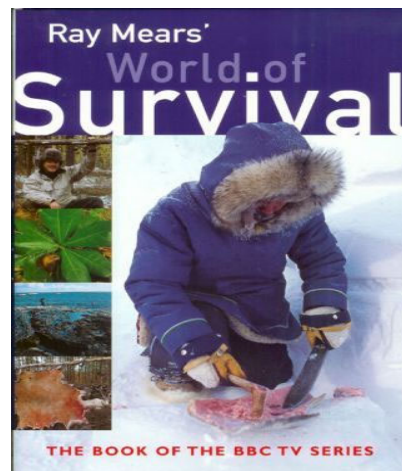


Figure 9: Ray Mears World of Survival (Source: Online Nature Mall, 2005 [www.onlinenaturemall.com])

5.7 Conclusion

In terms of photos Dutch organizations use in brochures and travel guides, it seems that the natural environment and wildlife play an important role. Pictures of nature, mountains and icebergs are used in great quantities. Most of the time, the emphasis in these pictures is placed on the idea that the nature is remote, harsh, wide and wild. The frontier aspect is crucial and the feeling that Nunavut is one of the last unspoiled places of the world is exploited. Most wildlife pictures focus on the polar

bear, but there also are some pictures of musk oxen and owls to be found. Besides the natural environment and wildlife, people and social life also play an important role in the representation of Nunavut. These themes of the natural environment, wildlife and people fit in the profile of other Arctic regions. However, the focus the tourist guides have is somewhat dissimilar as they have different goals and orientations. These guides provide more, and more specific information. Culture is over represented in the pictures used in the guides, and the emphasis is placed on the traditional aspects of the Inuit's current way of live. Furthermore, the pictures in the guides reveal an emphasis on Nunavut as a remote and isolated area. The Inuit are present in the text and pictured as a group of people that live in-between the traditional and modern life. To give a more accurate image of the way the locals live, more pictures of communities and houses could be added. The tourists on the other side are more focused at the natural environment. They come for the remote feeling and the chance to see wildlife in their natural environment. Some are interested in the Inuit culture. Adventure is the most important reason of visiting Nunavut.

The other representational resources present Nunavut (and the Arctic) as an isolated area. Children's literature and geography books tend to portray a romanticized image of the North, where the traditional way of life plays an important role, and the survival aspect of the Inuit is focused upon. Nunavut is mainly represented as a region where tourists can still experience wilderness, and where the opportunities to see wildlife are amply present. Nunavut is nonetheless also pictured as a place were people live and where the traditional way of life remains of great influence. This is especially the case for the travel guides analyzed.

Chapter 6 Tourist representations of Nunavut in Nunavut

In this chapter will be looked at Nunavut's network and actors of tourism, again specifically shedding light on the different parties involved in its tourism industry. The main parties of this industry will be named shortly in paragraph 6.1, followed by a further look into the ways Nunavut is represented by those actors.

6.1 Actors and networks

In this paragraph the different parts of the tourism network in Nunavut will be discussed. The actors are the following: Nunavut Tourism, the Government of Nunavut, Parks Canada, local outfitters/guides and the youth, and finally, the last group is formed by the tourists. In the light of this research, these groups are considered to be the most interesting parties to play a role in the tourism representational process of Nunavut. The youth as a special group, was added to the group of local outfitters/guides. In the process of doing fieldwork, it became clear that the younger generation plays a non-negligible role: as most of the guides are of the older generations, they have to teach the youth about the land, if these are willing to get involved in the tourism business. Not surprisingly, the older generations are the ones with the most knowledge of the land.

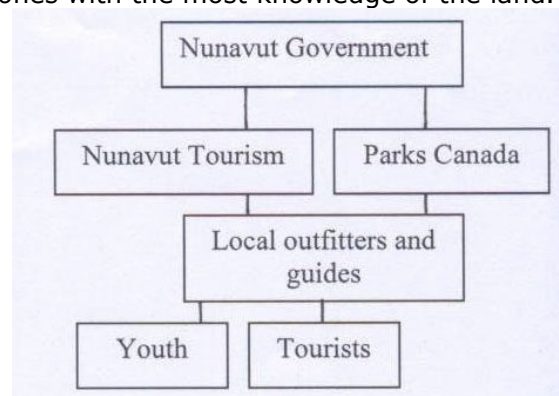


Figure 10: Tourism network Nunavut (with actors of this study)

6.1.1 Nunavut Tourism

Nunavut Tourism is a membership organization that was established in 1996. It organizes tourism in Nunavut, and its employees work together with its members. Its members are outfitters and guides in Nunavut, for instance, who come from different communities. Nunavut Tourism has twelve full-time staff members, with seasonal staff for the visitor centre and over 100 members, including tourism operators, outfitters, hunters and trappers organizations, restaurants and hotel owners and more. The Nunavut Tourism Board of Directors is comprised of: "ten members who represent major tourism sectors: eco-tourism, adventure, fishing, hunting, accommodations, airlines, regional small operators, Parks Canada and the Government. One of the goals is to develop partnership with the government, communities and tourism operators in order to make use of tourism opportunities, which offer a means of sustainable economic growth, cultural preservation and social benefits for the people of Nunavut" (Nunavut Tourism 2003).

