Subjectivity in Tourism and Place:
A Cultural Planning Approach in Yellowknife, NT

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Author's Declaration

I hereby declare that I am the sole author of this thesis. This is a true copy of this thesis, including any required final revisions, as accepted by my examiners.

I understand that my thesis may be made electronically available to the public.

Abstract

Communities that have previously relied on primary industries are increasingly turning towards tourism as a form of economic development as their past economic opportunities become obsolete. Yet, as tourism growth can occur quickly with little to no policies or procedures in place, it can result in a vulnerable state as it will remain unstructured, unchecked, and disorganized. In order for tourism to be the most effective for small-sized communities, it is important to approach tourism planning from a community-based, inclusive approach. The integration of various stakeholders in a community-led governance approach will allow for effective development strategies that not only benefit both tourists and locals but also contributes to the overall place-making within the community.

This research focuses on international tourism, cultural heritage, and place-making in Yellowknife, Northwest Territories, Canada. Yellowknife has experienced a large growth in international tourists looking to experience the Aurora Borealis, whereas the cultural heritage within the community is a secondary experience, it is relatively underexposed and underrepresented. By considering the city's cultural heritage sites as a means to further develop a sense of place, this research will examine the subjective interactions locals and tourists experience within the City of Yellowknife.

Semi-structured interviews were used as the primary method of data collection to examine the differences in how locals perceive the city, what the tourists' expectations of the city are and whether these expectations are being met. The researcher will conduct participant observations to supplement the interviews, by partaking in tours operated by local tour operators. Current document review and basic statistical data was analyzed to establish a contextual base for the research.

This research will create a planning and management framework for a tourism growth strategy in Yellowknife. The end goal will be to encourage Yellowknife to undertake a tourism development strategy that is focused on the local community's involvement in place-making initiatives that will in turn contribute to place-branding. This cultural planning approach to community building will strengthen the locals' involvement in tourism progression and in turn will assist in building resilience for a rapidly changing economy.

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1 INTRODUCTION

1.1 Purpose

It is common that when primary industry reliant towns can no longer produce or extract the once abundant resource which they rely on for economic prosperity they often deteriorate over time. However, many smaller towns and cities that were once focused on primary industries are now turning to tourism as an alternative form of economic development. These tourism attractions can manifest in a variety of ways including ecotourism, cultural tourism, or heritage tourism to name but a few.

While these small towns and cities have several varying factors, the defining characteristic shared by these small communities is that they have transformed from a primary industry to a service based industry with many of the locals remaining over time. The tourists are drawn to these locations for whichever form of tourism is offered, however the place itself can also be a draw. In fact, just by being a location for tourism the place gains notoriety and a reputation. While the locals remain in these towns it is through their eyes as well as the tourists, that the city maintains a sense of place, and with that its own authenticity. In order to effectively plan, manage, and market the place as authentic, then tourism should be approached in a community-led, inclusive approach that involves all stakeholders.

Current tourism literature identifies many different stakeholder groups, yet Waligo, Clarke, and Hawkins (2013) summarize the numerous stakeholders into six different groupings: tourists, industry, local community, government, special interest groups, and educational institutions. However, it can be difficult to have all stakeholders involved in the planning process. Ruhanan (2009) found that the most under-represented group of stakeholders in tourism planning was the

local residents. These participants are often not included as involving them in the tourism planning and management process would take too much time, while current community engagement strategies can be ineffective.

It is these very stakeholders, the locals, who must be involved in the place-making as a tourism driver within their community. Hultman (2012) states that it is the uniquity of place, and in turn the place specific spectacle that draws people to a particular site. Yet, places are not simply a locale but rather a combination of many factors such as "landscape and architecture, history and heritage and social structures and relationships" that, when all considered, define a place (Smith, 2015, p. 221).

Hultman (2012) furthers the importance of place by explaining that the process of place-making must be

> initiated by individuals who felt a strong personal engagement for their environment, who took pride in their cultural heritage, who had visions of sharing perceived natural qualities with others or who found that ecotourism sounded like a sympathetic, potentially profitable and, at the same time, ethical proposition. Their engagement was fed into decision-making networks where it drew upon resources in the form of funding potential, social capital, established as well as innovative patterns of information sharing, and/or the history of the area (p. 551).

Place can be considered the most important aspect of tourism. People travel to places in search of an experience; the place becomes contingent on the experience and the experience becomes contingent on the place. As a result, it is vital to understand a place's tangible and intangible

cultural heritage that defines its uniquity. By including all stakeholders in identifying and

defining a place it can lead to the development of place-making strategies.

Furthermore, as stakeholders become enmeshed in the place-making they will then be

invested in place-keeping. The final component in creating place as a tourist experience is place

branding, which if it is to be successful must understand the local community in all capacities

including the people, as well as the built and natural environment. In order to create a successful

tourism industry in a small former industrial city they must develop it from a cultural planning

approach that considers the unique sense of place.

1.2   Study Rationale

This research will ultimately assist with creating a planning and management framework

based on community engagement for a tourism growth strategy in Yellowknife. The end goal

will be to encourage Yellowknife to develop tourism, in such a way that the local community

will have the advantage of being involved in place-making strategies that will in turn contribute

to place-branding. This cultural planning approach to community building will strengthen the

locals' involvement in tourism progression and in turn will assist in building resilience in a

changing economy.

1.3   Significance

While there is significant research on tourism and management strategies, there is a lack of

research on small, remote and young communities that have undergone a quick transition from

an industry based economy into a tourism based economy. It can be evidenced that there are no

current policies and procedures or rules and regulations in place in Yellowknife, NT for the

growing tourism industry. In order to better plan for tourism growth in a small community it is

necessary to develop an effective management strategy that will benefit all stakeholders;

otherwise the community will run the risk of oversaturation of tourism within the community, and as a result lose all sense of place and place attachment. This research will provide the City of Yellowknife with potential policies and strategies to safeguard their tourism approach to ensure long-term growth potential.

1.4 Outline

Chapter 1: Introduction- This chapter will introduce the reader to the subject matter and what this thesis hopes to achieve in discussing why tourism in a northern, remote community is vital to its future economic resilience.

Chapter 2: Literature Review- This chapter will give a detailed report on current research findings and gaps in cultural planning, tourism, and place as it relates to this thesis. To begin, the literature review will examine cultural planning as an emerging concept with emphasis on community inclusion, the cultural economy, and tourism development. It will then go on to explore tourism as industry, particularly management practices, various policies, and public perception. Next, the literature review will explore the concept of place and why place-making, place-branding, and authenticity are important to tourism and community development.

Chapter 3: Methodology- This chapter will identify the various research methods used to collect the necessary data for analysis. All methods will be explained and justified in this section. How the various methods will complement each other will also be explored. Any limitations that would have hindered data collection and analysis will also be explained in this section.

Chapter 4: Context- This chapter will provide a detailed background of the case study Yellowknife, NT, Canada. This background covers Yellowknife's history as a pre-colonization

First Nations community, to its industrial mining history, through to its current state as a tourism hub for Aurora Borealis tours.

Chapter 5: Findings- This chapter will delve into the various findings that the researcher has discovered relevant to tourism in Yellowknife. Based on the findings, it was decided to split the findings into four sections, the identification of stakeholders and their roles, experiences, place-making in Yellowknife, and finally where and how the stakeholders can foresee changes in tourism.

Chapter 6: Discussion- This chapter will analyze the findings outlined in Chapter 5. There are four sections in this chapter. The first section is a brief overview of the findings. The second section will outline recommendations for the City of Yellowknife to consider for effective tourism development. This section includes a proposed tourism board, involvement of local population, integration of locals and tourists, as well as the development of a centralized cultural centre downtown. The following section will also discuss the limitations in the research. Finally, suggested future research possibilities will be covered in the last section.

Chapter 7: Conclusion- This chapter will summarize all the information identified in the previous chapters into a succinct and poignant conclusion.

2 LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Approach

During the last two decades, there has been significant research that explores the rise and implementation of cultural planning. While this concept has taken on a greater role in planning research, cultural planning's effects on place-making and tourism have also begun to be examined. These concepts are so intricately connected that it is necessary to first examine the emergence of cultural planning, the theory behind it, and the importance of why it is necessary. The literature review will then go on to examine why cultural planning is a separate and evolutionary approach to planning.

By first understanding cultural planning, the paper will then analyse tourism as a growing industry and how the two subjects are connected. Most importantly, tourism can be an effective strategy to building a stronger economy, but not without issues or concerns. It is necessary to encourage stakeholder and community involvement in tourism development, yet in most cases this does not occur as will be outlined below.

Furthermore, place can be considered an important aspect in tourism through all stages, including planning, marketing and management. The value of place-making, place-keeping, and place-branding will be examined as well. By exploring the importance of creating a sense of place through public engagement in the tourism industry it will then become clear as to how cultural planning can be utilized as a strategy to further develop and safeguard a community's resilience to a changing economy.

2.2   Cultural Planning

Cultural planning is the process of "identifying and developing community cultural resources in a structured and inclusive planning process, and building community capacity and social relationships within and between communities" (Grodach, 2013, p. 1750). Whereas some may consider cultural planning as the development of museums, sporting facilities, or art galleries, it goes beyond this thin surface. In the late 1990s, cultural planning emerged in Canada as a strategy to harness culture as an asset to create economic gains, develop community, and increase sustainability (Hume, 2013). The Government of Ontario currently defines cultural planning as "a place-based approach to planning and development [and is used as a] process for identifying and leveraging a community's cultural resources, strengthening the management of those resources, and integrating those resources across all facets of local planning and decision making" (Government of Ontario, 2017).

Some researchers have identified that the notion of cultural planning was born from Richard Florida's concept of the creative class (Sacco & Crociata, 2012; Scaramanga, 2012). For instance, the creative class is attracted to cultural locations that in turn boost the local economy and increase growth opportunities (Sacco & Crociata, 2012). However, this does not go without criticism, as the notion of the creative class can also increase marginalisation and negatively impact the pre-existing culture within communities (Sacco & Crociata, 2012). Therefore, cultural planning must go beyond the notion of developing a community to encourage future cultural practices and consider the existing cultural practices within the community.

Cultural planning considers "urban design, public art, transport, safety, cultural workspace and industry quarters and the linkage concept of the *production chain* and *scale of hierarchy*

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facilities" (Evans, 2001, p. 7). Inherently, there are many more factors to consider in cultural planning, rather than only what would have previously been considered culture. Building on this, Landry describes cultural planning, as quoted in Evans (2001), as "the process of identifying projects, devising plans and managing implementation strategies. . . It is not intended as the planning of culture . . . But rather as a cultural approach to any type of public policy" (p. 7). In other words, cultural planning is not solely about developing the centers that foster culture, but rather it is about using creativity and imagination in the development of holistic communities that thrive on the integration of stakeholders' perspectives.

In the past, planning was approached from an objective standpoint and tended to ignore the subjective perceptions locals have of place (Landry, 2005). However, Evans (2001) states that by promoting "culture-led planning [it] might provide a fundamental response to the promotion of cultural diversity, the protection of cultural identities, and the encouragement of the local and the vernacular" (p. 7). It is clear throughout the articles examined, that cultural planning must assume the mandate of inclusivity and active participation, for all stakeholders, including governments, locals, and business owners, as well as other various committees and organizations (Evans, 2001; Grodach, 2013; Hume, 2013; Landry, 2012).

Sacco and Crociata (2012) claim that in the near future, cities will be looking at developing the tools necessary to create policy frameworks that embrace cultural planning from an integrated, holistic approach. These policy frameworks would be used to "support the decision making of policy professionals, but also, and most importantly, to enable local community leaders, stakeholders and citizens to participate in an active and responsible way in collective decision making, thereby leading to more decentralized and inclusive forms of community governance" (Sacco & Crociata, 2012, p. 1703). To develop this framework, cultural

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planning can be broken into five main categories: quality; genius loci; attraction; networking; and sociality (Sacco & Crociata, 2012). In order to identify these five categories policymakers must work collectively with the local community.

2.2.1   Community Inclusion and Stakeholder Integration

As every theory or practice does not go without criticism, Van Holm (2015), argued that the creative class, and indirectly cultural planning, perpetuate inequality between the wealthy and the poor. Those who plan cities must recognize that this has been, and will remain, an issue in planning as long as planners do not examine how the benefits of redevelopment, such as economic prosperity, can be spread throughout the entire community (Van Holm, 2015). Yet, it seems the basis of cultural planning is to consider and integrate various perspectives from numerous stakeholders. Redaelli (2012) furthered this by stating that "the attention given to the public involvement of the residents in a community shows how an important objective of cultural planning is creating a plan based on the needs and visions of the people who live there" (p. 645).

Therefore, cultural planning should be focused on the inclusivity of all stakeholders, which if executed properly should involve the perspectives from varying socioeconomic backgrounds, including vulnerable communities. Building on the earlier statements of the importance of numerous stakeholder participation, it can be difficult to assess whether all community members are equally represented in community development. It is common for some stakeholders, such as locals, to not become involved as they may not have the expertise, resources, or accessibility to become involved in the process.

Furthermore, while it has been known for some time that certain stakeholders are not equally represented, locals in particular can encounter a disconnect from what they expect from their city and what the government is accomplishing through policy and growth strategies.

Although community engagement is known as one of the most important factors in cultural planning, Duxbury & Jeannotte (2015) claimed that it has been difficult to determine how to transform the most important cultural features, as identified by locals, into a vision or action plan.

Stevenson (2013) furthered the above statement by explaining how "the disconnect between local participation and government action may by the result of the emergence of neoliberalism as the dominant discourse in urban development and the processes of entrepreneurial governance it fosters, [which] have led, if not to a weakening of obligations to community participation in urban development and reimaging, then certainly to its reconceptualization" (p. 164). In other words, the government may no longer be concerned with what the local community wants to see happen in their community, rather the government is more likely to maintain a conservative approach to economic opportunities and business strategies.

Breitbart and Stanton (2007) assert that as planning moves from a local to a regional level, there becomes a divide between who is making decisions and who resides in the area, which only perpetuates the lack of local involvement. Although locals may be present and open to voicing their opinions, as the decision process is moved to a higher level of government, or even to a corporation, the locals' opinions are at risk of no longer becoming valuable or even relevant. To alleviate the disconnect between locals' perceptions and government action, then the government should take part in creating inclusive decision-making processes that allow the community to collectively identify the issues and solutions in an ongoing process (Quick & Feldman, 2011).

If cultural planning is to be considered a viable option for community and economic development, it must be able to overcome the potential disconnect between locals' perceptions and government actions. Whereas the importance in cultural planning has been evidenced above, Stevenson (2013) found another issue with community participation in claiming that due to the wide range of locals' perspectives it can become extremely difficult to incorporate inclusive planning approaches. It is impossible to please everyone within the community and therefore it is best to be open to all opinions while still undertaking best practice approaches. By creating an open-ended, ever-changing format for local involvement in planning, the government can foster a better informed, more engaged form of community development that can evolve based on present issues (Quick & Feldman, 2011).

Regardless of how many locals will be satisfied with the outcome, it is remiss to ignore any locals' opinions that may arise. As it stands, it is entirely possible if moving forward with community participation that there could be a new model emerging that will incorporate greater public involvement (Stevenson, 2013). There will need to be further research completed in order to examine how this potential new model would look and if a truly inclusive approach to cultural planning is entirely effective.

2.2.2 Cultural Economy and Development

As previously stated, cultural planning has manifested from the growth of a cultural or creative economy. As cities move away from manufacturing and industrialization, they must look at new methods to develop their economy. Recently this has been realized through the rise of cultural improvements. For instance, Gibson (2011) discussed how this relatively new economy is the result of "increasingly 'cultural' logics that underpinned industrial growth and transformation" (p. 283). The cultural economy is made up of the creative industries within a

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city, which can include but are not limited to industries such as arts, media, design, and technology (Freestone & Gibson, 2006).

American cities were the first to truly embrace the creative class and the cultural economy, with European cities following shortly thereafter. The cultural economy surfaced as a result of the average North American city becoming wealthier. Evans (2001) claimed that as cities became wealthier, the citizens in turn became wealthier, both in time and money, which allowed them to be able to enjoy the leisure activities that formed the foundations of the newly defined cultural economy. It is through the above process that cultural cities began their climb into the successful cities they are today.

Evans (2001) further explained that if the cultural economy is to be an effective industry it must be understood that the key

> linkage in terms of cultural planning is between the cultural industries, small-scale
>
> production and creativity, and local economies – both through arts amenities that
>
> take on a cultural production role (e.g. arts and media resource centres), and in
>
> dedicated workspaces that support seed-bed and small cultural enterprises (p.
>
> 141).

According to Freestone & Gilbert (2006), within the last decade or two the cultural economy has truly been recognized as an important component to city planning, one that affects "economic development, urban regeneration, place-making urban design and social planning" (p. 21).

Building on the above statement, Gibson (2011) claimed that whereas culture was once considered to be "that fluffy . . . stuff" (p. 284), and still is according to some researchers, it has emerged as a new successful industry and it must be considered a major driving force in the

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economy. Additionally, Grodach (2009) stated that a cultural planning approach to defining the new economy and emphasizing the economic feasibility of public space is inherently dependent on numerous factors, such as the social and environmental state of place. There must be new approaches in the evaluation of the interaction between the numerous factors that create a successful city.

Furthermore, Gibson (2011) claimed that it is no longer realistic to consider the economy as a separate entity from human activity, but rather it is the interaction humans have with both tangible and intangible materials that creates and propels the economy; these very interactions should be approached as a process and analyzed further. It is where the exchange of materials is occurring that must also be explored; Landry (2012) claimed that public space has not been a key focus in planning before.

