

Conflicting Cultural Values: Whale Tourism in Northern Norway

MATS RIS¹

ABSTRACT. This paper examines an example of cultural conflict in the case of a whale tourism project in northern Norway. The project has caused conflict since foreign entrepreneurs and their sponsors have moved in with the explicit purpose of putting an end to whaling by various means of changing the whalers' and local people's conception about whales. It is argued in this paper that the reason behind the introduction of the project follows an increasing ideological trend in the Western world today: the non-consumptive utilization of whales. This idea rejects whales as a fishery resource in favour of developing an emotional and recreational relationship towards them and at the same time helping unemployed whalers. The entrepreneurs have thus tried to transform "the Whale" from within the traditional cultural context in northern Norway by introducing an alien image of it as something humans are only supposed to consume by non-material means. Finally, it is concluded that the entrepreneurs have not succeeded in changing either local attitudes towards whales or the economic situation for the whalers, since whaling and other coastal communities in northern Norway show a high degree of cultural resistance.

Key words: tourism, whales, whaling, whale watching, Norway, cultural conflict, common property, natural resources

RÉSUMÉ. Cet article se penche sur un exemple de conflit culturel dans le cas d'un projet touristique aménagé dans le nord de la Norvège. Le projet a créé un conflit car les promoteurs et leurs commanditaires sont arrivés dans la région avec l'intention déclarée de mettre fin à la chasse à la baleine en tentant par divers moyens de changer la perception qu'ont les chasseurs et la population locale de la baleine. On soutient, dans cet article, que la raison pour laquelle ce projet a été introduit est la tendance idéologique de plus en plus marquée dans le monde occidental d'aujourd'hui d'utiliser la baleine à des fins de consommation non matérielle. Cette idée rejette le concept de la baleine vue comme une ressource de pêche, en faveur du développement d'une relation affective et récréative avec elle et, en même temps, d'une aide aux chasseurs au chômage. Les promoteurs ont ainsi essayé d'extraire «la baleine» de son contexte culturel traditionnel dans la Norvège septentrionale, en introduisant une image distincte, soit quelque chose que les humains sont censés consommer par des moyens non matériels. On conclut que les promoteurs n'ont pas réussi à changer les attitudes locales envers la baleine, ni la situation économique des baleiniers, parce que les communautés baleinières et côtières affichent un degré élevé de résistance culturelle.

Mots clés: tourisme, baleine, chasse à la baleine, observation des baleines, Norvège, conflit culturel, ressources en copropriété, ressources naturelles

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INTRODUCTION

This paper examines the case of a whale tourism project in northern Norway. In recent years, along with its development, a cultural conflict has arisen between the foreign tourist entrepreneurs and the whalers in the region. The project has caused conflict among marine biologists, whalers and international financial sponsors, as well as controversy surrounding a new whaling museum connected to the tourism project. By introducing whale-watching tourism as a substitute for whaling, the explicit purpose of the project is to "slowly but surely change the image of the whale in Northern Norway" (Ostrowski, 1989:17).

Why do these entrepreneurs find it necessary to change the local people's attitudes about whales and whaling? This paper addresses the questions of how this situation has emerged and its ideological background. Before approaching the specific case, a brief outline is given of the international background and the surrounding concepts of tourism, Norwegian small-type coastal whaling and the cultural significance of whales in urban Western societies.

Background

One of the most distinct cultural conflicts of post-modern Western society is the open clash between various hunting communities and the animal-rights/welfare movement. Numerous anti-hunting campaigns have created serious problems for indigenous peoples in the Arctic and thus put emphasis on the crucial issues of land and hunting rights as well as the future of hunting societies (Keith and Saunders, 1989; Wenzel, 1991).

A noteworthy situation has emerged wherein environmental organizations by adopting animal-rights positions and endeavouring to bring indigenous trappers off their hunting territories have thus taken the most crucial step toward clearing

the land for pipelines, dams, mining and other industrial projects. Instead of being natural and close allies, these organizations have shown unusual insensitivity in their relationship with hunting communities and have unconsciously served the interests of large-scale industries by undermining the economies of those who still live in close contact with nature (Herscovici, 1985).