6.1.2 Nunavut Government

The tourism department has been placed in the Department of Economic Development, in the innovation division, whereas it used to be part of the Department of Sustainable Development. Tourism has noticeably not progressed a lot in the past 5 years, which is why it has now been placed under the innovation division: "New ideas are brought on to play on the industry. Tourism was put in innovation so that somebody could apply new ideas to it and take a direction" (Interview with Kenney, Department of Economic Development 2005). It seems that tourism is now set to evolve in a new direction. According to Kenney (2005), it seems that a few segments of the market are more interested in Nunavut as a tourist destination than others. Japan, Switzerland, Germany, Austria, France, Belgium, Switzerland and the Netherlands are important countries to focus on, as well as Britain, the Scandinavian countries and the US. Nunavut's government provides the tourism industry with funding, and does so by developing appropriate policy and regulation, playing an important role in the tourism sector's investment and providing economic loans and grants for its private sector (Nunavut Tourism, 2003).

6.1.3 Parks Canada

The role of Parks Canada is described on their website (2005) as following: 'Parks Canada protects and presents nationally significant examples of Canada's natural and cultural heritage and fosters public understanding, appreciation and enjoyment in ways that ensure their ecological and commemorative integrity for present and future generations'. There are four National Parks in Nunavut: Auyuittuq, Quttinirpaaq, Ukkusiksalik and Sirmilik. Sirmilik National Park is the newest one, established in the Nunavut Land Claim Agreement (NLCA): "The NLCA was signed in 1999, and in it was an agreement to establish a National Park. Based on this agreement, Sirmilik National Park was created, and became official in 2001" (Interview with Elverum, 2005). Parks Canada allows tourists to make the most of their visit to the area, however it does register and orient tourists who wish to visit the parks, as visiting them by oneself is not allowed. The parks play an important part when it comes to the reasons why tourists visit Nunavut: Almost 39% of Nunavut's tourists report visiting a territorial or national park during their stay (Nunavut Economic Outlook, 2001, p. 71)

6.1.4 Local outfitters/ guides and youth

Local outfitters and guides are the actors who have the most contact with tourists and travelers as they show them around, take them on trips and let them take part in activities in the communities. However, the outfitters and guides play a distinct, individual role as they are members of Nunavut tourism, but have to promote themselves. As one outfitter explains in an interview (2005): "It is not a big expenditure: I pay 50 CAD a year for my membership and that gives me my add in that shiny magazine which is spread all over the world. That is a good investment in marketing, right?" Over 100 members are member of Nunavut Tourism, including outfitters, hunters and trappers organizations, restaurant and hotel owners and more. The total number of outfitters was over 123 in 2001 (Nunavut Economic Outlook, 2001, p. 71). In Pond Inlet, 4 outfitters operate in tourism. Some outfitters stated that there are concerns towards the participation of the younger generation in the tourism industry, as only the older generations of locals tend to be involved in it. This is due to their more extensive knowledge of the land, which should be passed on to the next generations. The young generations were asked to express their

opinion regarding tourism development and the representation of Nunavut, mainly as a tourist location.

6.1.5 Tourists

Finally, the tourists are of major influence in Nunavut's tourism industry and the building of a network, as they bring back stories of their travels and experiences to their homes, friends and families. Tourists can make arrangements for their travels through tourist organizations either in their vicinity or in the place of destination. Their contact is directly with the tourist organizations and is usually by means of internet and e-mail. Tourists will often ask questions relating to their travels to outfitters, and in the place of destination, local people are often consulted. Tourists will also buy carvings from local people or will visit local shops, restaurants or even use facilities such as the library or the visitor centre. Nevertheless, "Tourists are often reluctant to approach local people. We are not open to each other" (Interview with Mucktar bed & breakfast owner in Pond Inlet, 2005).