If cultural planning, and therefore the cultural economy, is to remain successful then public spaces can no longer remain an afterthought within cities. Landry (2012) explained that public spaces should be, and are in fact, places of discovery, where one can encounter the different, unique, and cultural experiences located outside of one's home, whether in their own city or as a tourist. Yet, there needs to be further research conducted to identify who is responsible for creating and maintaining these places of discovery.

2.3 Tourism

Brouder and Ioannides (2014) have uncovered six key gaps in current tourism and economic development research, and are listed as follows: building relationships between tourism and NGOs and government; developing tourism further than mega-projects; emerging informal economies; building a framework for analysing the future of tourism in urban centers; developing new tourism paths; and knowledge sharing amongst similar sectors and regions. In

the context of this report, it is necessary to consider all six of the aforementioned gaps in planning and consider how they might affect tourism and community development for locals.

Nowadays, tourism is used just as any other industry in an effort to boost the economy and the development of cities, by attracting new citizens and tourists alike; for many it is the culture within a city that allows for the large growth of tourism. As described by Smith (2007), "culture has become a commodity to be packaged and sold much like any other" (p. 2). However, Nunkoo and Ramkissoon (2011) discovered that "few studies have considered residents' satisfaction with their own community as a determinant of their attitudes to tourism and consequent support for the industry" (p. 172).

While tourism can improve the economy, it still does not allow for a place focused approach as is the basis of cultural planning. For some cities, tourism is the sole option to further development, especially for those whose economies are decreasing (Brouder & Ioannides, 2014). However, as mega-events and large spectacles were previously used to draw in tourism, cities have needed to uncover and utilize new facets, such as culture, and stakeholders, such as artists, that have not been traditionally associated with the tourism industry (Brouder & Ioannides, 2014).

Furthering the above claim, Spirou (2011) states that when cities try to "reimage themselves and benefit from the economic development possibilities, [they] utilize the urban culture they possess and haphazardly convert it into an attraction" (p. 197). Although rejuvenation can aide in advancing the local and regional economy, when using culture to attract residents and visitors cities also run the risk of trivializing the community's culture and unique qualities.

Du Cros and McKercher (2015) explained that to properly manage a city as a place for tourism, the experiences must be delivered of the highest quality; simply, if the activities being offered are not of the highest quality than it will not be enjoyed by the tourists. This will lead to "lowered visitation levels and decreased satisfaction, threatening the commercial viability of the asset. Worse still, the consequence may mean continued high levels of visitation without signalling how the asset is to be used, resulting in tourists defining the experience themselves, at the peril of the asset" (Du Cros & McKercher, 2015, p. 25). Whether there are too many or too little tourists can be damaging to a community, therefore it is necessary to manage tourism accordingly in order for it to be a sustainable and viable option for economic growth.

2.3.1 Management Practices

It is necessary to consider how locals perceive tourism growth in their community in order to preserve its sense of place. Carmichael (2000) finds that there is limited research regarding locals' perceptions of tourism in their communities; this could be a direct result of the diversity in communities in which tourism is occurring and where the research is being conducted. However, Grybovych and Hafermann (2010) found that in order for tourism to be successful in small, rural communities then the planning for tourism must not only include participation of the local community, but it should also be community-led. This follows the cultural planning notion that for planning to be successful it must integrate the various ideas of many stakeholders.

Cardenas, Byrd, and Duffy (2015) found that tourism operators needed "to incorporate the interests and perceptions of multiple stakeholder groups but also provide them with the knowledge to make informed decisions" (p. 263). It was identified that there needs to be further research into how tourism is developed when the locals are uninformed about tourism development in their community, as this can result in serious negative outcomes. Furthermore,

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Waligo, Clarke, and Hawkins (2013) summarized that while interest in identifying and involving various stakeholders in tourism management is increasing, there are still no best practice guidelines. There are many different theories for best practice management frameworks for tourism growth.

For instance, management committees that involve multiple stakeholders can be an effective tourism strategy. It is important when developing a management committee to consider the appropriate amount of stakeholder representatives, as issues can arise if there is too much or too little representation on the board (Beritelli, Bieger, & Laesser, 2007; Ruhanen, 2009). Beritelli, Bieger, and Laesser (2007) claim that if a committee has stakeholders involved in numerous roles and sit on a variety of committees it can result in a more effective tourism board.

If the number of stakeholders on the tourism board is too small the board may make irrational or misguided decisions, and if the committee is too large than the decisions become unfocused and there may be no clear end goal (Beritelli, Bieger, & Laesser, 2007). In order for these committees to be effective they require ongoing, consensus building, and direct participation by multiple stakeholders whom are representative of differing viewpoints (Ruhanen, 2009).

However, public participation in tourism planning does not go without faults. Much like cultural planning, a significant amount of criticism towards community driven management practices is that some stakeholders can be inexperienced, which may cause unproductive, expensive, time-consuming, and unnecessary processes (Ruhanen, 2009). The attached figure summarizes the importance of stakeholder participation, particularly that of locals, in tourism development.

Behaviour

Active ⟷ Passive

Positive

| Active support | Silent acceptance |

Attitude

| Active opposition | Resigned acceptance |

Negative
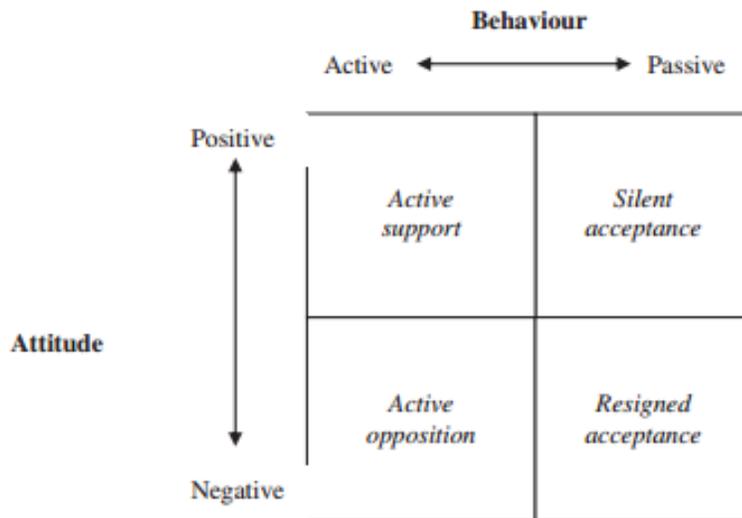
Figure 1: Local Attitudes Towards Tourism. Source: Carmichael, 2000

2.3.2 Policy

Tourism planning should fall under the umbrella of cultural planning as it must consider the role of all stakeholders if it is to remain successful and garner the approval of locals while building community economic resilience. This can be expanded on by explaining that current tourism practices are disconnected from each other, and that it is important for stakeholders to come together in an attempt to strengthen the economy and locals' quality of life through collaboration efforts (Murayama & Parker, 2007; Spirou, 2011).

Currently, there is some disagreement as to the actual role of culture in urban policy-making. Duxbury & Jeannotte (2015) claimed that although culture is ultimately the local

community's end goal, it is inevitably detached from any policy-making or planning decisions. On the other hand, according to Freestone & Gibson (2003), cultural policy and urban policy are uniformly connected and one cannot be removed from the other. The issue with these statements is that how policies are created and maintained is not identical across all cites or countries; how cultural policy is developed will vary from place to place.

Carr and Servon (2009) maintained that if a community is to move forward it must focus on the importance of developing tourism by creating policies that protect the qualities that initially drew tourism into the community. This can be achieved through the participation of the local community in developing policies that increase the residents' satisfaction with their neighbourhoods. If the perceived impacts of tourism are positive then the local community will be more receptive in accepting the changes, as explained by Nunkoo and Ramkissoon (2011). Grybovych and Hafermann (2010) state that while it can be difficult, it is possible to create a policy framework based on public-private partnerships, including non-profit organizations, that will encourage community development through local involvement.

Economic development policymakers tend to ignore the undervalued characteristics of a neighbourhood, essentially its sense of place, which could potentially harm the local community as their neighbourhood could lose its unique cultural aspects (Carr & Servon, 2008). However, there becomes concern when locals place the economic benefits of tourism over preserving place identity, as a result it can further the degradation of culture and perpetuate inauthentic places (Spirou, 2011). There should be new policies that protect the perceived or actual authenticity of place, whether it be the social, historical, or environmental aspects.

2.3.3 Applying a Cultural Planning Approach to Tourism

An inclusive, multi-stakeholder approach to tourism planning "encourages local residents to be more engaged with tourists because they [are] involved from the beginning in deciding how their culture will be represented to others" (Agrusa, Coats, & Donlon, 2003, p. 122). In order to create a tourism strategy that embraces the unique components as identified by locals, it is essential for locals to be involved in the policy development and management of tourism and place-making in the community. Malek and Costa (2015) have identified that recent strategies to promote locals' involvement were developed to create "accountability, transparency and responsiveness from government bodies" (p. 282). Rather than strictly imposing regulations, the government should act as a facilitator in promoting greater communication, networking, and knowledge distribution amongst multiple stakeholders (Malek & Costa, 2015).

Furthering this, Padin (2012) states that when developing for tourism it is necessary that all stakeholders must work together by establishing a network that "consists of nodes or positions held by different actors and organizations that manage tourist destinations, including businesses, local communities, trade associations, academic institutions, public associations, among others, who express an interest in interacting" (p. 515). However, while it is beneficial for various stakeholders to network and disseminate knowledge, it can be difficult to integrate all stakeholder perspectives and thus the professionals creating the policies and regulations must follow a rather systemic process as to remain objective (Padin, 2012).

By involving many stakeholders, and specifically locals, in tourism planning and management the community can develop an holistic and mutually beneficial tourism strategy. When initiating the development process for tourism, it is vital to identify whom the key stakeholders are, especially as locals will have the ability to identify the unique components of a

place that can lead to greater and more specialized experiences for the tourists (Zouganeli, Trihas, Antonaki, & Kladou, 2012). Furthermore, by having stakeholders at the forefront of creating new initiatives, it allows for a more comprehensive approach to ongoing processes furthering the effectiveness of place-branding (Zouganeli, Trihas, Antonaki, & Kladou, 2012). A place-based cultural planning approach to tourism development therefore not only allows locals to be more involved in the changes affecting their community but they can also assist with how their community is being portrayed to visitors while simultaneously contributing to visitors' experiences.

2.4   Defining Place

As cultural planning is a place-based approach it is necessary to establish an understanding of what place is. Upon review of other researchers, Khirfan (2014) defines "place as the meaning of lived experience" (p. 122). Researchers such as Christian Norberg-Schulz, Aldo Rossi, Kevin Lynch, and Yi-fu Tuan examined how various elements contribute to place meaning (Khirfan, 2014). Norberg-Schulz defined place as both "physical and symbolic values"; similarly, Rossi defined place as the "history and the collective memory of history" (Khirfan, 2014, p. 122). On the other hand, Lynch established place as how one orientates and identifies themselves within a space that defines the place (Khirfan, 2014). Finally, Tuan identified place as representative of how one attaches themselves to the place based on their own feelings and understandings (Khirfan, 2014).

Through this research it was identified that place consists of both tangible and intangible elements. The tangible elements can include buildings, sites, and routes, while the intangible elements can include memories, traditional knowledge, and rituals (ICOMOS, 2008). Khirfan (2014) found that place became a process driven by "spatial, cultural and social processes" (p.

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123). This proposed framework "transforms place into the interface between the tourists and the local inhabitants" (Khirfan, 2014, p. 123). In Khirfan's (2014) framework place is in the center of the intersecting circles, while conceptions, physical attributes, and activities interlock to form the social, spatial, and cultural elements. In the following image, it shows how the social, cultural, and spatial elements meet, along with the processes that contribute to the elements.
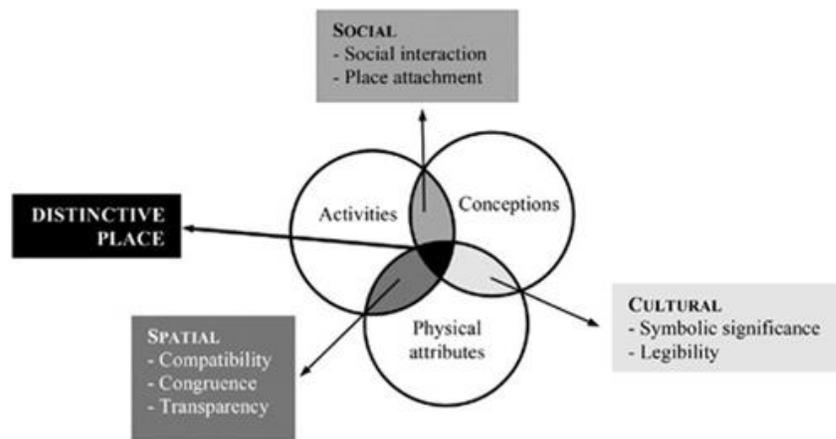
Figure 2: Sense of Place Framework. Source: Khirfan, 2014

A sense of place within public spaces is inherently one of the most important aspects of any given city, although in recent literature it has been argued that it is especially important in a cultural city. While most citizens spend their time commuting between home, work, and play, they will find themselves in public spaces. Places such as streets, sidewalks, parks, and boardwalks are all spaces where a sense of place and place attachment are cultivated. In addition, not only are there many different types of public space, but as cities become more diverse and connected through technology, policy-makers must consider new, inventive, and flexible ways to allow for interaction in these spaces (Landry, 2012).

Public spaces are used to assist with the creation of a sense of place. Ramlee, Omar, Yunus and Samadi (2015) expand on the importance of the role of place in regenerating public spaces

by explaining them as "the symbols of the contemporary city and tools in the revitalization of cities, thereby recreating the lost identity of a given city" (p. 364). This concept explains that through the process of revitalizing and creating public spaces and as people interact within the space place-making is initiated and through place-making people develop place attachment (Ramlee, Omar, Yunus, and Samadi, 2015). While the importance of public space has been emphasized, Dempsey and Burton (2012) claimed that although the creation of public spaces and sense of place are necessary, there is currently no function in place to measure the effectiveness of this practice.

2.4.1 Place-Making

There are varying ideas on how exactly place-making can be developed, yet most agree that it can not be falsely created, but rather is the result of people's perceptions within the space that generate place-making. Cilliers, Timmermans, Van den Goorbergh and Slijkhuis (2015) claimed that place-making is created through stories, whether the stories are real or imagined, does not change the attachment people will have to a place. While place-making can be measured through stories, it is rarely used as a research method in planning (Cilliers, Timmermans, Van den Goorbergh, & Slijkhuis, 2015).

As stated previously, although place-making can not be falsely created, cities can still develop policies to encourage the development of public spaces that in turn create place-making and place attachment. For instance, for cities to build on place-making strategies in planning, they must find a way to harness the communities shared and individual stories (Cilliers, Timmermans, Van den Goorbergh, & Slijkhuis, 2015; Sandercock, 2003). It is through varying perceptions of place-making, that the place itself becomes entirely "the various cultural layers that together define a community's culture" (Carr & Servon, 2008, p. 29).

People often have varying ideas as to what "their city" is, ideas that often are not even remotely similar (Stevenson, 2013). All citizens within a city will have different perspectives on what makes their community unique. Grodach (2009) built on this statement, stating that people's varying perspectives of place are a result of any combination of socioeconomic, demographic, and cultural factors, which in turn create their social identity. Furthermore, combining one's social identity with what the place is designated as or designed for can impact how they perceive the place (Grodach, 2009; Cilliers & Timmermans, 2014).

Yet, place-making strategies do not go without criticism. Grodach (2009) suggested that as a result of the highly-differentiated perspectives of a place, the space essentially functions to create both a sense of community while also perpetuating inequality. For instance, as people will have different expectations and attitudes about the place, some may feel excluded from being able to use the space (Grodach, 2009). While the above statement may be truer for some citizens over others, it may also be city and place dependent; there will need to be further research conducted in order to grasp the true extent of segregation as a result of place-making initiatives.

Building on Grodach's (2009) article, Cilliers and Timmermans (2014) stated that within planning, place-making is the actual transformation of any generic space into a meaningful place. Essentially, sense of place is when people develop an attachment to their communities, through relationships, history, events, and culture, it becomes a sense of belonging within the larger context of the city (Cilliers & Timmermans, 2014). It is through the process of place attachment and place-making that place-keeping becomes an integral part of community development.

Through their research, Dempsey & Burton (2012) built off the concept of place-making and emphasized the importance of place-keeping. The findings suggest that not only is place-keeping an important factor in perpetuating place-making, it also creates long-term benefits in

economic, environmental, and social contexts (Dempsey & Burton, 2012). As groups and individuals become invested in a place they develop place attachment and the desire for the place to remain the same, and in turn they will contribute to the ongoing success and maintenance of said place (Dempsey & Burton, 2012).

2.4.2   Place Branding

Norberg-Schulz (1980) defined place as the *genius loci,* otherwise known as the spirit of place. The spirit of place consists of "the meanings gathered by a place", the "expression of individual identity", and the history which creates the *Stimmung* "that ties man to 'his' place and strikes the visitor as a particular local quality" (Norberg-Schulz, 1980, p. 170, 180). According to John A. Jakle, as found in Jivén & Larkham, (2003) "the best person to experience and express the *genius loci* is not the resident but the tourist, for tourism 'involves the deliberate searching out of place experience'" (p. 69).

Unlike place-making, place-branding, also known as place-marketing, is when a city is actively creating an image of their city that they are using to draw more people into the city such as tourists and new permanent residents (Evans, 2003; Landry, 2012; Stevenson, 2013). Landry (2012) noted that certain words are commonly used in place-branding strategies, some of these words have included "intelligent", "green", or "creative", yet it can be assumed that variations thereof have all been used in some capacity. Stevenson (2013) defined place-branding as the process of discovering the uncommon and one-of-a-kind marketable features of the past, present, and future within a city and utilizing them to build-up the tourism industry.