The kinds of tourists in Nunavut can be categorized as the more adventurous type, the one who searches for more specific and unique destinations. The types of tourists distinguished by Viken (1995) for the case of Svalbard were the conqueror, the naturalist and the scientist, which can also be found in Nunavut. The last group, the scientist (which goes together with the business traveler), forms a large group that occasionally takes part in tourism activities. The group of business travelers forms 72% of the total amount of travelers. Cruise tourists also are of importance in Nunavut. Every year in August, cruise ships visit different communities in Nunavut, including Pond Inlet, Cape Dorset, Kimmirut and Pangnirtung. In 2005, 3 of them came by Pond Inlet (Nunavut Ship Clearance Schedule, 2005). Cruise ship trips give tourists the opportunity to see a large part of the region and visit different communities. Passengers spend approximately \$5.000 per community visit on arts and crafts, food and interpretive events (Nunavut Economic Outlook, 2001, p.72).

6.2 Network connections

There is a clear network of tourism in Nunavut itself. The government provides funding for Nunavut Tourism (a membership organization), and as figure 10 reveals, the Government of Nunavut is the most important actor in terms of funding and policy making. Nunavut Tourism and Parks Canada, on the other hand, are important actors that work along with the Government of Nunavut and each other. The four National Parks in Nunavut are considered to be important elements in attracting tourists, and like in the Netherlands, there is no role provided for the tour operator in Nunavut. The outfitters and guides work together with Nunavut Tourism, and in a lesser extent with Parks Canada. As mentioned earlier, not all outfitters and guides are members of Nunavut Tourism because they often work on a somewhat individual level and make little use of their membership. A small group of outfitters and guides works together with parks Canada because not all of them are allowed to go in the park: in the case of Pond Inlet, only one of the four outfitters is licensed to go there. Youngsters are placed under the group "local outfitters and guides" although they still need to learn about the business and more importantly, the land of the older generations already involved in tourism. Finally, tourists are placed under both Parks Canada and the outfitters/guides and the younger generation. Tourists have the most contact with local outfitters and guides when they go out on the land, take part in tourist and cultural activities or go to one of the National Parks for instance.

6.3 Representation of the area by actors

In this paragraph the representation of the area of Nunavut by different actors in Nunavut will be part of discussion.

6.3.1 Nunavut Tourism

Nunavut Tourism has no clear policy concerning the representation of Nunavut and promotes the entire region, including all its communities. Promoting the tourism product of Nunavut is a tough thing to do, as the marketing director of Nunavut Tourism explains: "We had to brainstorm what Nunavut is and what Nunavut has to offer. It is truly Canada's Arctic. It is *unexplored, untamed and undiscovered*" (Interview with Sekayi, 2005). By promoting the area this way, it leaves tourists the freedom to interpret the destination in quite a wide way, as Sekayi (2005) explains: "Find yourself, to reconnect and not to experience it elsewhere. Nunavut Tourism had to be very careful not to "over promise" and state something that they can not deliver. The pictures used in brochures and on the website need to be pictures that people can fill in themselves: in our way it is a living culture and not a demonstration". The interpretation the tourist has seems to be very important to Nunavut Tourism, as they feel travelers need to discover the area themselves. The terms untamed, unspoiled and undiscovered are terms often used to describe Arctic regions, especially when the Arctic is described as a frontier. The Travel Planner 2005, a brochure published by Nunavut Tourism, will be part of the content analysis in paragraph 6.4.2



Figure 11: Nunavut by Nunavut Tourism (Source: Website Nunavut Tourism, [www.nunavuttourism.com])

6.3.2 The Government of Nunavut

The representation of Nunavut as a tourist destination by the Government of Nunavut is not very clear in terms of imagery, although it is responsible for tourism development's funding and policy. Together with its members, Nunavut Tourism is the operating organization that works out the marketing strategies concerning tourism. As Kenney (Department of Economic Development) explains: "We cannot control a member organization, we can fund it and we do up to 3,3 million dollars" (Interview with Kenney, 2005). This type of organization may lead to frustration, as a government employee involved with tourism in Pond Inlet explains: "It is more the communities who have to say what they want, but the government should try and help to make it happen" (Interview with Quammaniq, 2005).

Tourism is now part of Economic Development and was put in the innovation division where it can be open to new ideas and perspectives. An example of this improvement is a newly made film policy put together in order to draw more filmmakers into using Nunavut as part of their set. There have been a couple of movies in the past years which used locations in Nunavut, of which the most well know example is *Atanarjuat*, (or *The Fast Runner*), released in 2001.

The representation of Nunavut in terms of tourism is that of great opportunities in the future for tourism development, as prime minister Okalik explains in the Nunavut

Handbook: "Nunavut is a land of opportunity. Our economy has excellent prospects for growth and we expect significant development in the mining, fisheries, arts, culture, film, and tourism industries over the next decade" (Nunavut Handbook, 2004, p. 4).

According to the outfitters in Iqaluit and Pond Inlet, the Government of Nunavut does not publish any strategies developed especially for tourism, but these outfitters are simply not aware of it. Tourism is certainly part of the Economic Development Strategy: "The Government of Nunavut develops appropriate policy and regulation; plays an important role in tourism sector investment; provides economic help through loans and grants to private sector tourism business" (Nunavut Tourism, 2003).