Place-branding can be an effective strategy in boosting the local economy as those that come to the city will likely spend money on the consumption of goods and services associated with the tangible and intangible culture of a community. The ability to identify and utilize the

unique qualities of place can provide an excellent opportunity to attract tourists. However, DuCros and McKercher (2015) stated that "the failure of some elements of the tourism industry to explain intrinsic values detracts from the quality of the experience provided" (p. 26). Essentially, by not using the sense of place as a tool for economic growth, stakeholder groups are losing out on a useful opportunity.

As Hume (2013) explained "there are obvious links between tourism promotion and attraction and the arts/heritage/cultural assets and attractions of a region" (p. 10). While these strategies are often used to bring new life into the community in an effort to regenerate it, it does not go without issues as it could have potentially negative effects on the community. Some of these issues can include environmental concerns, affordability problems, and over-crowding (Evans, 2001). While some of the issues can arise solely from overuse by locals, they are strongly attributed to the increase of tourism within a place or city (Evans, 2001).

As with any gentrifying, revitalizing, or renewal projects there is bound to be adverse consequences. Landry (2012) explained that while professionals are brought in with their breadth of knowledge, tips and tricks in marketing, they have a lack of understanding of the actual community. As a result, professionals can be damaging to the local identity in which they intend to market towards the tourists (Landry, 2012).

Van Holm (2015) builds on this concept by outlining a significant social issue with tourism development; as cities try to market their authenticity to tourists they displace vulnerable people from their home communities. In an effort to try and avoid the displacement of locals, Jones (2007) offered the following solution:

It has become increasingly necessary to make sure that all current and future

developments be considered as part of a more comprehensive regeneration

strategy that should embrace both economic and social objectives and aim to

achieve well balanced and integrated social and economic policy objectives for

the future prosperity of these areas (p. 148).

In other words, public space development projects must take on a cultural planning approach in

order to create communities where all stakeholders are involved in the process. Tourism

development also must fit into the larger framework model, especially when tourism is the major

economic driver within these cities.

2.4.3 Authenticity of Place

Authenticity is a difficult term to define, as authenticity is subjective while also

restrictive (Taylor, 2001; Wang, 1999). For instance, can a place ever really be authentic, is the

history of the place the authenticity? Is it the present, that may vary widely from what some may

consider the place to actually be? When authenticity is analysed in the context of tourism, it can

become an even harder term to define. Wang (1999) states that there are in fact two distinct

components to authenticity, first there is the experience and second there is the physical objects.

Wang (1999) further separated authenticity into three categories: objective, constructive, and

existential. Both objective and constructive authenticity are object-related whereas existential

authenticity is activity-based.

Fainstein and Gladstone (1999) claimed that due to the fact that tourism is consumed as

an experience rather than as a product, the product they are consuming is for the most part

perceptual, and as a result subjective. Rickly-Boyd (2013) examined current research on

authenticity and more specifically authenticity as an existential experience in tourism. It was

discovered that while place was a defining term and key focus on authenticity, it has since moved towards examining a person's experiences and emotions within the place that are in actuality the true authenticity (Rickly-Boyd, 2013).

In order to gain a deeper understanding of how authenticity is produced in tourism, Rickly-Boyd (2013) suggested that interviews with tourists on their experiences, particularly descriptors and explanations, as well as observations of tourists while they are experiencing place, should be the main method in researching authenticity within places. This method would be an effective strategy as authenticity is a subjective term, the researcher would need to analyse the participants' subjective perceptions.

Ramkissoon and Uysel (2011) utilized the aforementioned method and conducted a study examining tourists' expectations and perceptions of cultural spaces in various locations. The findings from the study determined that the tourists believed that authenticity was a historical representation of material objects as well as a spectacular landscape (Ramkissoon & Uysel, 2011). This may be attributed to the understanding that the authenticity of place is in actuality the aspects that make the place unique from others.

Once the research was completed, Ramkissoon and Uysel (2011) also established that "to date studies investigating the influence of tourists' perceived authenticity on their cultural behavioural intentions is limited in literature" (p. 554). Furthermore, once tourists' perceptions of authenticity are researched it "would allow marketers, planners and other stakeholders of the tourism industry to broaden their understanding of tourists' felt authenticity in cultural tourism consumption" (Ramkissoon & Uysel, 2011, p. 555).

Unlike the other researchers, Maitland (2007) believed that it is not a dichotomy between inauthentic and authentic, but rather tourists are looking to visit a place that is unlike the locale from which they are from. It is the unique, rather than the authentic experiences that drive the tourists' reason for travel. By not over-marketing the location, tourists are less likely to be disappointed with the place they are visiting, for instance "[the place] may be no more 'authentic' but [it] may be experienced by visitors as more distinctive, and thus valued" (Maitland, 2007, p. 27). In sum, the tourists are not necessarily interested in "real" experiences but rather an experience that is one of a kind.

Taylor (2001) stated that "tourism projects which invoke the culturally 'authentic' thereby seek to 'realize' value and uniqueness in their products" (p. 10). However, if cities are overmarketing their distinct features and the tourists believe they are consuming an "authentic" experience, it can result in "the perversion of local culture, the alienation of the tourist, and a strained social relation between hosts and guests (Fainstein & Gladstone, 1999, p. 28). In order to develop a balance between creating an accurate projection of place while maintaining its unique sense of place created by locals than it is important to be able to involve the locals in tourism development so that they can feel a sense of responsibility for it, as manifested through place-keeping.

2.5 Summary

There is a significant amount of research in the literature that emphasizes the importance of inclusive stakeholder participation in emerging cultural planning trends; all stakeholder perspectives must be considered in the development and ongoing responsibility of a community. It is vital for a community to consider individuals' place attachments that develop in regard to space, as their perspectives will essentially shape the location's sense of place. Furthermore, all

citizens and tourists alike will have varying perspectives of place, due to their social identity within the larger framework of the community, it is critical to develop communities that focus on inclusivity and diversity.

Much of the research that explores community-based, inclusive strategies in tourism development have focused on peripheral communities in developing nations, there seems to be a lack of research that examines these approaches to tourism in developed nations. There should be further research into how best practice, inclusive approaches in tourism might be applied to numerous locations. This could assist with identifying whether a community-based, inclusive tourism strategy is place contingent or whether it is inherently necessary for effective tourism planning and management regardless of tourism drivers and location. For instance, a community-led approach may not be an effective strategy depending on the type of tourism that is occurring, so this would need to be taken into account when applying it to a specific location.

When planning for tourism it is advantageous to apply a cultural planning strategy, as places run the risk of losing their uniqueness and authenticity due to the influx of visitors. However, the loss of sense of place can be mitigated by involving the public in the development process, developing private-public partnerships, and creating places that encourage place-keeping. In order for tourism, public spaces, and the cultural economy to develop effectively and holistically than stakeholders and policy-makers must "acknowledge how important being sensitive to culture is and they will balance being globally oriented and locally authentic" (Landry, p. xxiii, 2008).

There were some major gaps in the literature that will need to be further analysed to garner a more in depth understanding of the synergy between tourism, place, and cultural planning. One area that is lacking information is whether there is actually an effective all-inclusive model for

cultural planning, and if so, where might it be located and can it be duplicated. Also, the interaction people have in the exchange of material and non-material goods within the public spaces, in particular who is benefitting is lacking in available information. Finally, the extent of segregation between locals and tourists in public spaces will need to be analysed, more specifically whether it is systemic and wide-spread or localized and case sensitive.

Furthermore, as tourism is increasing, there will need to be further research conducted regarding discourse between locals and government to alleviate the concerns that may arise from an influx of visitors. The cultural planning approach may be the necessary process in effectively appeasing all stakeholders as it will allow for economic growth while considering the maintenance of unique, culturally significant, and accessible places.

Based on the literature reviewed, the overarching question for this thesis is how to use stakeholders' perspectives to define the sense of place, so that it could provide a unique, quality tourism experience that will increase economic development potential in the local community. Yet, there were other questions that needed to be addressed in to answer the above question. The secondary research questions included:

- Is cultural planning currently being utilized as a development strategy in Yellowknife? And if so, how?
- What is the role of cultural planning in tourism development and management strategies?
- What tourism management strategies can be implemented in small post primary industry led communities?
- What is the relationship between cultural planning, tourism, and place-making in Yellowknife?
- How does the development of the tourism industry affect the local community? What strategies can be implemented to mitigate these potential issues?

3 METHODOLOGY

3.1 Mixed Method Approach

When performing research in the social sciences the mixed method approach can be very useful (Creswell, 2014). The mixed method social science theory is useful as it draws from a variety of different fields; in the context of this research I examined economics, marketing, and planning (Creswell, 2014). Curran (2008) states that mixed methods are "specifically designed to incorporate multiple sources of information from multiple approaches to afford new insights into the social world" (p. 223). As a result, it was decided to approach this research using both qualitative and quantitative methods, otherwise known as a mixed method approach.

Qualitative data collection was the primary method for this thesis; however, some quantitative methods have also been utilized. Of the qualitative methods employed there was semi-structured interviews and supplementary participant observation, as well as document review utilized to establish the case study. The quantitative method portion involved statistical analysis of documents released by the city, territorial, and federal governments to determine the rapid growth of tourism in Yellowknife.

The mixed method approach was selected as it would provide me with the opportunity to analyze both objective and subjective data. Due to my history within the community I needed to be able to examine objectively that Yellowknife tourism rates were increasing, as I could not simply state that this was the case. While I may have personally known that these rates were growing, it would not have lent to the credibility of my research.

I have identified that there is a need to gain the perspectives from locals and tourists in order to identify their interactions and definitions of place in accordance within the context of

Yellowknife. These perspectives needed to be collected both through interviews as well as observations (Rickly-Boyd, 2013). By identifying how tourists and locals interact with place it could provide greater insight into how cultural planning could be implemented in Yellowknife.

As Rickly-Boyd (2013) suggested, interviews with tourists needed to be conducted to gain an understanding of existential authenticity. This will allow me to identify the key themes they felt related to tourism in Yellowknife. Furthermore, this will allow me to identify how tourism is currently being planned, developed, and managed within the community. But first, I needed to identify whether a growing tourism industry was occurring.

The objectivity of the statistical data provided me with the numbers to prove that Yellowknife was in fact experiencing a tourism explosion. Furthermore, by outlining the case study in an objective manner it provides the reader with the background information necessary to determine why this research has been undertaken. On the other hand, the interviews would provide me with the subjective data necessary to determine how tourism was being planned, regulated, and managed in Yellowknife. The subjective opinions produced from the interviews allowed me to determine how locals and tourists were formulating their individualized sense of place within the community.

During the collection of data and subsequent analysis, it was necessary for me to maintain a sense of self-reflection during the entire project. This was an important ongoing strategy to implement, as Fielding (2012) outlines that when using a mixed method approach the researcher must consider their own biases. This was especially vital in this research project as my personal history as a local from Yellowknife may have impacted the research as my subjective opinions of tourism could not be injected into the research. Personal self-reflection in subjective data

collection and analysis could be tempered by the incorporation of objective materials such as statistical data as well as through the critical review of the qualitative findings.

The statistical analysis provided me with an objective overview of tourism trends in Yellowknife. However, regardless of whether the information was objective, it still needed to be analyzed. For instance, the statistical data collected during my research had varying numbers. Although the data was objective in nature, by demonstrating numbers rather than opinions, it was still necessary for me to consider that the initial data would have been interpreted by another researcher whose subjectivity may have influenced the numbers they were reporting.

This data provided me with the information necessary to establish that there is a quickly growing tourism industry in Yellowknife. Building on the statistical data, I then examined current documents to create a contextual base for the case study of Yellowknife, NT. Both elements collectively define the past and present economic trends within the community, while also establishing an objective image of how Yellowknife was established and how it functions as a city today.

Based on the suggestion by Rickly-Boyd (2013), the semi-structured interviews were then undertaken to determine locals' and tourists' existential perspectives of sense of place in Yellowknife. It is important to note that while the interviews with government officials were conducted, these interviews were not necessarily subjective, as government employees needed to remain diplomatic with their responses. Participant observation was used as a supplementary method to witness how tourists were experiencing tourism activities in Yellowknife. The collection of subjective data from both locals and tourists forms the basis of what this thesis aims to achieve, which is the establishment of greater public participation in the development of the tourism industry in Yellowknife. Further detail on each method is outlined below.

3.2 Quantitative Approach

Quantitative data collection is an objective approach in the research process. While it is necessary to approach research with an open mind, it can be difficult in quantitative methods to identify different processes other than what is evident in the data. Maxwell (2010) identifies key issues with using quantitative data, and more specifically statistical data, as the sole research method. The issues that can arise are the oversimplification of the numbers, that quantitative data is too linear, statistical data can not explain how it identified its findings, and the numbers may be taken as too accurate, definitive, and scientific which in turn can harm the validity of a conclusion (Maxwell, 2010). However, quantitative data analysis can be an effective method when establishing that there may be a numerical trend, such as rising numbers in tourism and economic gains.

3.2.1 Statistical Analysis

A very brief statistical analysis was conducted to identify whether the number of tourists and capital gains were in fact changing over the last five years in Yellowknife. The statistical data confirmed that there was a rapidly growing tourism industry within Yellowknife. This provided for a solid objective quantitative method necessary to support and contrast the qualitative methods.

The statistical data to be analyzed included the number of visitors to the Northwest Territories, their primary purpose for travel, tourist spending, as well as hotel occupancy numbers. Numbers from the City of Yellowknife, the Government of the Northwest Territories, as well as the Government of Canada were examined. This quantitative method of statistical analysis was used primarily to document that there was an expanding tourism industry in Yellowknife. Once the numbers demonstrated sufficient evidence of growth, I determined that it

was necessary to begin understanding the historical and present perspectives of place in Yellowknife through qualitative methods.

3.3   Qualitative Approach

Unlike quantitative methods, qualitative methods focus on subjective and reflective data collection both from the participant as well as the researcher. Where quantitative data involves the hard-set objective numbers, and can only be interpreted by what the numbers show, qualitative data is entirely subjective as data can be interpreted in numerous ways with numerous meanings. There are many ways in which qualitative data can be collected, such as interviews, participant observation, as well as through audio and visual materials (Creswell, 2014). Creswell (2014) stated that when examining a specific site or case study, qualitative data can be of most value as it provides for a deeper understanding of the ideas and explanations regarding the study.

Three qualitative methods were selected for this research. Along with statistical analysis, document review, otherwise known as audio and visual materials, were selected in order to establish Yellowknife in context with its past and present economy, culture, and state of tourism. Both methods are found in the context chapter. However, as the purpose of this study was to examine the effects of tourism on the local population and to identify the experiences that tourists have in Yellowknife, NT, semi-structured interviews were selected as the primary research method.

Semi-structured interviews would allow for a deeper understanding of the actual subjective perspectives from locals and tourists. Finally, participant observation was a supplementary method selected to establish greater understanding of participants described experiences. In sum, quantitative research by means of statistical data provided the evidence necessary to support the fact that tourism has been increasing, while qualitative document review established Yellowknife

as the case study. Finally, interviews as well as participant observation contributed predominately to the findings.

3.3.1   Document Review

Document review was utilized in order to develop my understanding of Yellowknife's history in order to better inform the reader of how Yellowknife was initially developed and how tourism is currently being addressed in the community. Document review is included in qualitative analysis as it is the researcher's interpretation of information that defines the framework. This document review will form the basis to understanding the current sense of place within Yellowknife as the context will establish a general understanding of the unique sense of place within the community. The documents used to establish Yellowknife's history included: *Yellowknife's Rich History*, *Weledeh Yellowknives Dene: A History,* and *Yellowknife Heritage Building Project: City of Yellowknife Heritage Committee.*

To supplement the aforementioned documents, tourism documents and websites that have been released by the City of Yellowknife, government organizations, and third parties were also examined. The documents regarding tourism that were reviewed included: *City of Yellowknife: 2015-2019 Tourism Strategy Background Reports; City of Yellowknife: 2015-2019 Tourism Strategy; City of Yellowknife 2017 Budget; City of Yellowknife: Destination Marketing Strategy;* and the *City of Yellowknife: 2014-2019 Economic Development Strategy Background Report.* These documents formed the basis of my contextual research, however it was impossible to examine all documents as new documents were emerging every day. For instance, while I was conducting my research the City of Yellowknife was in the process of developing a destination marketing organization, and therefore new information regarding tourism was constantly surfacing.

These supplementary documents and websites allowed me to develop a greater understanding of what important cultural aspects of Yellowknife these organizations were utilizing as a focus for attracting tourists to the north. Some of these documents and websites included: *City of Yellowknife's 2017 Visitor's Guide: Discover Our Yellowknife: A Vibrant City in the Heart of the Wilderness*; and *Visit Yellowknife: Gateway to the North.*

Additionally, I went beyond the Northwest Territories capital city of Yellowknife and examined how tourism has been marketed across the territory. This provided a basis in which to place the context of Yellowknife's tourism. The documents that were used in this portion of my analysis included: *NWT Tourism Marketing Plan 2015-16; Strong Cultures, Strong Territory: GNWT Culture and Heritage Strategic Framework;* and *Territorial Tourism Indicators*. By identifying Yellowknife's tourism industry in relation to the Northwest Territories, I was able to determine whether the effects of tourism were on a local or regional level.

3.3.2   Interviews

Interviews comprised the primary method of how I would collect my data. In total, I completed fifteen interviews with locals, tourists, and key informants; there was a total of five interviews completed with each group. Due to my personal history in the community it was relatively straightforward to find willing locals to participate in the interviews. Similarly, key informants, such as government employees, tour guides, and local business owners, were also relatively accessible to contact for interviews.

As for finding willing tourists, I requested assistance from the Northern Frontier Visitor's Center (NFVC), local businesses and residents to assist in contacting tourists that would be willing to participate. All interviews were conducted in a semi-structured format as this allowed me "to gain insight into how people attribute meaning to their worlds in social interaction"

(Grindsted, 2005, p. 1015). Furthermore, semi-structured interviews were selected as they can provide for a more organic interview process that will allow the researcher to request clarification and follow-up questions to participants' responses (Paine, 2015).

The interviews were used to gain extensive subjective information from participants relating to tourism and sense of place within Yellowknife. For instance, locals and key informants were asked about their thoughts about increasing numbers of tourists entering their community, areas of the community that were interesting, declining, and needing improvement. Similarly, tourists were questioned about what types of activities they participated in, their thoughts about Yellowknife prior to arrival, what their current thoughts are, and whether their ideas of Yellowknife have changed.

The overlying perspectives from participants provided me with the information necessary to identify some of the key issues and benefits locals and tourists identified with tourism in Yellowknife. By establishing key themes throughout the interviews, I would then be able to make recommendations to the City of Yellowknife for improving their approach to tourism development and place-making strategies in the community.

Locals & Tourists

As mentioned previously, semi-structured interviews were selected as the primary research method as they allowed for a more relaxed interview setting. When considering my history with the community, this method seemed the most suitable. However, the interviews were also conducted with various people from different backgrounds in order to access a wide breadth of perspectives. For instance, I tried to interview tourists from different countries and locals from different working environments and areas of town.

As a means to obtain a fairly representative number, I conducted five interviews with locals and tourists, as outlined above. However, it is important to note that the locals carried numerous roles within the community, whether they sat on numerous committees, owned a business, or volunteered in tourism. Therefore, those who were identified as locals, while they may have different insights, their primary position is based on their role as a local resident.

Both groups were asked general questions in regard to their opinions of Yellowknife, however, due to the interview being semi-structured the conversation at times veered slightly off-topic and I always needed to bring it back to the research questions. Both groups were asked to discuss some of the locations and activities within Yellowknife, what they thought was unique about Yellowknife, as well as any general opinions about the community and tourism.

While the questions for tourists and locals were generally quite similar, there was some variation in basic questions such as "how long have you lived here" directed at locals, as opposed to "how long will you be visiting for" directed at tourists. Interviews with locals and tourists provided me with a good basic understanding of how both groups perceived Yellowknife whether similar or vastly different, and whether the city can maintain its unique culture while drawing in tourism for economic development.

Key Informants

Interviews were also conducted with five key informants from within the municipal and territorial governments, and with key informants currently working in the tourism industry. Individuals from the City of Yellowknife, the NFVC, the Prince of Wales Northern Heritage Centre (PWNHC), the Yellowknife Heritage Committee, the NWT Mining Heritage Society, and the Yellowknives Dene First Nations (YKDFN). These individuals were selected as they knew a

great deal about the past, present, and future state of tourism, culture, place-making and economic development within Yellowknife. Many of the locals and key informants sat on multiple committees and took on multiple roles, so while it seems impossible to have so many insights in only so many interviews, each interview provided me with numerous perspectives.

Although interviews with locals, tourists, government employees, and those involved in various committees provided invaluable subjective and objective opinions in tourism, I also organized two interviews with local tour operators. It was necessary for me to interview representatives who were directly involved with tourism activity and interacted with tourists, whether it was a dog-sled team, a fishing outfitter, or an Aurora Borealis tour operator. The questions directed towards the key informants were the same as those posed to locals. The decision to ask the same questions of key informants and locals was based on the fact that many locals in Yellowknife assume many roles within the community.

Once the interviews were completed they were transcribed into easily readable documents. This allowed me to better analyze the interviews and to find common trends throughout. Each question from the interviews was systematically cross referenced between the other questions to identify the participants' responses. Once the key themes in each question were identified I used a colour coding system. For instance, if a participant discussed food in their interview I then would examine the rest of their interview to look for similar words or ideas. The theme was assigned a colour and then all information relating to food was compiled and analyzed. This method allowed me to identify how often the theme was mentioned and in what context. I would then examine other participants' responses to identify whether the same theme was mentioned in their interviews as well. All the participants' responses to the theme were then compiled to generate a deeper understanding of how it related to the research. After I transcribed the

interviews I shared a copy of the interview with the participant for their own records and review. This allowed the participant to correct, expand, or eliminate any of their comments if they felt they were misleading or misconstrued.

3.3.3   Participant Observation

The final method in my data collection was participant observation, which provided for an even greater perspective of tourism activity in Yellowknife. Participant observation was not a significant research method but rather was used as a supplementary method to my semi-structured interviews. Researchers state that this research method allows the researcher to become involved in the community and activity for an extended period which in turn allows the researcher to not only collect data but also become a participant themselves either directly or indirectly (Davies & Hughes, 2014; Kendall & Thangaraj, 2013; Silverman, 2011). Silverman (2011) provides further insight into this claim by stating that "all social research is a form of participant observation, because we cannot study the social world without being part of it" (p. 117).

This form of data collection was undertaken in two different ways. The first step in my participant observation was to partake in the actual tours with local tour companies. There were two different occasions when I went out with a tour company. Both tours were marketed as aurora tours and while both companies offered similar experiences they were still very different. For instance, while both tours took the tourists out to lodges on Great Slave Lake to watch the Aurora Borealis, one tour had five tourists and the other had approximately 25 tourists. Also, both tours offered food and beverages for the tourists, yet while one tour provided fresh fish the other operator provided store bought food.

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During the tours with the tour operators I had intended to blend in as a tourist, unfortunately due to my perfect English and Canadian features, tourists mistook me for an employee. It was in these cases where the tourists asked me about myself that I told them I was a student researcher and discussed their experiences. Before my purpose for being on the tour was discovered, I was able to observe how the tourists interacted with the natural and built environment as well as with each other on the tours. The tours provided me with an understanding of the subjective experiences the tourists were gaining and how they were experiencing different sites in and around Yellowknife.

The second way in which I conducted participant observation was by volunteering at the NFVC. I spent a total of twelve hours at the Visitor's Centre; while there I assisted with answering tourists' questions, taking payments, and observed how the tourists experienced the centre. It should be noted that the amount of time spent assisting the tourists and being a tourist on the local tours was relatively similar, plus or minus an hour or two.

3.4   Synthesis

All of the methods were chosen on the basis that a sense of place and experience are entirely subjective opinions, however, as cities create strategies to draw people to their cities they inherently create an image of how they expect others to view the place. Therefore, it was necessary to develop an objective, quantifiable base to demonstrate that tourism is growing in Yellowknife and then I approached the research by subjective, qualitative means to understand the locals' and tourists' experiences. Once the methods had been completed and the data had been analyzed it provided me with a significant amount of data to identify whether the City of Yellowknife's tourism and place-making strategies are effective or whether they are creating a false image of Yellowknife.

3.5   Limitations

To conduct any research in the Northwest Territories it was imperative to gain a research license beyond the University of Waterloo's research ethics clearance. The research license was completed and submitted for review to be either approved or denied by the Aurora Research Institute. To gain approval, I needed to submit all of the necessary research documents that included my proposal, all the documents I submitted to ethics, and an application form, along with a processing fee. Once the package had been received, the Aurora Research Institute distributed the package to various organizations who needed to approve my research request. The organizations included the City of Yellowknife, North Slave Métis Alliance, Northwest Territory Métis Nation, Wek'èezhìi Renewable Resources Board, and Yellowknives Dene First Nation.

While all organizations had no comments about the research, it did place a strain on my time frame. It was not brought to my attention that a research license needed to be acquired until a week before my first research trip was intended to commence. I spent a good portion of time trying to contact all the organizations for expedited approval, however the final approval was not completed until after my initial research trip, despite numerous phone calls and emails to the organization.

Also, research licenses are only valid until the end of the calendar year, in other words, I needed to complete all my research by December 31st, 2016, which meant that by the time I had gained approval I had only two months to complete my research. As a result of the aforementioned set-backs I decided it would be most beneficial to return to Yellowknife three weeks earlier than initially anticipated for the second research trip.

Finding locals and tourists to interview was relatively simple, however, key informants tended to be slightly more standoffish. For instance, I had sent out numerous emails to

government employees and tour guides with either no reply or short responses. This happened in almost every case. Once the key informants discovered that I was a local, born and raised in Yellowknife, they were much more receptive to assist me with the interviews and to provide me with any further information.

Of the ten tour companies I had contacted, only three responded, many of whom were contacted by phone and email as well as in-person visits. Two of the tour companies agreed to be interviewed, with one of these companies taking me on a tour in which I conducted my participant observation. The third company that did take me on a tour for participant observation was extremely reluctant to take me on a tour and did not want to be interviewed; if it was not for an employee of the tour company being a close family friend it is fair to say that this opportunity would not have occurred.

There were some limitations during the semi-structured interviews as well, but mostly due to my own pitfalls. When conducting the interviews, it was difficult for me not to mention my own opinions on different issues that the participants were discussing, especially when many of the locals and key informants specifically asked for my opinions. In order to extract the participants' information without inserting my own opinions into the paper I needed to reflect on my inputs during the interview as well as when I was completing the follow-up analysis.

For instance, if a local began discussing a certain location or activity in Yellowknife they would at times stop and ask my opinion, and I found myself on occasion needing to stop the conversation from turning too casual. In order to keep the flow of the interview I would often times say things like "hmm interesting" or "I don't know", then ask the participant the next question on the list. Yet, there were a few times when I did find myself beginning to inject my own opinions.

When I reviewed the interview transcriptions, I needed to critically analyze the participants' responses, as I needed to consider whether the participant was playing off my cues or whether their response were entirely their own. As the transcriptions were analysed there were some instances where I determined that the participant's answers could not be used as they seemed to be responding to a comment I had made. While this was extremely unfortunate, it also demonstrates that it can be difficult to perform research in a community where you have a history as the local community and you may be more at ease with one another.

4 CONTEXT

4.1 First Residents

Yellowknife, Northwest Territories is located a mere 400km from the Arctic Circle. With a population of approximately 20,960 residents (NWT Bureau of Statistics, n.d.) the city is relatively small by most urban center standards. Yellowknife has what would be considered a transient population, as people often move in and out of the community for a variety of reasons and do not stay for long. People move to Yellowknife from southern and northern parts of Canada, as well as internationally, mainly in search of employment opportunities. While most migrants only intend to stay for a short time, usually with the intent to stay for only two to three years, many of the migrants stay for longer periods of time, if not permanently.

The city was established in the 1930s as a mining community when gold was discovered by pioneers. The history of how the gold rush began is still disputed today; the most widely accepted story is that gold ore was traded to the pioneers, and specifically to Johnny Baker by a Wıılıìdeh woman, and that it was this discovery in 1934 that began the Yellowknife gold rush. While the gold discovery initiated the establishment of a permanent settlement, the area now known as Yellowknife has had a strong First Nations presence long before the 1930s.

For hundreds, if not thousands, of years the area surrounding and within Yellowknife's boundaries was home to the Wıılıìdeh Yellowknives Dene First Nations (YKDFN), or T'satsąot'inę, not to be mistaken for Tli Cho Dene whom live further north than YKDFN (Yellowknives Dene First Nation Elders Advisory Council, 1997). YKDFN's name has evolved from many different names, some of which have included the Copper Indians and the Red Knives before eventually becoming the Yellowknives (Yellowknives Dene First Nation Elders

Advisory Council, 1997). Unlike popular belief, the City of Yellowknife was named after YKDFN and not for the gold as is often falsely stated.

Even today YKDFN are defending their existence as a community. Due to inaccurate claims by former archaeologists, current records state that YKDFN are extinct, along with their language and territory (Yellowknives Dene First Nation Elders Advisory Council, 1997). This inaccuracy is slowly changing as some organizations begin to recognize YKDFN as an historically accurate long-term community situated on the northern shores of Great Slave Lake.
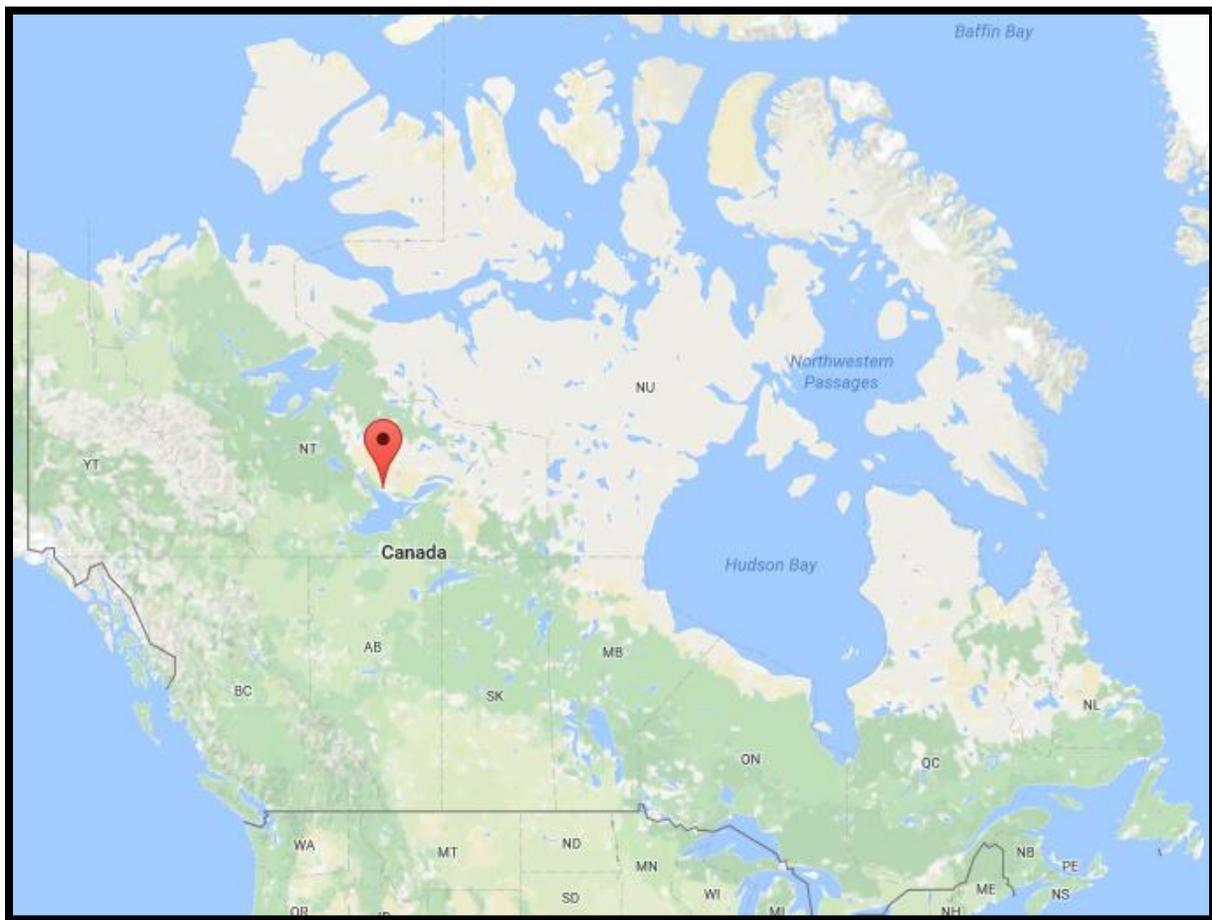
Figure 3: Yellowknife, NT, Canada. Source: Google Maps, 2017

This long-established discrepancy has resulted in YKDFN having difficulty in claiming their land as a result of the disputes, not only is it hard for YKDFN to prove their traditional land is theirs but they also find that the government and other indigenous peoples are able to claim YKDFN's traditional lands for their own use (Yellowknives Dene First Nation Elders Advisory Council, 1997). This has been an ongoing issue for the YKDFN and has carried into the tourism industry, particularly when tour companies are building lodges and camps on YKDFN's ancestral lands.

More recently the PWNHC, Yellowknife's museum, has begun to recognize YKDFN's history on the land. The museum has just recently installed the first ever exhibit dedicated solely to the members of YKDFN. This exhibit will be on display from October 2015-October 2018 and features YKDFN's cultural heritage through both tangible and intangible mediums such as traditional clothing and artifacts as well as oral histories and photographs. It should also be noted that this exhibit does not solely focus on YKDFN as a traditional people but also in a modern setting.

4.2 The Discovery of Gold

As mentioned earlier, it was the discovery of gold deposits in the ore that started the growth of the fur traders' and gold miners' settlements in the area. It should be noted that the establishment of Yellowknife came at a time when southern Canada was quickly modernizing. The gold discovery in Yellowknife established a community that was not only isolated from the south but was decades behind its southern counterparts. Overtime, more and more people moved to Yellowknife to set-up their own gold claims, and brought their families along, thus establishing Yellowknife as a permanent settlement.

Yellowknife's first gold mine, Con Mine, was opened in 1938 and immediately created a small boom within the community (NWT Mining Heritage Society, n.d.). While Yellowknife did experience a small pause in growth during World War II, this did not last for very long. Yellowknife continued to grow through the late 1940s, when the Giant Mine site was established on Yellowknife's Back Bay where Johnny Baker had traded the stove pipes for the gold ore with the YKFDN woman 15 years' prior (NWT Mining Heritage Society, n.d.).

Even though the community was booming throughout the following decades it maintained a frontier, old-world feel as the rest of Canada advanced while Yellowknife remained frozen in time. This was a direct result of there being no roads or rail tracks for people and goods to travel to and from the community. Yellowknife was extremely isolated from the southern parts of Canada; as a result, the pioneers and adventure seekers relied on two methods of transportation to receive incoming goods, either by way of barges from Hay River located on the south side of Great Slave Lake or float planes, which had skis rather than floats in the winter months.

While over time the community began to use a ferry-crossing during the summer months and an ice-road during the winter, Yellowknife still experienced weeks on end of isolation during fall freeze-up and spring thaw. It was not until 2012 when the Deh Cho Bridge was completed that Yellowknife was opened to year-round ground transportation access.