The Nunavut Economic Outlook (2001), which is a twenty year economic outlook, focuses on the opportunities in terms of economic development and wealth creation. One of the opportunities seem to be that tourists are seeking increasingly for the unique places and the specialized products. This is a way in which Nunavut can distinguish itself from other tourism destinations. To potential visitors, Nunavut is a place of "stunning beauty, a place of solitude, clean air, and adventure" (former minister of Sustainable Development, Aakesuk, 2003). Experience based tourism is one of the opportunities, which can be placed in the frontier idea of the North, the Arctic as a place of wealth; Nunavut as a place of opportunities and an innovative tourism industry.

6.3.3 Parks Canada

Parks Canada helps arrange local guides who can bring tourists in their parks. The representation they bring forth is mainly focused on the natural environment. Their brochure and their website emphasize greatly on the parks and the natural environment. In the brochures, emphasis is also placed on the Inuit and their relationship with the land as mentioned in the brochure *National Parks and Historical Sites of Canada in Nunavut*: "This is a harsh land. Travelers may find that their personal itineraries are in conflict with the schedule dictated by wind, cold, and storm. Wise northern travelers will learn from Inuit and adjust their travel to the natural rhythms of the land they are visiting" (Parks Canada, 2005). The parks are a characteristic of Nunavut that attracts a lot of travelers. Illustrations of the natural environment and wildlife fit into the representation of the parks, as Figure 12 and 13 show. The pictures are often used to show the land as a remote and wide land, which is made very real, knowing that as a visitor, you may experience the feeling of being completely alone. At least, this is what an outfitter in Pond Inlet, licensed to go in one of the parks, says about Bylot Island: "I tell to people down South: we can take you to an island where you are the only people on the island, except maybe for the hunters. Really they say?" (Interview with Reid, 2005). Pfeiff (2005) talks of the same feeling when being a tourist on Ellesmere Island (Quttinirpaaq National Park) and Bylot island (Sirmilik National Park): "When I was in Ellesmere hiking, my boyfriend and I were the only 2 people hiking in the northern most National Park in the world. And it was an extraordinary experience. There is a real, Bylot Island in particular and Ellesmere Island, there is a real strong spiritual feeling like Machu Picchu. To have that feeling and have it all to yourself that is amazing" (Interview with Pfeiff, 2005). These feelings fit the image of the Arctic as being a frontier, one of the last unspoiled place of the world.



Figure 12: Sirmilik, place of glaciers (Parks Canada, 2005)



Figure 13: Sirmilik National Park, bird sanctuary (Parks Canada, 2005)

6.3.4 Outfitters/guides

The outfitters and guides in the communities are locals who take tourists out on the land and market themselves individually, depending on what each of them offer. They represent Nunavut in the way they organize and undertake activities. An outfitter in Pond Inlet explains: 'You have to understand your clients. They are all so different, all so different' (Interview with Reid, 2005). When a company is specialized in bird watching trips, they will promote Nunavut as a place where you can watch birds as an outfitter in Pond Inlet explains: "I know people who are interested in Inuit art; personally it does not move me. I will go to art galleries and places like that and then it moves me. This art does not move me, so talking about personal experience, for me to say yeah come on, let's go to that, it is not honest for me to do that" (Interview with Reid, 2005).

The outfitters work alone most of the time and often have direct contact with their clients. In Nunavut there are only 5 companies with a market ready product: 'Wherever they travel in the world promoting Nunavut, these are the five companies that feel confident enough when they are talking to customers' (Reid, 2005). These five companies are: Northwinds in Iqaluit, High Arctic Lodge out of Cambridge Bay, Bathurst Inlet Lodge in Yellowknife (Northwest Territories), Igloolik Outdoor Adventures in Igloolik and Polar Sea Adventures in Pond Inlet (Reid and Bundgaard, 2006). Overall, Nunavut's representation by the outfitters depends on the tourist activities they offer the clients. The pictures used are of both these activities, and the natural environment as the former is usually closely linked to the latter. For example, tourists go hiking in specific areas to see animals, and others go camping at the floe edge to see marine mammals. The pictures in question often fit in the image of the Arctic presented as 'pristine wilderness'.