4.3   Modern Times in Yellowknife

While the gold mines experienced ongoing production for the first three decades, Yellowknife was quickly becoming a larger urban center, and in 1967 it was declared the capital of the Northwest Territories. During this period, Yellowknife was fondly dubbed by locals as "a small drinking town with a government problem", as stated by Participant L3 a popular saying among locals even today. This quote was the result of many Yellowknifers being employed by

the city, territorial, and federal governments. So, while the city became the new capital, and with it more respectable, white-collar jobs, the drinking and the old unpolished, pioneering ways remained a popular pastime for the locals during the long winters.

The 1990s were a busy time in Yellowknife as the economy experienced a major economic shift. In 1991 diamonds were discovered just north of Yellowknife, while the gold mines began to decline in production (NWT Mining Heritage Society, n.d.). The first diamond mine was opened in 1998 and the last gold mine in Yellowknife closed its doors in 2004 (NWT Mining Heritage Society, n.d.). Since then, diamond mines have become a large contributor to the economy and employment provider, yet even the diamond mines have begun to slow down with layoffs and the relocation of head offices to the south happening as recently as fall 2016.

What does remain of Yellowknife's relatively young culture and heritage is the Old Town. Abandoned mining sites, historical downtown buildings, as well as various outposts in and around the city are what remain from the first days of settlement. All of the tangible structures are a fair representation of the cultural heritage from both a First Nations and a European perspective, all of which contribute to defining what makes Yellowknife a unique community.

Buildings such as the Wildcat Café, the old Hudson's Bay Warehouse, Back Bay Cemetery, and Fireweed Studio are four of the nine designated heritage sites within Yellowknife city limits. However, there are many other historical sites around the community that, although not designated heritage sites, still contribute to the collective memory of Yellowknife's pioneering history such as Bullock's Fish and Chips, Pilot's Monument, as well as the now demolished Robertson Headframe, an iconic building printed on many souvenirs and with much controversy surrounding its demolition.

The significant sites within Yellowknife are marked on the map below. All of the red dots represent a building or site that holds historical significance within the community's development. These sites have been identified in a project commissioned by the NWT Mining Heritage Society. To identify the sites, old newspaper articles, land titles, directories, land titles, and personal recollections were used to identify the sites. As can be evidenced, the majority of the properties are clustered around the Old Town and Downtown neighbourhoods with some buildings and sites located at former mine sites, with Giant Mine in the far right square and Con Mine in the far left square.
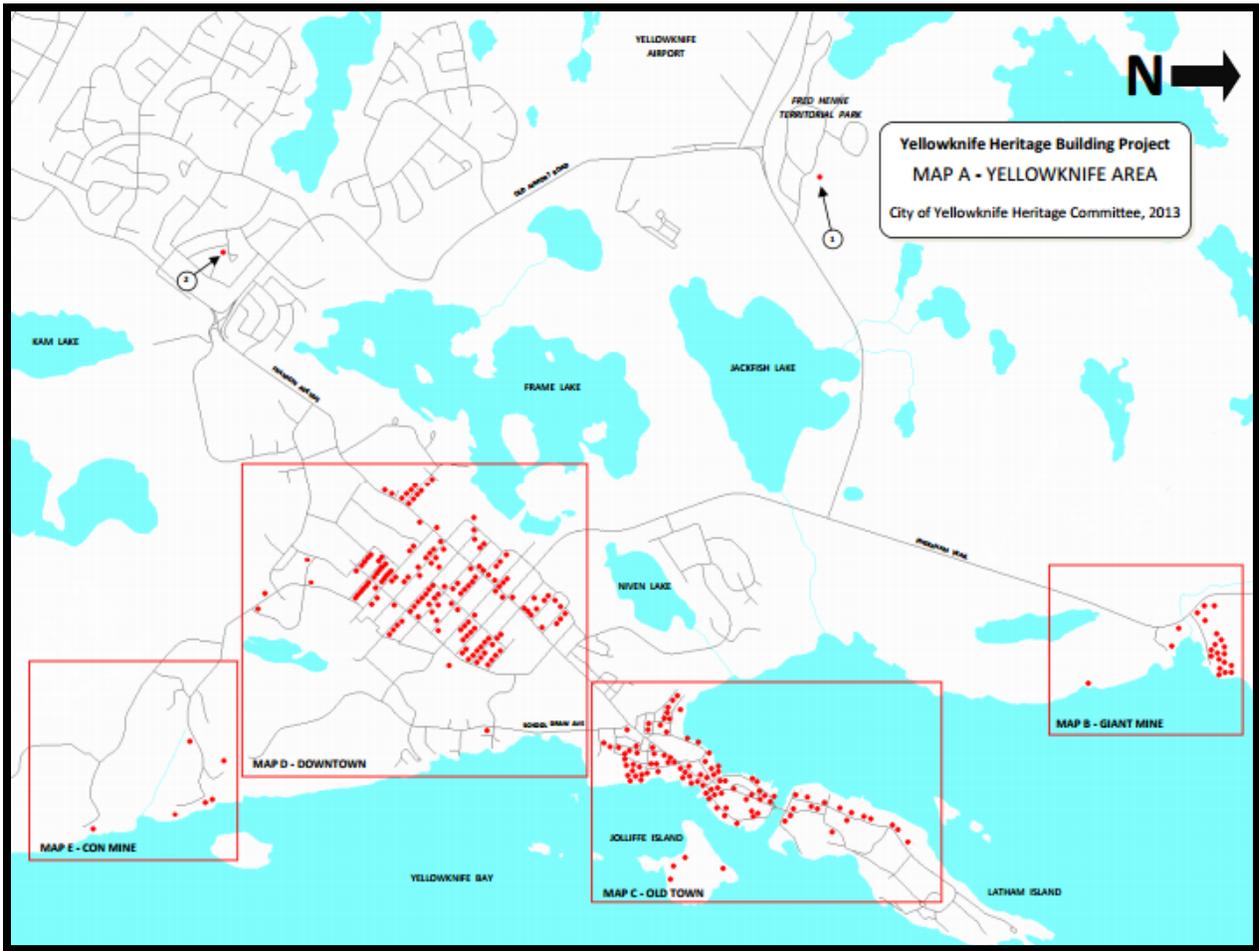

Figure 4: Historical Sites in Yellowknife. Source: Silke, R. 2016

Yet, there is more to the uniqueness and the definition of place in Yellowknife than what remains of the old heritage buildings. For instance, many of the locals claim that Yellowknife is a special place and that those who choose to reside in the community have a different character than southerners, as it takes a special type of person to live in such an isolated community. It is Yellowknife's history and the people that have contributed to the unique place that it is today; it is through the shared experiences and interactions with each other and the environment that Yellowknife has developed its authentic sense of place. However, a community can not survive on its tangible and intangible cultural heritage and sense of place, rather the unique qualities of a location can become a vessel to promote new industries, such as tourism, when former primary industries are no longer viable.

4.4   Tourism Growth

Currently, tourism is "the single largest renewable resource based industry in the NWT" (The Canadian Trade Commissioner Service, 2016) and considering Yellowknife accounts for roughly half of the population of the Northwest Territories it is an important industry for the City of Yellowknife. Tourism currently brings in approximately $140 million a year into the Northwest Territories (City of Yellowknife, 2016a). Also, as visitors must stop in Yellowknife to continue their journey north, it is reasonable to assume that much of the money brought to the Northwest Territories remains in the capital city. The City of Yellowknife's Economic Development Strategy 2014-2019 (n.d.) states that during the study, tourism was the most widely mentioned economic opportunity by the study's local participants; the value of tourism does not go unnoticed by locals.

The City of Yellowknife's 2017 Budget released significant numbers demonstrating the explosion of tourism in Yellowknife. For instance, the NFVC witnessed 40,000 people come

through the doors in 2016 (City of Yellowknife, 2016a), while this number is roughly double the population of Yellowknife, it can not be taken as a hard-set number. The NFVC does attempt to record numbers for those who access the center based on where they are from, why they travelled to Yellowknife, and how many are in their party. However, as a result of the recordings being simply pen to paper it can be an unreliable method of recording the number of visitors. For instance, there are many variables that can affect this number, such as how many visitors to the NFVC were locals, not all tourists would have visited the NFVC, those who did may have missed recording themselves, and some people may have visited the site twice.

To further demonstrate the growth of tourism, the City of Yellowknife 2017 Budget reported that in four years, between the winters of 2009/2010 and 2013/2014 the number of tourists in Yellowknife had grown from 46,587 to 69,094, (City of Yellowknife, 2016a), a growth rate of 48% in four years or 12% every year. Not only has the number of visitors grown but also the revenue they are bringing into the community, the City of Yellowknife (2016a) reports the yearly revenue growing from $61.2 million in 2009/2010 to $87.7 million in 2013/2014. These numbers clearly outline that tourism in Yellowknife has truly erupted as a massive, growing industry within the small community.

Furthermore, these numbers represent a significant amount of people travelling to Yellowknife from a variety of places for a variety of reasons. For instance, now that the Canadian dollar has declined in value, there are many Americans and other Canadians looking to travel to unique places in Canada, and Yellowknife is not exempt from this trend (Chemistry Consulting Group, 2014a). It has been found that motorists are taking advantage of lower gas prices, which allows for travel to Yellowknife to be more affordable (Tait Communications and Consulting, 2016). Yellowknife is also a popular destination for motorists as it is located at the

end of the road and is one of very few Northwest Territories communities accessible by ground transportation (Tait Communications and Consulting, 2016).

There are also ten of thousands of international tourists travelling to Yellowknife every year to experience the beauty of the Aurora Borealis. During the winter of 2011/2012 it was reported that there was a total of 7,400 visitors to the Northwest Territories for the primary purpose of witnessing the Aurora Borealis (Northwest Territories Industry, Tourism, and Investment, 2013). However, by the following winter this number had more than doubled to 15,700, a total of 113% increase from the year prior (Northwest Territories Industry, Tourism, and Investment, 2013); a staggering growth when considering the small population of Yellowknife.

Although these numbers account for the number of visitors travelling within the entire Northwest Territories, it is important to note that not only is Yellowknife the capital, but the other communities in the Northwest Territories are much smaller and do not necessarily have the infrastructure to accommodate such a large, and growing, number of travellers. While the total number of visitors for the sole purpose of viewing the Aurora Borealis was 15,700 in the Northwest Territories it is not representative of a definite number within Yellowknife. However, it can be assumed that most tourists are spending at least a portion of their time within the City of Yellowknife and surrounding area and so this number can be used as a guide to understanding the growth of tourism in the area.

Tait Communications and Consulting (2016) released similar numbers to the previously stated Northwest Territories Industry, Tourism, and Investment document, yet it should be noted they claimed the numbers were slightly higher and only applicable to Yellowknife. Tait Communications and Consulting (2016) reported that the number of Aurora Borealis tourists in

Yellowknife for winter 2013/2014 were 21,190 and for winter 2014/2015 were 16,015, which shows a small decline from the previous year.

While the statistical numbers reported by Tait Communications and Consulting (2016) have declined slightly, personal interviews that I have conducted with locals involved in the tourism industry have stated that international tourist numbers have continued to increase over the last few years. This discrepancy may be a result of underreported numbers or survey participants claiming other reasons for travel, such as general tourism or outdoor adventure. Further evidence, released by the Canada Trade Commissioner Service (2016) states that the number of visitors to Yellowknife has increased by an average of 5% every year for five years, between 2009 and 2014.

The issue with various stakeholders reporting different numbers is that it becomes difficult to plan and manage tourism accordingly. For instance, it is reasonable to assume that tourism in Yellowknife is growing, as the evidence is overwhelming, however, while different organizations are reporting different numbers, the stakeholders may find it difficult to allocate priorities when considering how to accommodate growing numbers of tourists. Regardless, it is necessary for the City of Yellowknife, and all stakeholders, to begin considering how to strengthen their understanding of the tourism trends in Yellowknife to build a stronger economy for the upcoming decades.

5 FINDINGS

5.1 Overview

For this chapter I have grouped my findings into three main sections based on the trends that arose through the interviews. The first section covers the various stakeholders that were identified. As the basis of this paper is to promote the inclusion of stakeholders in the planning and development process of tourism growth it was vital to identify who those stakeholders were. The second section will highlight the experiences that the tourists had and what types of experiences the locals felt the tourists should be having; this section is sub-categorized into goods, activities, sites, and food. The final section in this chapter will explore how tourism is interpreted in the community as identified through the interviews, participant observation, and document review; this has been separated into community benefits, the development of place, current regulations, and finally marketing.

The following table is a brief overview of how participants will be identified throughout the findings analysis:

Participant Identifiers														
Locals					Key Informants					Tourists				
L1	L2	L3	L4	L5	K1	K2	K3	K4	K5	T1	T2	T3	T4	T5

Table 1: Participant Identifiers

5.2 Stakeholders

There are many stakeholder groups involved in the tourism industry in Yellowknife, some of whom may not even realize that they are a part of it. There are the obvious stakeholders such as the tourists, the tour operators, and the government. However, there are other stakeholders that while not directly impacted by or actively impacting tourism can still receive the benefits and

pitfalls of the tourism industry. Some of these stakeholders can include the local population, special interest groups, and educational institutions.

5.2.1 Tourists

The most obvious stakeholder in Yellowknife would of course be the tourist. Some of the locals and key informants discussed how the tourist demographics in Yellowknife are changing. Participant K4 explained to me that tourism used to be focused on the $20,000 fishing and hunting trips where the grandfathers, dads, and sons would all come to Yellowknife and spend time at lodges. But with the downturn in the Canadian economy and the caribou herds long gone, these trips are no longer the norm. They also explained to me that more women are travelling to Yellowknife either in groups or alone.

Participant L5 shared these sentiments and told me that the fishing and hunting trips of the early 2000s are no longer the main tourism driving force as the caribou hunting ban went in around 2009. They expanded on the shift in tourism by disclosing that when aurora tourism did begin to arise it was the large groups of Japanese tourists booking through a travel agent that started it all. The City of Yellowknife's Tourism Strategy (2014) supports this claim made by the participants and recorded that aurora viewing has increased, while hunting and fishing as the primary purpose for travel has continued to decline. Further evidence from the NWT Tourism Marketing Plan found that for the entire Northwest Territories, aurora viewing increased from 5,500 in 2008/09 to 21,7000 in 2013/14, while hunting and fishing has decreased from 8,240 in 2008/09 to 4,010 in 2013/14 (Spectacular Northwest Territories, 2015). Not only has aurora viewing surpassed hunting and fishing but it has more than doubled it.

Participants claimed that there is also a financial shift, as there are not as many big spenders like the American hunting and fishing clientele; the tourists are more likely to be

students and other people who do not spend as much money. Participant L3 shared in the other participants' sentiments and explained that tourists are moving towards a non-consumptive wilderness-based form of tourism. They furthered their claim by explaining to me that the tourists are no longer looking for the hunting and fishing experiences, rather they are looking to view the northern lights, to go snowmobiling and dog-sledding.

The tours I participated in upheld the claims made by the participants as far as demographics. The first tour had approximately 25 tourists, all of whom were from China or Vancouver, with all but one who spoke Chinese. The one tourist of non-Asian descent was a Canadian woman who was travelling on her own. The second tour had only five tourists, three were students of Chinese origins studying in Canada or the United States. The other two tourists were a married couple from the United States.

Although the tours represented an overwhelming Chinese presence, when I was volunteering at the NFVC the tourists varied in country of origin, yet were mainly from Japan, South Korea, and China. Occasionally there were tourists from Europe, the United States, or Canada, however these numbers were only a small portion of the visitors that were coming in. Unfortunately, I do not have the exact number of how many tourists came in but at any given time there was approximately 30-40 tourists in the building, with most being Asian and only 3-5 tourists from countries other than Japan, South Korea, and China.

5.2.2 Industry

There are many different tourism industry related stakeholders in Yellowknife, these stakeholders include tour operators, hotels, and restaurants. The 2016 Visitor's Guide listed 29 different tour operators, with activities ranging from dogsledding, ice fishing, aurora viewing, and ice road driving. Many of the operators were cross-listed under numerous activities (City of

Yellowknife, 2016b). However, it was listed on the website Visit Yellowknife (n.d.), that there were only 15 tour operators available for a variety of tours and activities. In a community as small as Yellowknife, this discrepancy in numbers shows a significant lack of congruence between the information available to tourists.

There are many accommodation options for tourists in Yellowknife, these range from high end hotels such as the Explorer Hotel to lodges, bed and breakfasts to chain hotels such as Quality Inn and Suites. One of the tours I participated in was a lodge where the tourists were staying during their trip. The Visit Yellowknife (n.d.) website lists a total of 52 lodging options in and around Yellowknife. Yet, there are new hotels currently being built and old buildings being renovated, as well as informal accommodations such as AirBnB, that are not listed on the website. All of these businesses are direct recipients of the benefits of the tourism industry in Yellowknife.

There are also many restaurants in Yellowknife that directly benefit from tourism. The most notable of these being the Wildcat Café and Bullock's Bistro. Yet, there are many other restaurants that find success in the booming tourism industry. For instance, there are two Japanese restaurants, many Chinese restaurants, which include Dim Sum, and a Korean restaurant. There are other restaurants in Yellowknife, with a total of 24 listed on the Visit Yellowknife (n.d.) website. Restaurants will be examined more in depth further in the findings.

The Yellowknife Airport is also a major tourism industry stakeholder. Some of the participants discussed improvements that were, or soon to be, occurring at the airport. Participant K2 discussed how the changes are slowly beginning to occur, while Participants L3 and K4 mentioned that there needs to be more done at the airport as the facility is a starting point for visitors' impressions of Yellowknife. When they were discussing the airport, Participant K4

added that while there was a discussion between the Edmonton Airport and the Government of the Northwest Territories, and NWT Tourism the City of Yellowknife was not involved in the talks. This further demonstrates the lack of cohesion between stakeholders.

Additionally, during my interview with Participant L3 we discussed how the other two territorial capitals, Whitehorse and Iqaluit, both had international airports while the Yellowknife Airport was only domestic. Participant L3 added that if Yellowknife had an international airport than a direct flight would make travel for tourists much simpler. There has been recognition by the City of Yellowknife in that the airport should not only be expanded but also made into an international airport (Chemistry Consulting Group, 2014b).

When examining the numbers, it is no wonder why upgrading the airport from domestic to international would only be feasible but also practical. With an increase of 22% in travellers through the airport between 2003 and 2013, and 15 companies operating out of the airport moving 485,249 people in 2013, it is an extremely busy airport for a town of only 20,000 (Chemistry Consulting Group, 2014b). Furthermore, if many of the tourists travelling into Yellowknife are from overseas countries, it can cut down on travel time and make Yellowknife a more desirable location as it will seem more accessible.

5.2.3   Government

On the Government of the Northwest Territories level, there are two main departments involved in tourism, Education, Culture and Employment (ECE), as well as Industry, Tourism and Investment (ITI). While ITI has tourism in their name, it is important to consider the role that ECE also plays in tourism. For instance, ECE is responsible for ongoing culture and heritage management, including museums, the NWT Arts Council, as well as the overall "documenting,

researching, promoting, and preserving the culture and heritage of the NWT" (Government of the Northwest Territories, n.d.).

As for cultural heritage and tourism, the ECE division of the GNWT recognizes the importance of culture as an investment. In 2015, they released Strong Culture, Strong Territory: GNWT Culture and Heritage Strategic Framework (2015), with five goals aimed to improve culture and heritage awareness in the Northwest Territories. Goal 4 of the strategy had a strong emphasis on the investment in culture and heritage, that "not only do economic and environmental benefits result, but we build pride in who we are and how we live. We attract tourists and new residents who are curious about our way of life and are impressed by our diversity" (Government of the Northwest Territories, 2015, p. 8).

Yet, there is still disconnect between tourism and cultural heritage in the Northwest Territories. Participant K2 mentioned that when Industry, Tourism, and Investment first launched their Spectacular Northwest Territories campaign, which is the destination marketing organization for the Northwest Territories, there was a lack of any cultural heritage related material. Participant K2 also stated that initially there was not a single museum mentioned on the website, however, this has since been updated.

Currently the website does have a culture and experiences section which lists many different sites around the Northwest Territories including national, territorial, and regional parks as well as various museums, heritage sites, and cultural experiences. The website lists the PWNHC, the Legislative Assembly, all designated heritage sites, as well as a few other historical sites that do not have heritage designation, walking trails and parks within the City of Yellowknife as notable cultural and heritage sites.

On a regional level, the City of Yellowknife is beginning to recognize the importance of tourism in the community, as the city has begun to take the necessary steps to begin promoting tourism growth. For instance, in the December 2016 budget meeting City Council approved a proposal to invest part of the budget in a destination marketing plan which will set the groundwork for a future destination marketing organization. This was possible due to the Communications and Economic Development division within the City of Yellowknife managing to secure 80% of the needed funding from Canadian Northern Economic Development Agency's Strategic Investments in Northern Economic Development Program (City of Yellowknife, 2016a).

However, while the different levels of government recognize the growing tourism industry there is still notable disconnect between the city and territorial governments. Something as simple as a crosswalk was not being installed because it was unclear whose responsibility it was to implement it. Coming into town, on one side of the street there is two large hotels and on the other there is the NFVC, the PWNHC, and the Legislative Assembly, all three of which are important cultural and tourist sites. However, there is no easy way to cross the street as there is no crosswalk, and as a result, visitors must take an extra long walk in freezing temperatures or choose to run across a busy street.

One informant emphasized the lack of responsibility among stakeholders, wondering whose jurisdiction it fell under, whether it be the City of Yellowknife, the territorial government either through ITI or ECE, or the federal government as the Legislative Assembly is also within the area. The lack of ownership over who is responsible for solving these types of issues was reiterated when Participant K2 exclaimed "at the end of the day, who is suffering? The tourist".

5.2.4 Special Interest Groups

There are numerous special interest groups in Yellowknife that should be considered when discussing the tourism industry. During the data collection portion of this paper there were representatives from different groups such as Yellowknife Heritage Society Committee, NWT Mining Heritage Society, YKDFN, and NWT Tourism Marketing Committee. All of these various committees and organizations are impacted by tourism in Yellowknife.

There are many other special interest groups that are also impacted by tourism however were not represented in this study. Due to the size and nature of this study it would have been entirely impossible to interview every special interest group for this research project. Of the other groups that could be considered significant are indigenous groups other than YKDFN, the various cultural communities including francophone, south-east Asian, and Latino groups, as well as Dene Nahjo. Various heritage committees, art collectives, Pride, and festival organizations should also be considered in the special interest groups category.

5.2.5 Educational Institutions

In the case of educational institutions in Yellowknife, there is only one post-secondary facility, Aurora College. It should be noted that while there could be considered another post-secondary institution, Dechinta University, it is located at Blachford Lake Lodge outside of Yellowknife and is accessed by float or ski plane. Dechinta focuses on traditional land-based education, and offers University of Alberta accredited courses (Dechinta Centre for Research and Learning, 2015). This institution truly demonstrates the correlation between, cultural and natural heritage and tourism for Yellowknife and other northern communities. Blachford Lake Lodge was initially established as a fishing and hunting lodge, and while the owners have adapted to the

changing economy by now providing aurora tourism packages, they also provide higher education opportunities.

There has also been some discussion in City Council and around the community about trying to establish a university in Yellowknife. While this seems like it would be a unique opportunity, the feasibility of such an endeavour remains unknown. As will be outlined further in this paper, some potential educational opportunities that could be offered to assist with tourism development might include language courses, hospitality and customer service training, as well as business management and tourism operations classes.

5.2.6 Local Community

As stated previously, Yellowknife has a population of 20,960, of this population 5,017 self-identify as aboriginal and 15,943 self-identify as non-aboriginal in 2016 (NWT Bureau of Statistics, n.d.). These numbers demonstrate that 23.93% of the population in Yellowknife self-identifies as aboriginal, whereas the rest of Canada reports that there is an average of only 4% of the population that self-identifies as aboriginal (Statistics Canada, 2015). With Yellowknife reporting nearly 20% more aboriginal peoples it is evident that indigenous traditional and modern ways of life are important in the community.

Another important note to consider is that Yellowknife's average population is younger than the Canadian average. Whereas Canada has an average age of 40.6 years old, the average age in Yellowknife is 32.6 (Statistics Canada, 2016). While these numbers are from the 2011 census, there is some significance when comparing the 2006 and 2011 censuses. It is further reported that the average age of Canadians in 2006 was 39.5 and 40.6 in 2011, representing an increase of .9%. However, Yellowknife was at an average of 32.2 in 2006 and 32.6 in 2011,

which is only a .4% increase. This demonstrates that although the average population in Canada is aging, Yellowknife is aging at a rate much slower than the rest of the country.

The diversity of Yellowknife and its young population contribute to the idea that Yellowknife is a creative city. Many of the participants applauded the community's acceptance of others, whether it be LGBTQ rights, cultural diversity, or another person's socio-economic background. Furthermore, Yellowknife has a highly-educated population, 62.7% of residents have completed post-secondary education, in comparison to the rest of Canada which is only 54% (City of Yellowknife, 2014). This only furthers Yellowknife as a creative city, based on the notion that population is young, diverse, and highly-educated.

It is necessary to consider the local community as one of the most important stakeholders in tourism development. It is through the locals' perpetuations of the community's sense of place that tourism is able to thrive. Although Yellowknife is a relatively small community its isolation causes the locals to be closely bounded together. As locals and their perceptions of place are the major research topic for this paper, their direct involvement in the effects of tourism in a community should be self-evident.

To reiterate the importance of locals, it is through their process of place-making that locals are more likely to develop place-keeping strategies. Again, if they feel that they have assisted in some way in defining a place they will be more inclined to involve themselves in maintaining the place. Furthering this process, as locals engage in place-keeping they will be prouder of their community and as a result will perpetuate place-branding strategies that will contribute to the growth of tourism in their community.

The following table demonstrates the various roles that local and key informants encompass, as the importance of Yellowknifers involvement in numerous roles has been highlighted throughout the paper. It should also be noted that two of the key informants also self-identified as a tourist due to their relatively new settlement in Yellowknife.

Participant Involvement in Various Stakeholder Roles						
Participant	Industry	Government	Special Interest Group	Local	Educational Institution	Tourist
L1			✓	✓		
L2	✓			✓		
L3		✓	✓	✓	✓	
L4				✓		
L5	✓		✓	✓		
K1	✓			✓		
K2		✓		✓	✓	✓
K3	✓		✓	✓		
K4		✓	✓	✓		
K5	✓			✓		✓

Table 2: Participant Involvement in Various Stakeholder Roles

Now that the participants' roles have been established the following table outlines the key themes identified through the interviews. These themes are explored further through the following sections.

Key Themes Identified Through Interviews

Participant	Positive Food Scene	Invest in Visitor's Centre	Importance of Engagement Between Tourists and Locals	Lack of Activities for Tourists	Downtown Needs Improvement	Recognizes Economic Benefits	Insufficient Information Available	Discusses Diversity in Yellowknife
L1				✓	✓	✓		✓
L2				✓	✓	✓		
L3	✓	✓			✓	✓	✓	✓
L4			✓		✓	✓	✓	✓
L5	✓	✓	✓	✓		✓	✓	✓
K1	✓		✓	✓		✓	✓	✓
K2		✓	✓		✓	✓	✓	✓
K3			✓		✓	✓	✓	✓
K4	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
K5		✓				✓	✓	✓
T1	✓			✓			✓	✓
T2	✓		✓	✓	✓		✓	✓
T3	✓		✓				✓	✓
T4				✓	✓			✓
T5			✓				✓	

Table 3: Key Themes Identified Through Interviews

5.3 Experiences

It is through the experiences that tourists have which determines the success of a location, for instance, the better the experience the more prone tourists will be to tell others about it. Furthermore, the daily interactions with the locals became an important component in determining how successful the tourists will consider their individual experiences. Participant K4 stated that "tourists love to do what locals love to do and sometimes we forget that". In other words, if the locals are not enjoying their home community than how can it be expected for the tourist to enjoy it. Therefore, it is imperative to generate experiences that the locals would also partake in.

For example, on one of the tours I participated in, the guides began to fillet fish that had been caught that morning; an event that is still very common for locals. The visitors looked on and watched the guides clean the fish, some of the visitors seeming shocked or excited when they found out that they would be eating the fish that had just been caught that morning from the lake. Afterwards, the guides went down to one of the tipis, a traditional YKDFN structure, and began to cook the fish on an open fire inside the tipi. Unfortunately, the guides did not inform any of the visitors that they were going to cook the fish on the open flame outside. As a result, none of the visitors went down to the tipi to watch the guides cook the fish in a traditional style. Once the fish was done cooking it was served with bannock, a traditional bread, and tea. All the tourists seemed to thoroughly enjoy the fresh fish, bannock, and tea.

The example mentioned above embodies the type of experience that the locals are hoping and expecting the tourists to have when they come to Yellowknife, as was outlined in the interviews. There were four key categories, products, activities, sites, and food, that continued to arise when the topic of experience was discussed. The example mentioned above embodies these

four categories. For instance, the fish was a consumable product, the act of filleting and cooking it was an activity as well as a spectacle, the location was on traditional YKDFN land, and the act of consuming it of course relates to food. Yet, while this experience is a normal occurrence for many Yellowknifers, the tourists found it fascinating and thrilling to be a part of.

5.3.1 Goods

The experiences as mentioned above do have some drawbacks, particularly in the misunderstanding of cultural differences. On one of the tours Participant K3 revealed to me that they bring handicrafts created by the elders and local members of YKDFN to their lodge to be sold to the guests. However, the tour guide claimed that the tourists did not recognize the value of the handicrafts as they would try to bargain with the tour guide on the price. Many of these handicrafts are made with natural furs and hides from animals that were caught by YKDFN and the meat was used to feed their family as well as other members of the community. These subsistence norms were not practiced by the tourists and so they could not see the value placed on the products.

Expanding on the negative outcomes of cultural differences is another example from the same tour. During the tour, a member of YKDFN had brought his personal mitts, handmade from bear skin, to show the tourists. When the tourists were handed the gloves, they put them on and pretended to attack one another with the mitts, much like a bear would have his paws up to attack. It seemed the tourists may not have recognized the cultural significance or cultural value placed on the mitts. Yet, and with no fault to any of the participants, the importance and cultural value of the gloves was not explained to them. It was witnessed that as the tourists were taking pictures with the gloves and "joking around" that the tour guides were grimacing and seemed visibly upset.

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Yet, there are some good experiences that tourists have when seeking authentic handicrafts to purchase from locals. Although in the aforementioned example it was in bad taste to barter over the value of the goods, in some instances it is entirely possible to bargain over the products. Participant L3 mentioned that if you travel to Iqaluit, NT you can sit in the restaurant at one of the hotels and locals will come around looking to sell their homemade carvings, clothing, and art pieces. All of these pieces are local and handcrafted by local Indigenous artists. The participant explained to me that although this is an excellent opportunity to purchase northern art pieces, it is not as common in Yellowknife.

On the other hand, while I was conducting participant observation at the NFVC it was noted that local artists would bring in their handicrafts to be put on display there. The Visitor's Centre purchases the pieces from the artisans and crafters then sell the products to tourists. While at the Visitor's Centre, I had witnessed a local stoneworker come in with two of his pieces. During this participant observation session, it was extremely busy in the Visitor's Centre and although the staff did not have a moment to meet with the artist he was able to sell both of his carvings to two different tourists. Participant K5, an informant from the NFVC stated "we like to support every artist, every musician, just give somebody a showcase of this is the one stop shop of Yellowknife where you can see what people are making, what kind of music they are making".

Participant K2 expanded on the importance of locals to have the ability to sell locally handmade goods "it comes back to economics, it gives opportunities and exposures to our artists, our musicians, our cultural practitioners and all of that kind of stuff too. To have tourists come here and see somebody's art, it opens up a market, or at least it may open up other opportunities". Through all of the examples above, whether selling the goods at the lodge, in

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local restaurants, or at the NFVC it not only demonstrates the importance northerners place on cultural, handcrafted goods, but it also shows how locals can utilize tourism to acquire economic gains.

However, there are still many issues regarding the acquisition of goods in Yellowknife. The participants interviewed tended to comment on the lack of shopping or indoor activities for tourists. Many of the locals outlined the dismal state of the downtown and the mall located in the center of downtown in particular they described the area as "destitute", "horrendous", "an embarrassment", and "a nightmare". One of the locals described the mall as "the hive of scum and villainy".

Nine of the fifteen participants, including two tourists, expressed concerns with the downtown core which includes the local mall. Participant L2 exemplified these concerns on the state of the downtown and its potential negative effects on tourism when they stated that, "I mean you go downtown and our city is embarrassing. You can see the tourists walking around taking pictures. I feel bad for them, I really do. It's our downtown core that is absolutely horrendous and so I think if that wasn't to change these people would be like 'don't spend your money to travel all that way'". While another participant quoted a third-party photo travel guide which called the downtown "derelict but not dangerous".

Participant K4 expanded on the issues regarding the downtown and how the incoming tourists are experiencing the area. They stated that "if we don't do something about Yellowknife's downtown it's going to be our legacy, all of us. It's not good. As simple as that. With no downtown, it doesn't matter, none of it matters". They claimed that while the City of Yellowknife does have access to funding and a plan set in place, if it is not implemented sooner

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than later there would not be much point in investing in tourism and other economic opportunities.

The tourists furthered the lack of shopping and activities in the downtown when Participant T1 explained that they found it difficult to find any stores to go shopping in due to lack of signage and information. They stated that as they were walking around they would sometimes come across what they felt might be a store but then questioned whether it was open or not because it was not obvious.

Yet, it is hard to draw people into places when even before you walk into the mall there are questionable characters that hang around the front doors. Inside the mall, there are visible drug deals and a vacancy rate of 25% between three downtown malls as of Summer 2015, with an overall average vacancy of 7.8% throughout the entire downtown (City of Yellowknife, 2015). Within the downtown core, 24% of business licenses are for retail, sales, rentals & services (City of Yellowknife, 2015). Participant K5 stated that "as much as [the downtown] might not be a threat to people's safety, for many people coming from many countries this is something that is maybe new to them and maybe something that makes them feel a little uncomfortable and at times a little scared".

The City of Yellowknife (2015) reports that increased numbers of tourists can be beneficial for the downtown revitalization as tourism will "bring new dollars into the community and support a wide range of business sectors" (City of Yellowknife, 2015). However, to provide "a vibrant downtown" that will "contribut[e] to the quality of visitors' experiences and encourage[e] them to stay longer and spend more in the community" there becomes a dilemma (City of Yellowknife, 2015). The largest issue with the current state of the downtown core is how

to find the balance between enhancing visitor spending while encouraging commercial ventures to establish and retain their businesses downtown.

5.3.2   Activities

When asked what types of activities they were engaging in, all tourists interviewed mentioned the Aurora Borealis viewing as their primary purpose, while other activities such as dog-sledding, snow-shoeing, and snowmobiling were also mentioned. Participant T2 stated that "my trip was more focused on the nature part. I didn't focus on the culture stuff", yet for the locals and YKDFN the cultural and natural elements are one in the same. All locals mentioned the wilderness, fishing, hiking, and snowmobiling the top activities the engage in, which in turn inherently makes them cultural activities.