Figure 14: Kayaking, Pond Inlet
(Source: Polar Sea Adventures
[www.polarseaadventures.com])



Figure 15: Camping, Nunavut (Source: Polar Sea Adventures
[www.polarseaadventures.com])

6.3.5 Youth

Several meetings with groups of two or more young locals in the ages of 16 to 25, at the Nassivik high school in Pond Inlet led to some insight concerning their opinion about tourism and tourism development. 18 Young locals were interviewed and one focus group of 6 was organized. They were all asked 9 short questions about what they thought was important to show tourists and what kind of activities tourists should take part in. The overall image of the interviews was that the youth seemed uninterested in tourism. They were asked if they were interested in having a job in tourism after high school and only a few answered that they were. The few that were interested in a job in tourism were so because this way they got the chance to teach others about the Inuit culture. The youngsters were not very familiar with Nunavut's representation, and some even mentioned that they had never thought about it. The table below gives an impression of the associations Pond Inlet's young locals have concerning Nunavut. They are listed starting with words that were most mentioned, and ending with those mentioned least. Other associations that were also mentioned are: Inukshuks⁵, community, culture, cold climate, icebergs and mountains. Some mentioned the ideas that people still have of igloos and the stereotype images of the culture. Overall, the young people do not have any problems with a growth of tourism in the future and their ideas of representation are mainly focused around the Inuit and the land.

1	Our land/Inuit land
2	Home
3	Inuit
4	Land
5	Hunting

Table 12: Top 5 associations of Nunavut by the youth of Pond Inlet (Source: Interviews with youth in the age of 16-23 in 2005)

When more young people will be involved in tourism, more attention will probably be paid to the promotional side of Nunavut's tourism as the younger generation is more capable with internet and communication in English.

⁵ Inukshuk (singular), meaning "likeness of a person" in Inuktitut (the Inuit language) is a stone figure made by the Inuit. The plural is inuksuit. The Inuit make inuksuit in different forms and for different purposes: to show directions to travellers, to warn of impending danger, to mark a place of respect, or to act as helpers in the hunting of caribou (Source: Website Canadian Encyclopedia, 2006).

6.3.6 Tourists

Several tourists in Pond Inlet were asked about their ideas and representations of Nunavut. Firstly, two Germans who had made their arrangements in Pond Inlet to visit the floe edge were interviewed. Secondly, three travelers, part of a group of Quebecois on a business trip were also interviewed, and furthermore, a couple of businessmen, including a film crew from Japan, a journalist and a photographer were interviewed. Once again, not all groups of travelers and tourists are represented in the analysis, but these interviews should give an impression of the representations of Nunavut by tourists in Nunavut. Some results which followed from the conversations with tourists about the representation of Nunavut will be discussed.

First of all, the preparations made in advance depend greatly on the kind of tourist in question. Business travelers often do not prepare very much because the goal of their trip is business. In their free time, after work and business, they are able to take part in tourism related activities but are not really prepared for them. The tourists from Quebec were also not well prepared: their trip was arranged on short notice. The associations they had with Nunavut were: polar bears, white, different, cold and almost exotic. If they had not had the opportunity to take part in this trip, they probably would never have gone to the area: "I would have never thought of coming here if I was not involved in the project and when they told me you are going to Pond Inlet, they would have told me you are going to another planet and I would have had the same feeling" (Interview with a tourist in Pond Inlet, 2005). Another women explains: "I said the same to my kids; I said mama is going to the moon" (Interview with a tourist in Pond Inlet, 2005).

If they had been able to do more research and find out more about the place of destination, they would probably have had a totally different experience. The information they did look up before going on the trip was mainly by means of the internet.

In the second place, tourists were, just like those from the Netherlands (chapter 5), surprised about certain things which they had not expected. Some tourists mentioned that they thought there would be more wildlife to see: these tourists ended up not seeing any polar bears at all, which was a real disappointment. While being in Pond Inlet, the weather was bad and they were not able to go out much or far, which also made the chances of seeing wildlife substantially smaller. The tourists were also surprised about the houses, their gardens and the dogs, which they expected to be nice. They thought that beauty, pureness and authenticity was not reflected in the villages. "It's just a disconnection between the image and itself" (Interview with a tourist in Pond Inlet, 2005). The tourists thought the art, the costumes and the clothes the locals made was so beautiful and were thus surprised at the villages, which they thought were very ugly. Nevertheless, others agreed that in this kind of tough environment you can not expect the houses to be nice. On the other hand, yet other tourists who were asked about their expectations were surprised that the houses were so well developed and that there were all kind of services such as a library and a health centre.

In the third place, the tourists were asked about their thoughts on the traditional way of life. All agreed that they thought the Inuit way of life is a disappearing one as the locals are accepting and rejecting their culture at the same time. A tourist explained this thought with the example of the skidoo: "the skidoo is a toy that they are overusing. I do not want to say that, because it is a sort of a judgment" (Interview with a tourist in Pond Inlet, 2005). The experiences depend a lot on the kind of tourists and the purpose for their trip. The representation of Nunavut by tourists is one that focuses on the natural environment and the culture. The aspect of the natural environment was judged in terms of what tourists had seen and done and how this matched expectations. The cultural aspect is important, as

tourists usually already have certain expectations concerning the way of life of the contemporary Inuit.