Clearly the local population considers the outdoor, wilderness activities to comprise an important component in the culture of the community. For instance, consider one of Yellowknife's largest cultural activities during the winter, The Snow King Festival, in collaboration with the Long John Jamboree. This large festival is located on the frozen Great Slave Lake, outside, in a castle built from ice blocks cut from the lake. Participant K2 explained that the Snow Castle is a place that "all locals go [to] at least once a winter".

These events aim to draw both locals and tourists and are not marketed solely for one or the other. Participant K1 stated that "it is very much a community driven activity" and that "people talk about it for months, about what it was like last year and what it will be like this year". However, another participant discussed the significance of the cultural festivals in Yellowknife and questioned why more tourists were not being taken to these events. While this participant admitted that it was not feasible for winter tourists to visit events such as Folk on the

Rocks, they did wonder as to why tourists were not being taken directly to the Snow King Castle, a culturally significant site for locals.

Many participants, both locals and tourists, mentioned that there was a lack of activities during the day. An informant from the NFVC stated that "during the day, they are here for more than a few days, and the reality is they do struggle for things to do to keep them busy". While I was on the smaller tour there were three young people from China who were staying at a lodge about a 30-minute snowmobile ride outside of town. While on the tour they told me that during the day they would ride into town where they had rented a hotel room. For the most part they would use the hotel as a central location for naps throughout the day and then spend the rest of their day wandering around town. They explained to me that there was not much for them to do during the day, and were unaware of the NFVC which was located directly across the street from their hotel, barring the nonexistent crosswalk as mentioned previously.

Locals recognized that there was not a lot for tourists in the way of services and amenities. Participant L3 mentioned a "functional visitor's centre", "interactive content", and "ways to connect locals and visitors" as being the areas of tourism needing the most improvement in Yellowknife. Participant L1 furthered Participant L3's suggestions by stating that "there's not a whole lot to see here in Yellowknife and there's not a whole lot for [tourists]". They also suggested that "tourism may change if the City of Yellowknife changes, if we offered [tourists] more stuff, I think more amenities, more stuff to do". One of the key informants, Participant K1, explained that one of the biggest issues tourists felt with their experience in Yellowknife was that "the aurora were great but [they] didn't have anything else to do the rest of the time".

5.3.3 Sites

The issue with day activities may not be that there is not enough to do, but rather the tourists are not made aware of the potential activities. A local suggested that Pilot's Monument is the focus of Old Town, however due to its "crappy signage", among other issues, someone would not know to go there unless somebody brought them there. The site is a mere 230m, or a 4-minute walk, from the entrance to Bullock's Bistro the most highly rated and frequently visited restaurant in Yellowknife by tourists. It would also be sufficient to suggest that Pilot's Monument, while the location is lacking in basic signage and accessibility pathways, the view itself is one of the most spectacular in the city.

Participant T1, a tourist, ventured down to Bullock's Bistro, the local fish eatery with their friends while on their trip. They informed me during the interview that they did not know there were other things to see around the area, let alone that it was possible to continue walking around the area as they thought the road ended there. Meanwhile Bullock's Bistro is located in the heart of the Old Town and is considered to be an important historic building. Most locals consider Old Town to be the most iconic and highly rated location to visit in Yellowknife, however, the tourist was completely unaware of the activities within the area. If the tourist had known about Old Town they could have walked on the frozen lake, climbed Pilot's Monument, or visited other iconic heritage buildings.

Although not considered to be a significant cultural site by locals, the Northern Frontier Visitor's Centre (NFVC) is rated as the number one thing to do in Yellowknife on TripAdvisor. During the interviews, many of the residents and key informants commented on how the facility is no longer safe as it was built on a swamp causing the building to collapse. As a result, the entire exhibit area has been closed off to ensure visitors' safety. Participant K2 discussed the

importance of the NFVC stating that, "the Visitor's Centre is absolutely the number one key place for tourism" somebody has to "figure out either how to relocate it or do something to fix that building. It is embarrassing and makes everybody look bad". Furthering the decrepit state of the NFVC, Participant K4 stated that the building was "falling apart".

It seems the state of the NFVC was a major concern for many of the participants, especially key informants. It was discovered that the NFVC only receives $90,000 a year from the City of Yellowknife to cover operational costs. These costs include staffing the organization, heating it, maintenance and all other anticipated fees. To keep the NFVC operational, the organization relies on selling goods, as outlined above, and membership fees to the Northern Frontier Visitor's Association (NFVA), which includes local businesses that want to be represented by the NFVC.

It is within reason that the NFVC does not have the excess funds necessary to reconstruct a new building. However, as with most conversations with key informants, they were unclear about which stakeholders were responsible for which aspects. The key informants and residents were unaware about who was responsible for acquiring the funds necessary to replace the building. While the NFVC is a separate organization that is partially funded by the City of Yellowknife, the purpose of the Visitor's Centre is to promote the city and bring in economic benefits through tourism.

Participants recognized that the NFVC was being underfunded and that things needed to change for it to remain functional. Participant K4 stated that "if [the City of Yellowknife] just keep[s] doing it this way the people that we're actually asking to deliver the service on our behalf aren't going to be able to deliver the service. There won't be anywhere to deliver it at". It is

evident that some stakeholders do see that the current partnership between the NFVC and the City of Yellowknife is no longer effective and must be re-examined.

5.3.4 Food

Food was mentioned in almost every interview, however it seemed there was a wide variation between what locals and tourists thought of local restaurants' offerings. Participant T3 explained that visiting the restaurants was one of their favourite activities in Yellowknife. Many of the locals commented on the food scene in Yellowknife with some stating that there should be more or at least better restaurants, with others commended the variety of international cuisine in Yellowknife as the diversity was unlike any other small town. Participant K1 described to me that some people, such as tourists, would be shocked when they come to Yellowknife and see the restaurant options. Participant T1 told me that because of the variety in restaurants in Yellowknife they felt as though they had not left Asia.

There were some drawbacks to the food scene, Participant K2 stated that "I think a lot of the restaurants are not marketed for tourists much". Additionally, Participant T1 would agree with this statement as they explained to me that while many of the restaurants had Asian cuisine, "on the last day we were so keen to try something local so we went into the neighborhood and found this small restaurant which was very small in size and we had the most amazing dinner in there". While this experience turned out positive, they went on to further tell me that the restaurant was not listed anywhere and that they had only come upon it by chance when they were walking the streets.

A couple of the tourists commented on the price of eating out in Yellowknife. Both participants commented on the long wait, 30-40 minutes outside in freezing temperatures to go to the highest rated, and most expensive restaurant. It should be noted that this restaurant is one of

only a few in town that provide fresh northern foods. While perhaps not well known, it is possible to go on northern food tours with certain tour operators, while other tour operators will cook you fresh fish included with the aurora tour.

Another participant summed up restaurants in the community when they stated that "the food scene in Yellowknife is oddly diverse and oddly good. We got a brew pub, we've got that kind of downtownish kind of hip place. We have Ethiopian food, Korean food, German food. We have the local fish and chip shop. We have cafes popping up everywhere. So, we are seeing the effects of an increase in people". Participant K4 declared that "while some restaurants do shut down, this year we have had a quite a few open up". In other words, some restaurants may not last but evidently locals are seeing the opportunity for cultural diversity in Yellowknife and taking advantage of it through food.

5.4 Tourism Development

The question remains on how to move forward with tourism development in so that it can remain a productive and fruitful industry in the decades to come, not only for those directly involved in tourism but for all stakeholders. Participant K4 recognized the importance of creating a place with meaning, stating that "if we build the right city our residents will love it and the tourists will love it".

The first step in understanding how to move forward in tourism development is identifying the community benefits. Once these are established it will assist with gaining the locals' approval to move forward with promoting tourism. Furthermore, it was necessary and highlighted by many of the locals to define what was unique about Yellowknife, why they did not want it turning into another generic tourism locale. Finally, we discussed the current tourism regulations and marketing in Yellowknife and what can be done to improve them for the future.

5.4.1 Community Benefits

The most obvious and highly mentioned community benefit discussed by locals was money and economic gains. Obviously, there was no shortage in understanding how tourism can improve Yellowknife's economic development opportunities. Unfortunately, when some locals were asked if there were other benefits of tourism other than economic ones, many participants could not think of any additional benefits.

For instance, Participant K5 mentioned that while they did feel "the community does recognize the value of tourists and tourism". They furthered their statement and related it back to the economic benefits "in terms of a tax payer's appetite for more infrastructure" and that "people are very supportive because, I think, [the locals] see the opportunities that this brings and the fact that it is not just local money being circulated and recirculated within our economy but it is new money injected" into the community.

Building on economic benefits, Participant K3 discussed how they were trying to involve the rest of their community in tourism. They stated that "[YKDFN] know all the stuff, it's just time eh; us people don't have much time. I told them, like you can do that on the side. I asked a bunch of people this summer, they make those little huts, fishing huts, cause we got our fishing license. So, I told them to do that and set up somewhere where we can fish and I'll bring tourists to you. They pay me and I'll pay you commission. Then you can do your own advertising and bring your own tours, own guests". So, while some locals are understanding how tourism can be an economic opportunity it can be difficult for them to encourage the rest of the community to engage with tourism.

Although not immediately recognized as an overarching community benefit, a couple of the participants mentioned how language could be an important opportunity for tourism growth

supported by the community. One of the participants mentioned that they would like to see more programs in place regarding language because the primary tourists coming over do not speak English as their primary language. They further clarified that it is important to ensure that not only the current cultural products are translated but going forward the new products are translated accurately. Participant L4 shared in these notions and stated that it might be beneficial for locals to have opportunities to learn Korean or Japanese to ensure interactions with visitors will not be construed as "weird" or "rude" by either party.

Another common sentiment among the participants is that the majority of locals underestimated the potential benefits that tourism could have on the local community. Participant K5 explained that they "think people here really underestimate the peripheral, collateral effect that tourism can have". On the same note, Participant L5 claimed that "one thing [I am] learning quickly about in the city's challenge with tourism is that a lot of the time residents don't value tourism. We as general residents don't necessarily acknowledge that it is around us". Based on what the participants have mentioned, it may be time that locals began to get excited and involved in tourism.

5.4.2 The Development of Place

In a community that seems to ignore tourism and allow it to just occur organically, it may be difficult for a tourist to understand how to engage with the location they are visiting. Another participant remarked that the NFVC is a good place for tourists to start their visit "as people come in here and they receive that extremely warm, friendly, helpful service I think that really endears them to Yellowknife. It is people that really starts them off with a really good impression that there is people here who really welcome them".

When asked what made Yellowknife unique, many of the participants responded that it was the diversity in the people who reside in Yellowknife that makes it unique. Participant K2 explained that the uniqueness of Yellowknife was in the "the culture and community, [it] is really, really… it's incredibly diverse". Participant K1 furthered the above statement when they explained that Yellowknife was a "little league of nations that lives here, plus there's a really strong aboriginal basis here that I think makes for a really unique environment".

As mentioned, the importance of Indigenous and non-Indigenous cooperation and partnership in Yellowknife was heavily praised by the participants. Participant L3 explained that "the proximity to and the involvement of the Indigenous community is becoming stronger. Before I came here I understand that decades before I arrived, there was this really strict division between Indigenous and non-Indigenous people and it is less so now". So not only is the involvement and partnership of both groups important but it seems to be growing.

Not only is relationship building between the local population important but also relationship building between the locals and tourists. Getting in contact with a local was mentioned by a few of the participants as being one of the top experiences a tourist could have. Participant L5 stated that "[the tourists] get here, they meet a local and [the tourists] are like 'oh this person is my best friend now. They took me into their house'". Participant K4, who also happened to attend a recent tourism conference held in Yellowknife, stated that "what we learned at the tourism conference here a few weeks ago is that people want to be in people's homes. They want an experience with a local person". Essentially, "everybody wants an individualized experience", one that is tailored to their desires and is different than the experience everyone else is having.

There were also two stories from local participants where they outlined the hospitality of fellow Yellowknifers to put the friendliness of locals into context. One participant described a story where their friend had found a tourist wandering around the exterior of their house and they invited them into their home and onto their deck to watch the Aurora Borealis. Another participant mentioned how it was not uncommon for their friends to find tourists standing on their deck watching the Aurora Borealis. This participant further explained that while their friends were hospitable and justified that this may have been a great experience for the tourist, they were hesitant in the Yellowknife community's friendliness as they "don't want their [friends] kindness to be taken advantage of".

Through these two participants' personal anecdotes, they explained why the friendliness of northern locals is important in Yellowknife and why it makes the community unique. Participant K2 explained that "it is fun to host people and share understandings about the north" and that to "have a connection with actual people in the north it makes them think about the north differently. I think there is a benefit there." Participant K1 expanded on this when they stated that "we are unique in lots of ways but I think it is people that make that uniqueness so important. They give them those stories to take home".

Participant K5 went into further detail about why Yellowknife is "an extremely unique place. I feel it really provides a sense of place which I think Yellowknife struggles with. When you're in Old Town you know you are somewhere different, you know you are somewhere unique. You see the houseboats, the scenery, the architecture and I always feel like I am on a bit of a vacation when I am down there". Yellowknife is a place that is unique in the sense that it "is blend of small town urban city and wilderness".

If the locals are interested in providing tourists with unique experiences and tourists are seeking the individualized experiences, then the question remains on how to create them. A couple participants described an extremely successful event that was put on in partnership between the Dene Nahjo, a group of young YKDFN members, the City of Yellowknife, and the PWNHC. This event was held in Sombaa K'e Park for a month during the summer of 2016. The event was initiated by Dene Nahjo and supported by the PWNHC and the City of Yellowknife. The event was a major success with upwards of 200 participants attending on any given day.

The participants suggested that while this was a successful event geared towards locals, it could also be reproduced for tourists. To further establish how this type of event could be successful a third participant, while not discussing any particular event, stated that "I think in a small town almost anything that is extremely appealing to tourists is going to be extremely appealing to locals and vice versa".

5.4.3   Current Regulations

However, there are still many issues with the current status of tourism in Yellowknife and many of the participants discussed the lack of customer service within the community. Participant K4 stated that customer service towards tourists is one of the largest complaints they hear about Yellowknife. They explained that locals and those in the service industry are generally not the friendliest, are not very helpful, and do not have the smile needed when communicating with tourists. This sentiment was expressed by numerous key informants and locals.

Participant L5 mentioned that "there are no regulations right now for operators, to the extent of like customer service or if they are actually knowledgeable about their products". However, Participant K4 did mention that the NFVA is currently providing some customer

service training, however it is not a standard must-do for a business owner in the tourism industry in Yellowknife. However, Participant L5 felt that service training was absolutely necessary for "offering a high-quality product regardless of who is offering it within this town so that when people come they have a good experience".

Participant K1 also suggested that some operators are indicating that the Aurora Borealis can be viewed from September to April but the reality is that there is "a period within our environment that we don't have a really good product because once the lake starts freezing we have so many cloudy days". This participant did not want to put a stop to other tour operators' businesses, but rather suggested that there needed to be a standard by which all operators should be abiding by. Participant K1 maintained that if a tourist was coming over and receiving a lower quality experience they would be less likely to have an enjoyable experience.

When discussing operators' licenses Participant K4 explained that the Government of the Northwest Territories Industry, Tourism, and Investment (ITI) is responsible for issuing business permits. They also described another role ITI needed to undertake, "they have had to go out on the Ingraham Trail just to stop people because there are all these makeshift businesses that are taking people out to look at northern lights and just parking in the middle of the road. Part of it is an enforcement issue on the permitting side and part of it is a safety issue. But there is just so many people that are out there". Yet, it is unrealistic for the ITI department to stop every vehicle that travels down the Ingraham Trail to ensure that they have a valid business permit.

The issue of traditional, northern, pioneering, no-regulations style business model is the "I can do what I want" attitude as was witnessed first hand when I was volunteering at the NFVC. A family of four came in and were looking for the best place to watch the Aurora Borealis. I began to explain to them that Prelude Lake, along the Ingraham Trail, was a great spot

to park and walk down to the lake. However, the father told me that they had attempted this the evening before and a tour guide had approached them and told them that they were not allowed to be on the lake as the business had rights to it and only their customers could view the Aurora from there.

There is no company within Yellowknife that has any rights to any water, all of which is publicly owned and accessible to any individual or group. Unfortunately, this particular company was taking advantage of the tourists' lack in information and used it to provide their paying customers with a more "private" experience. While this was only one experience it certainly demonstrates that there is a general lack in any form of rules and regulations to which business owners need to be abiding by.

5.4.4 Marketing

Another important component of tourism in Yellowknife is how the marketing is being undertaken. Participant K4 stated very frankly that "nobody does any marketing for the city". Although there is marketing being done, it is solely through Spectacular NWT and not through the City of Yellowknife. The issue with this is that the marketing is not specific enough and focuses on too broad of a location as further remarked by Participant K5 "when they are marketing the NWT as a whole it is such a diverse and large region that it is very difficult to kind of stay on message and have one direct message that really resonates with people".

In regard to promoting Yellowknife, one key informant, Participant K2 stated that "the people that are promoting Yellowknife and NWT are thinking people are coming here for the aurora and the landscape, but people are also coming here for culture and history. There is definitely a missed opportunity there". Participant L5 explained that they found a lot of tourists

were not aware of how Yellowknife really was and that "educating as well as marketing is going to be key, or is key as we grow".

This was supported by the tourists who were interviewed. Participant T4 explained that they "thought first it was going to be like no one [around], like [an] empty town, really small and religious. But actually, being here they have a grocery store, markets, malls, everything, like taxis. It's changed my mind actually". Participant T3 explained that before they came to Yellowknife they had thought the place was "a town that has nothing but aurora", but after their visit they found that "[Yellowknife] is a wonderful town in which you can meet people [from] all over the world. I personally prefer small towns with not too much population, so Yellowknife is definitely a desir[able] place for me".