6.4 Content analysis: representation in travel brochures and travel books

In this paragraph, the representation of Nunavut in travel brochures and travel books will be discussed. The travel books have already been discussed earlier, in paragraph 5.4.2 The Nunavut Handbook, a travel guide published and written by some of Nunavut's locals and which completely focuses on the region of Nunavut, will be discussed here. The handbook will be analyzed as a single travel book in the following paragraph and is part of content analysis. In addition, a selection of the travel brochures collected in Nunavut will be part of discussion in the final section of this chapter.

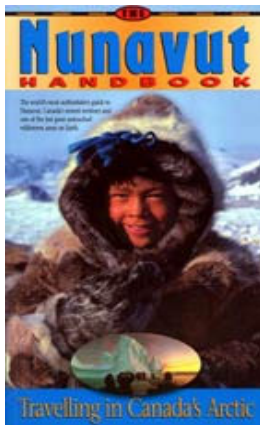


Figure 16: Nunavut Handbook
(Source: Website Nahanni Store,
[www.nahanni.com])



Figure 17: Pelly Bay drum dancers, culture
(Source: Nunavut Handbook 1998)

6.4.1 Travel books

The Nunavut Handbook was first published in 1998. The second edition soon followed in 2001, and in 2004 the last edition was published. For this analysis, the pictures in the 1998 edition were used and a content analysis was made (of which the results are listed in table 13). The Nunavut Handbook's pictures (N=55) were analyzed in the same way as the pictures of the other guide books were, in paragraph 5.4.2 Once again, the natural environment with pictures of landscapes and wildlife such as polar bears, seals and birds was most frequently the focus of the pictures (31%), followed by culture (27%). The pictures of culture include dog sledding, igloo building and arts and crafts. The category built environment and that of people and social life have an equal number of pictures (18%). The pictures of people and social life are mainly close-up pictures of people. The general conclusion, taken from the analysis of this travel guide, is that culture is still playing a crucial role. Furthermore, the pictures of the built environment showing the communities represent the modern way of life. In pictures aimed at tourists, representation of the natural environment dominates. The image of the wilderness and nature is dominating overall and mostly emphasizes the wide views and remoteness of the area. These images fit in the representation of the Arctic as a "wilderness".

	Nunavut Handbook (1998)	Percent
natural environment	17	30,9
People/social life	10	18,2
built environment	10	18,2
tourist activities	3	5,5
culture	15	27,3
	55	100,1

Table 13: Content analysis of pictures in the Nunavut Handbook 1998

Remarkably, the following edition of the Nunavut Handbook, the 2004 edition, does not have any pictures at all except for a few pictures used in advertisements. In contrast, the 2001 edition had some color paintings on a couple of pages after every few chapters. Why the editors decided not to include pictures anymore is unclear. In the next section, the brochures collected in Nunavut will be analyzed and discussed.

6.4.2 Travel brochures

The brochures collected vary from brochures from outfitters in different communities to a few bigger brochures which cover all of Nunavut. Most the brochures are from Pond Inlet and Iqaluit, resulting in the fact that not all communities are represented. All the pictures in the brochures have been coded as was done in the former analysis. Comparing the brochures was no easy task as some had no pictures and others only one or two. The brochures that encompass Nunavut as a whole have the most pictures in them, which is why it was decided that the three most extensive brochures which offer Nunavut as a whole, would be compared. These are *Destination Nunavut 2004/2005*, *Nunavut Tourism Travel Planner 2005* and *the Arctic Traveler 2005*. 207 Pictures were analyzed and the results of the content analysis are listed in table 14. The natural environment is most frequently (33%) the pictures' focus in the three brochures (N=207), followed by culture (32%) and tourists activities (17%). People (10%) and the built environment (8%) follow at a distance. Again, pictures that were coded "culture" often could also be coded "people". For example, picture 18 shows a soapstone carver, but it is coded "culture" because carving is a typical cultural activity.

	Destination Nunavut	Nunavut Tourism	Arctic Traveler	Total	Percent	Beluga (Dutch brochure)
natural environment	31	20	18	69	33,3%	53%
people/social life	5	10	6	21	10,1%	20%
built environment	10	2	4	16	7,7%	7%
tourist activities	6	19	10	35	16,9%	13%
culture	13	9	44	66	31,9%	7%
	65	60	82	207	99,9%	100%

Table 14: Content analysis of three brochures from Nunavut and one Dutch brochure



Figure 18: Soapstone carver, Culture (Source: Nunavut Tourism Travel Planner, 2005)



Figure 19: Girl with doll, people (Source: Destination Nunavut, 2005)