In addition to promoting accurate images of Yellowknife, one of the participants mentioned that a destination marketing organization strategy was being put forth to council. After the interview was completed, the City of Yellowknife held their budget meeting for 2017-2019 on December 12, 2016. During this meeting council approved a budget of $350,000 for both 2017 and 2018 to be put towards destination marketing (City of Yellowknife, 2016a). It was also noted that there would be additional funding from grants and formal funding of $280,000 and $70,000 respectively, each year (City of Yellowknife, 2016a). The initial funding would be to support a staff member for two years, create increased advertising through print and online sources, establish a memorandum of understanding, and develop an ongoing forum for stakeholders (City of Yellowknife, 2016a).

This demonstrates that the City of Yellowknife recognizes that it must start taking the steps necessary to promote tourism in the community and to market Yellowknife to external parties. However, it might be best to consult with the locals as one participant pointed out "it is

good to really showcase the iconic things that make the product what it is, but there is also a level of it that we need to actually address the reality of it". Currently the City of Yellowknife has a visitor's guide and a map but there is really nothing else marketing the city to tourists, yet this should change in the coming years with the recent budget approval for a destination marketing plan.

5.5   Summary

There are numerous stakeholders in the tourism industry. While many locals have numerous roles, there still seems to be a great lack of cohesion between the stakeholder groups. Some participants used examples, such as the NFVC building or a crosswalk to access the NFVC and PWNHC to highlight the negative impacts the lack of stakeholder communication can have on the community. Through the interviews, it was made clear that while many of the groups want to form a tourism committee that oversees the industry in Yellowknife this has not occurred.

All the tourists interviewed travelled to Yellowknife for the primary purpose to witness the Aurora Borealis. However, they also participated in other activities such as dog-sledding, snowmobiling, and snowshoeing. Some of the tourists did note that all of these activities did cost quite a bit of money and that there were not any free or inexpensive activities.

As for the locals' perceptions of the tourists' experiences, there was agreement that the experience that the tourists were currently receiving was not optimal. Some of the issues expressed by local and key informants was almost identical to the issues expressed by tourists. The key issues identified were the non-existence of day time activities, shopping and places to explore, a lack of cultural awareness on both sides was also mentioned, while the lack of clear and accessible information seemed to be the most onerous issue.

All of the locals and key informants interviewed recognized the economic benefits tourism has had and will continue to have in Yellowknife. Some participants discussed the emerging food scene as a great benefit for both tourists and locals as it contributed to Yellowknife's cultural diversity in the range of cuisine available. A few informants discussed the job opportunities that tourism could provide, yet also stated that the lack of proper training in customer service was a major issue. While the issue of poor customer service was brought up, many locals and key informants also prided themselves on the friendliness of northern residents. Using personal anecdotes and those of friends the locals were excited to share the stories in which they could help a tourist have a better experience.

In sum, there seemed to be a large disconnect not only between the stakeholders but also between how the locals expected the tourists' experiences to be and what they were receiving. It is evident that Yellowknifers take pride in their community and wanted tourists to enjoy themselves while they were in Yellowknife. It is through the following discussion and recommendations that I will suggest some strategies that the community and City of Yellowknife can take to provide tourists with a fulfilling experience that exemplifies Yellowknife as a place, which in turn should attract more tourists and create lasting economic prosperity for the community.

6 DISCUSSION

6.1 Overview

Yellowknife has undergone many transformations in 80 years; from a small First Nations community, to a gold mining settlement, a government focused city, and now a tourism hub. However, over the years the community has maintained a unique sense of place, one that has been upheld and perpetuated by the local community. It is through these layers of tangible and intangible cultural heritage that Yellowknife locals find themselves defining their community and sense of place. It is necessary when planning for and managing a tourism boom, stakeholders embrace the unique aspects of the community and utilize these qualities as a strategy to further develop tourism.

As Landry (2012) discussed, cities have needed to find alternative methods to maintain economic growth and creative cities are at an advantage as they have certain qualities that draw people to them. However, it is vital that when planning in a creative city that a cultural, interactive, and unique approach to city development be undertaken. Small towns and cities are especially at an advantage when applying a cultural planning approach as it can be easier to engage more locals and community members than in larger areas.

Every stakeholder group will have varying ideas on how tourism development should be approached, yet if the groups are not working collectively and constructively then policies and projects run the risk of stagnating and face the nonexistence of progress. Creative cities also have the benefit of a young, diverse, and highly-educated population that is eager to become involved in place-making, by engaging in building a sense of place for themselves and others. Yellowknife is a model creative city, as not only is the population the very definition of the

creative class, but the locals engage themselves in the community, whether through volunteering at festivals, by sitting on numerous committees, or by involving themselves in the local arts and culture scene.

It is these very locals that understand and are committed to improving their community that can further encourage growth. However, the locals must have access to the resources and committees that will connect the various stakeholders and provide a vehicle in which to engage the stakeholders to identify potential opportunities. Recommendations are listed below, along with the limitations in the findings, as well as some potential future research possibilities for those examining cultural planning and the value of sense of place in tourism.

6.2   Recommendations

There are many different approaches that Yellowknife can take to encourage tourism, and as a result stimulate economic growth. However, regardless of the approach they undertake, the community must begin to take greater control of tourism and change how it is currently being planned and managed. For instance, it is evident through the document review and interviews that there are no, or very few, regulations for tour operator licenses. While this currently falls under the ITI portfolio, the City of Yellowknife should be able to become involved in the discussions regarding who is operating businesses in the community. Yet, this is only one example of how stakeholders are not collaborating.

The following recommendations are meant to provide Yellowknife with suggestions on how to better facilitate tourism growth through community engagement. It should be noted that the city as an organization will be a separate stakeholder, they should not only be facilitating these interactions but also contributing to the discussions.

The first recommendation focuses on an overarching Tourism Board which ties into the notion of cultural planning. The second recommendation focuses on the local as key stakeholder and how to further their involvement in tourism, which in turn allows the local to be involved in place-making. The third recommendation aims to build congruence between locals and tourists which will assist with building a better experience for tourists while contributing to place-keeping for locals. The final recommendation is regarding a centralized cultural centre in the downtown core, this will not only provide the tourists with a centrally located accessible location to gain information, but it will also provide locals with a place in which they can contribute to branding their home.

6.2.1   Tourism Board

As mentioned throughout the paper, multiple stakeholder engagement, as is the foundation of cultural planning, is key in developing effective planning strategies (Grodach, 2013). It is through these collaborative, inclusive, and diverse committees that cities can become places that hold multiple place meanings while encouraging further shared memories of place. By identifying and building on the community's layers of cultural interpretation (Carr & Servon, 2008), a city can create a place that has meaning for all residents while still encouraging diverse cultures and perspectives.

It was found that many members of the community currently sit on different committees, with two participants sitting on two committees other than their full-time jobs. Also of the participants interviewed many mentioned some of the volunteer work that they have done in the community. This shows evidence that the locals are deeply involved in the community, therefore it would be completely realistic and feasible to assume that locals would be interested in sitting on an elected community-led governance committee.

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It can be difficult to define the correct number of members to sit on a tourism committee. However, the tourism board would need to include representatives from the city and territorial government, as well as a representative from both ECE and ITI. There should also be a representative from the Government of the Northwest Territories funded destination marketing organization, Spectacular NWT. Furthermore, a representative from YKDFN as well as at least two other local members should be represented. There should also be fair representation from tour operators, restaurateurs, and accommodation providers. As stated previously, due to Yellowknifers' knack for assuming multiple roles there could potentially be representatives that overlap certain roles.

A tourism committee in Yellowknife could in turn use a community and place-based approach to facilitate the collaboration of many stakeholders as a means to generate increased knowledge distribution, networking, and develop a greater tourism model to ensure long-term benefits while minimizing negative impacts of tourism in the community. While it is vital for policy-makers to take into account all differing views, they must also consider that not all stakeholders' desires are achievable. Therefore, while the creation of a tourism committee may be an effective strategy to increase public engagement, they must consider that not all stakeholders, and in particular locals, will have the same goals or idea. As a result, the committee must use their own knowledge sharing to identify the suitable best-practice policies for Yellowknife based on the input from locals and other stakeholders.

6.2.2   Involve Locals

The City of Yellowknife could host community events and take action to get locals excited about and involved in tourism so that they can see the benefits while also contributing to how tourists can have a better experience. Locals are aware that the Aurora Borealis is the primary

draw for international tourists into the community, yet they feel there is more to offer tourists in terms of experiences. While the tourists are able to go dog-sledding, snowmobiling, and ice-fishing, and these are all activities take locals partake in, however, the tourists have no understanding that this is how every day Yellowknifers live day-to-day.

In a community as diverse as Yellowknife it is important to consider culture in both a horizontal and vertical sense. For instance, it is evident that there is the long history of YKDFN with a short history of gold miners and fur trappers which define Yellowknife's cultural heritage. However, there is also the diverse national and international cultures that have come into the community within the last few decades. Therefore, when developing community events, they should consider all the various cultures that are represented in Yellowknife's population. For instance, while hide-tanning was widely successful, the community could also consider interactive events that promote, for example, Filipino, Newfoundland, or Somalian cultures.

Another way to get more locals involved would be to try to establish easier access to lands for YKDFN. This will allow them to have more control over their traditional lands in so that unregistered tour operators cannot build lodges and outlying buildings on the ancestral lands. While this is much easier said than done, there is a possibility that if the City of Yellowknife and the Government of the Northwest Territories can collaborate than they can reduce the amount of non-local companies who receive licenses. Not only would this benefit YKDFN and local tour operators but also the local population as the money gained from tourism is more likely to remain in the community.

6.2.3   Integrating Locals and Tourists

There is a desire from both locals and tourists to have more interaction between each other, but the question remains on how this can be achieved. As was mentioned, tourists are looking for

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a unique experience and many locals felt that this could be provided when locals are interacting with the tourists. Due to the small population in Yellowknife and the generally close-knit, friendly community it is entirely possible for these local and tourist relationships to be fostered. The community could develop some activities that promote greater interaction. For instance, encouraging tourists to attend the nightly music scene at the Snow Castle, or holding events at different lodges might be potential suggestions.

Another significant, yet relatively simple suggestion to bring locals and tourists together is to have more information sharing. For instance, providing tourists with greater information about where to go for local food, where to go shopping for handmade crafts, and where to find relatively inexpensive or free northern activities that locals partake in could help with bridging the gap between locals and tourists.

Another suggestion to build locals relationships with tourists would be to offer language classes, as suggested by participants. This would not only allow locals to engage with the tourists but it would also provide further economic opportunities for locals once they can communicate easier with the tourists. This suggestion also transcends into adequate signage that reflects not only the Canadian and Indigenous languages but also those of the incoming visitors.

The final suggestion to integrate locals and tourists would be to create some form of program that connects tourists with locals. This could be similar to AirBnB but it would be specifically for Yellowknife. This program would allow both tourists and locals to sign up and connect based on what locals can offer with what the tourists are looking to experience. This could allow the tourists to gain the once-in-a-lifetime, individualized experience that they seek while locals have the satisfaction of promoting their community. Based on the participants'

responses this could potentially be a successful opportunity for defining and promoting place in Yellowknife.

6.2.4 Centralized Cultural Centre Downtown

It was found through the interviews that most participants mentioned the lack of stores, information, and overall dismal atmosphere of downtown to be needing the most improvement. As locals felt ashamed of their downtown core they would be less likely to promote it to tourists, and would also be less likely to interact with it themselves. However, it is possible that if the downtown core could create a central location that attracts both tourists and residents it may potentially create the tangible sense of place that Yellowknife seems to be lacking.

By creating a centralized space downtown that provides shops and restaurants and cultural interpretation centre for locals and tourists alike, it would not only contribute to bridging the gap in interaction but also promote greater cultural understanding. This new development could become a public-private partnership initiative that could potentially have the backing of the community as they would like to see something done with the downtown.

This space could also hold a new Visitor's Centre as it was noted by a significant number of participants that the current NFVC is no longer functional. By including the Visitor's Centre closer to the downtown core, it could potentially bring more money into the surrounding businesses which may assist with the revitalization efforts downtown as visitors will be more aware of the downtown offerings and locals will be more inclined to go there. The possibility to include a new Visitor's Centre complete with cultural aspects could potentially be brought forward in Yellowknife's new downtown plan.

6.3 Limitations

As this study only examined one location it would be remiss to assume that the recommendations would be applicable to another case study. As stated previously, how tourism planning and management is applied would need to be considered on a case by case basis. For instance, developing a hide-tanning demonstration in the middle of another small town may not be the most practical approach to tourism for that place. That being said, a comparative analysis of different case studies could be useful for small city tourism planning and learning how some strategies have been successful in similar locations.

Another issue in this study was that since the City of Yellowknife was currently examining ways to have more control of the tourism industry in the community it may have affected how some of the key informants responded to some of my questions. While it may have been beneficial to initially contact participants, my history within the community could have altered how some of the respondents interacted with me. For instance, the respondents may have answered the questions based on how they felt I wanted the questions answered.

The third limitation of the study was the combined factors of timing and weather. As a result of a shortened timeline due to research licensing constraints, I only had five weeks to collect my data. This short time frame limited me in terms of how busy the key informants and tour operators were. For instance, the Aurora Borealis season is only truly beginning by mid to end November, while the ice is not frozen until the end of December. This meant that although there were some tours operating, most could not access their lodges, which you needed the ice to freeze to access. This meant that while I only went on two tours, if my research could have been conducted later in the season I might have had more response from tour operators.

6.4 Future Research Possibilities

There is much more opportunity for researchers to explore how tourism can be an effective economic growth alternative to primary industries. For instance, while Landry (2012) commented that industrial cities are moving towards tourism, there was little research that discusses the processes that contribute to the shift from industrial to tourism-based. Additionally, it could be beneficial to examine how communities that have undergone this transformation in the past, have maintained their status as a tourism hub or whether the community has entered a decline. This could give Yellowknife the insight needed to try to safeguard against a decline, or at least to develop strategies to mitigate the decline if it can not be avoided.

One future research possibility that has not been explored in great depth is Aurora Borealis tourism, or even Aurora Australis tourism. This form of tourism, while not necessarily new, has not had extensive research conducted, which could be a result of aurora viewing being lumped with ecotourism, wilderness tourism, or other various forms of tourism. However, an interesting research opportunity may be to compare various aurora viewing locales and develop the project in a case study format. For instance, there are aurora viewing destinations in Iceland, Norway, and New Zealand to name but a few, if Yellowknife were to research these other destinations it could allow for the city to further develop their unique sense of place which would in turn allow them to become a more desirable location due to their different qualities.

7 CONCLUSION

While Yellowknife has a relatively short history, it has been able to reinvent itself time and time again. Most recently, Yellowknife has had an influx of tourists coming into the community to witness the Aurora Borealis. However, due to the many cultural differences between the tourists and locals it can be difficult for both groups to embrace the full benefits of this opportunity. Especially if locals may feel that the tourists are not getting the full experience of what Yellowknife can offer. It was found that Yellowknifers are very much a young, diverse, population that is proud of their city and want to contribute to promoting the community's cultural offerings.

This paper identified that the major gaps that may hinder the success of tourism in Yellowknife were the lack of stakeholder coordination and cooperation, lack in availability of information regarding tourism, as well as the lack of a central hub that could be accessed by both tourists and locals. All of which hinders the ability to create a cohesive sense of place.

My four key recommendations were decided on as they could potentially be the most beneficial to tourism in Yellowknife. Mainly, all four suggestions would assist with uniting the stakeholders which could not only further identify potential benefits and issues in tourism, but it could also provide a framework for planning and managing the future of tourism in Yellowknife. The other three suggestions correlate directly with the concepts of place-making, place-keeping, and place-branding. By involving locals place-making begins to take shape.

Once the unique qualities of place have been established than those who have contributed to the place-making will engage in the process of place-keeping, maintaining the qualities through actions that perpetuate the place. Finally, place-branding can be created by having a centralized

location where locals and tourists can gain information about the community while also engaging in potential community events that can occur in the centralized location.

Yellowknife has an excellent opportunity to make significant changes to their current approach to tourism development. While many members of the community are aware of the potential benefits tourism can offer, unfortunately some locals are reluctant to take advantage of the growth opportunity. If the community does not begin to take control of the planning and management of tourism in Yellowknife by harnessing the unique qualities within the community, then it will not be able to advance tourism potentials. If the tourism industry continues to grow unchecked without any formal direction then the tourists will likely not continue to travel to Yellowknife as there are other places to witness the Aurora Borealis, places that have set themselves apart from the norm, places that can provide the tourists with a once-in-a-lifetime, unique, individualized experience.

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Appendices

DMO- Destination Marketing Organization
> An organization created specifically to market a place. Yellowknife City Council has recently approved funding to set the groundwork for a Destination Marketing Organization

ECE- Education, Culture and Employment
> Government of the Northwest Territories department that oversees many programs and resources including museums, art programming and education and employment opportunities.

GNWT- Government of the Northwest Territories

> Territorial government similar to a provincial government.

ITI- Industry, Tourism and Investment

> Government of the Northwest Territories department that oversees economic investment and development, tourism opportunities, as well as resource management such as gold and diamond mining.

NFVA- Northern Frontier Visitor's Association

> The overseeing body for the Northern Frontier Visitor's Centre, businesses, organizations, and individuals pay fees to be members.

NFVC- Northern Frontier Visitor's Centre

> The Yellowknife Visitor's Centre, partially funded by the City of Yellowknife, Northern Frontier Visitor's Centre, and the sales of local goods.

NT/NWT- Northwest Territories

> The middle of the three territories in Northern Canada; Yellowknife is the capital city.

PWNHC- Prince of Wales Northern Heritage Centre

> Museum in Yellowknife that features a variety of exhibits that represent the entire Northwest Territories.

YKDFN- Yellowknives Dene First Nations

> The local First Nations community that has been settled in the area now known as Yellowknife since time immemorial.