6.5 Conclusions

In terms of the representations in brochures, travel guides and by organizations, it can be concluded that the natural environment and wildlife play an all-important role, especially for tourists. This aspect is used on great scale in brochures and by Nunavut's tourism organizations. Here again, the feeling that Nunavut is one of the last unspoiled places of the world is exploited. As mentioned earlier, the chosen perspective of promotion of Nunavut depends on the organization. It is an individual process which depends on those who need to be attracted and the activities and services offered. People and culture play a very important role as well, which is illustrated in the brochures which show that Nunavut is a place of people, where the traditional way of life and the Inuit culture still play central roles in the daily lives of the locals. These images of Nunavut by tourist organizations and Nunavut Tourism fit the general images of the Arctic as 'pristine wilderness' and as a place where people live. The youth, on the other hand, focuses more specifically on their culture and the land. From the perspective of the Nunavut Government, the land is seen as a place of opportunities, which is an image that fits in the frontier idea of the Arctic. Overall, the images of Nunavut as a "pristine wilderness" and as a place where people live, rule.

Chapter 7 Conclusions

The two main questions of this study were:

What tourist identities can be distinguished concerning Nunavut, Canada in the Netherlands as well as in the research area?

Is Nunavut part of the Arctic (or the North), and can Nunavut use the Arctic's general place identities of pure wilderness, ice, polar landscapes, and polar bears for example?

This study contains a comparison between the representation within tourism in the Netherlands and in Nunavut itself. The brochures of different tourist organizations were compared with tourist guides, and the first important finding was that the differences between the tourist representations of Nunavut in the Netherlands and in Nunavut itself were quite evident. In the second place, three different tourist representations can be distinguished. The main differences between Nunavut and the Netherlands are presented along with the three tourist identities of Nunavut.

The value one attaches to images of Nunavut is different between insiders and outsiders. Outsiders have a different view, as the cultural aspect of the area plays a role, but only a very remote one considering the role the natural environment plays. However insiders' view, that of the Inuit, is that of pride of their culture, and intent to share knowledge about this culture with the outside world. The differences between both views will be explained more closely.

In the Netherlands, the majority of the images used is that of the natural environment, which includes images of wildlife, among others. Within such images of "pristine wilderness", the wideness and remoteness of the region are predominant. Pictures used are that of animals that can be found in Nunavut, such as polar bears, musk oxen, birds and whales. The second theme which is used a lot, after that of the natural environment, is the theme social life and people. Close-ups of locals is what is usually shown in such pictures.

Tourism promotion in Nunavut adds narratives of its locals and their cultures. Nunavut is presented as a dynamic place where people live and where the traditional Inuit culture still plays an important role in the daily lives of the locals. The different communities are also more present in the tourist identities of Nunavut, resulting in a better understanding of how the people live nowadays. Finally, another theme which is used more in the brochures in Nunavut is that of tourist activities. For the individual traveler (the one who is not taking part in a organized trip) it gives an better impression of the activities one can take part in. The organizations in the Netherlands offer organized trips, tourist activities and excursions which are part of the all-in-one package which also includes accommodation and tickets. The Government of Nunavut is involved in the development of policy aimed at tourism development and plays a large role in its funding. The Government of Nunavut sees its tourism industry as one of the opportunities for economic development. This idea fits in the frontier idea; Nunavut is seen as a place of wealth, a place where money can be generated. The three images that are distinguished are Nunavut as a pristine wilderness, Nunavut as a place where people live and Nunavut as a resource frontier.

This will lead us to the answer of the following main question: is Nunavut part of the Arctic? Nunavut now has a real place on the world map and is starting to see a

growth in its tourism industry. Those involved in tourism in this region try to conquer a place on the international niche market of tourism, while dealing with strong competition from areas such as Iceland, Greenland, Svalbard and Alaska which have already created strong, individual tourist identities. The people involved in tourism in Nunavut think of competition in a broader perspective: if Nunavut aspires to become a world-class destination, it must compete with other areas of the world and not only polar areas: Ecuador's Galapagos Islands, Brazil's Amazon Basin and Africa's game parks.

The expectations concerning tourism development are very high. If tourism in Nunavut is able to compete with these three areas, then other polar regions would be of lesser importance in the fight for a place on the tourism market. The three types of images that were distinguished fit the profile of that of other Arctic regions. One can conclude that Nunavut fits the general images of the Arctic, distinguished in literature on the subject. The three main types of Arctic images could be clearly distinguished after analyzing brochures and travel guides that were collected. Nunavut is presented as a part of the Arctic, and one cannot say that there is a new kind of tourism since Nunavut's foundation in 1999. No pictures were found that could hint towards Nunavut taking on a non-Arctic identity. The general images of the Arctic are familiar and well known by potential tourists and it is therefore "safe" to use these images to promote Nunavut as a tourist destination. Representations and identities of Nunavut are created and constructed by different kinds of sources and people. The tourist identities of Nunavut are still in the process of construction.

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- Website Métice National Council [<http://www.metisnation.ca/who/index.html>] last visited, February 1st 2006
- Website The Northern Forum [www.northernforum.org] last visited, November 16th 2005
- Website Nunavut Tourism [www.nunavuttourism.com] last visited, December 30th 2005
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Appendices

Appendix A: List of brochures analyzed

Netherlands:*

Beluga Adventures 2004/2005(*)
Askja Reizen 2005(*)
HT Wandelreizen 2005(*)
Canada Visitor's guide '04/'05

Nunavut:*

Arctic Bay, A natural beauty
Baker Lake Qamani'tuaq, 'where the river widens
Canada's Arctic Nunavut Travel Listings 2003
Canada's Arctic Nunavut Travel Planner 2003
Canadian Arctic Adventures Pond Inlet, Baffin Island, Nunavut, Canada, Toonoonik Sahoonek Outfitters
Destination Nunavut Le guide touristique du Nunavut 2004-2005 (*)
Free, rugged, untouched, wild: the Arctic
Grise Fiord, Ellesmere Island, Northwest Territories, Canada's most northerly community
Iqaluit Visitors Guide 2005
Ktikmeot Nunavut Canada's Arctic
Kivalliq Nunavut Canada's Arctic
Nunavut Canada's Newest Territory, Nunavut Tourism
Outfitters & Tourism Providers in Pond Inlet
Polar Sea Adventures, Pond Inlet, Baffin Island, Nunavut, Canada
Qikiqtaaluk (Baffin region) Nunavut Canada's Arctic
The Arctic Traveler, Nunavut Vacation Planner 2005 (*)
Toonik Eco-Tours, Iqaluit
Travel planner 2005 Nunavut Tourism (*)
Visitor Programmes & Services At Nattinnak Centre Pond Inlet
Visitor/Service Information Arctic Bay, Nunavut
Welcome to Kimmirut
Welcome to Sirmilik National Park of Canada

*Marked brochures were part of content analysis.

Appendix B: List of travel guides analyzed

- Blore, Davidson et al. (2004) *Frommer's Canada*, Wiley Publishing New Jersey, Inc. 13th Edition
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- Soublière M. (1998) *Nunavut Handbook*, Iqaluit: Nortext Multimedia Inc.
- Swaney D. (1999) *Lonely Planet, The Arctic* Lonely Planet Publications Melbourne, Oakland, London, Paris

Appendix C: List of people interviewed

People interviewed:

The Netherlands:

- Paul Boslooper, HT Wandelreizen
- Jonneke van Eijdsen, Beluga Adventures
- Peter Schadee, Askja Reizen

Iqaluit

- Bundgaard, Maureen, chief executive officer of Nunavut Tourism, interview took place by means of e-mail
- Nedd Kenney, Department of Economic Development and Transportation, Manager Tourism Trade & Innovation Division, Government of Nunavut
- Bruce and Carol Rigby, former outfitter in Iqaluit and co-writers Nunavut Handbook 1998 and Nunavut Handbook 2004
- Erik Leuthold, Polynya Adventure & Coordination Ltd.
- Sekayi Pswarayi, marketing director Nunavut Tourism
- Kevin J. Tikivik, Toonik Eco-Tours owner/guide

Pond Inlet

- Titus Allooloo, outfitter/sporthunter
- James Arvaluk, formal MLA (Member Legislative Assembly), assistant MLA
- Jonathan Case, manager Northern Store
- Carey Elverum, Chief Park Warden Sirmilik National Park
- Mike Ferguson, former outfitter
- George Koonoo, Wildlife Officer
- Chris Mitchell, manager Co-op
- Myna Mucktar, manager Cedar Lodge B&B
- Lee Narraway, freelance journalist and photographer
- Philippa Ootoowak, archivist in the library
- Jonathan Palluq, director Department of Community Government Services
- David Parks, principal Nassivik high school
- Margo Pfeiff, journalist and photographer
- David Quammaniq, major of Pond Inlet
- Leslie Quammaniq, Department of Economic Development, Government of Nunavut
- Lucy Quasa, manager Nattinnak Visitors Centre
- Dave Reid, owner, guide of Polar Sea Adventures

- Colin Saunders, Economic Development Officer and Hamlet of Pond Inlet
- Norman Simonie, Hunters and Trappers Organization
- Two sporthunters of Puebla, Mexico

Focus Group:

- Julie Menard, Chales Suprenant, France Mercur (group of veterinarians Quebec, business trip)
- Six young people at the Nassivik high school, Pond Inlet (age 16-25)