Parallel to these successful public campaigns against indigenous peoples, the very same organizations have been involved in similar, and equally successful, anti-sealing and fund-raising campaigns against fishermen in the North Atlantic, thus causing as much economic damage to local people as profit for themselves (Henke, 1985; Herscovici, 1985). Though aimed primarily at Newfoundland fishermen, the consequences for Inuit hunters have been at least as serious. The attacks of the animal welfare movement and the European Economic Community are carried out in light of their own culture-specific values and without respect to either the ecological or socio-economic nature of subsistence hunting (Wenzel, 1991).

The same can indeed be said about anti-whaling campaigns during the last two decades. Animal-rights and environmental groups are also in this case heavily backed up by several governments, thus creating very strong joint political pressure on whaling nations (Freeman, 1990; Suter, 1981). The history of international regulation of whaling has gone from incapability and mismanagement of the world's whale stocks, through the United Nations (UN) Conference on Human Environment in 1972 and the International Whaling Commission (IWC) moratorium on commercial whaling in 1982, to the present political situation (Asgrímsson, 1989; Hoel, 1990), with its goal the total protection of all cetaceans, irrespective of scientific findings, sustainable development principles and social and cultural considerations (Freeman, 1990).

¹Department of Ethnology, University of Göteborg, Västra Hamngatan 3, Göteborg S-411 17, Sweden
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Tourism

Tourism is linked to many aspects of modern urban life. The most important one is the creation of varied leisure-time pursuits, which has, in turn, given rise to a variety of ways of satisfying these newly created demands. But this development does not only imply positive effects. Nash (1978), among others, focuses on an important contradiction in the tourist industry: despite the negative consequences of tourist promotion in alien regions, native peoples often "choose" to take responsibility upon themselves to make the necessary physical and social adjustments to suit the needs of the tourist (Nash, 1978:41-42). For instance, charter tourism to New Guinea and Amazonia has, due to the introduction of money and the visible presence of outsiders and their demands, reinforced the total process of culture change among indigenous peoples (Smith, 1978:14).

For other than indigenous peoples, especially in the Western world, the situation is more complex, since there is an element of cash economy involved from the beginning. The tourist industry creates jobs, but on certain conditions. As Nash further points out, tourists from highly industrialized countries expect, even demand, that their vacation abroad meets expectations they take for granted at home. And the fact that the tourist entrepreneurs guarantee that their expectations are met makes it up to the hosts to adjust to the guests, not the opposite (Nash, 1978:35). As many tourist resorts are located in rural areas or at the periphery of the industrial world, the pressure on the hosts to make a living becomes so great that they often willingly accept their subdued role vis-à-vis the guests.

Quite often, though, dramatic culture change takes place when tourist entrepreneurs more directly influence the inner structure of another culture. Then it is not necessarily a question of uneven centre-periphery relationships, but rather a case of focused manipulation of important key symbols. In such cases, the commoditization of culture does not require the consent of the participants. Tourism simply packages the cultural realities of a people for sale along with their other resources. It can be done by everyone, and once set in motion, its very subtlety prevents the affected people from taking any clear-cut action to stop it (Greenwood, 1978:137).

This tendency of tourism to move very rapidly within other cultures without necessarily having explicit and outspoken motives towards them nourishes a special kind of cultural imperialism: "tourism is like Coca Cola; it is not a plague in itself, but if it is not handled carefully it can bring about irremediable damage" (Rossel, 1988:19). The structural power of the tourist industry to regard other peoples' cultures as a common property available to be exploited and, in so doing, to penetrate almost every corner of the world and change the inner meanings and dynamics of other cultures does indeed give a new meaning to Hardin's (1968) concept "tragedy of the commons."

Norwegian Small-Type Coastal Whaling

Contemporary Norwegian whaling is a case of small-type coastal whaling for minke whales (*Balaenoptera acutorostrata*). It was developed by fishermen on the coast of Møre in the late 1920s and was at first performed from small boats of only 7-12 m (Jonsgård, 1955). Today minke whaling is characterized by bigger, mostly 12-24 m fishing boats and takes place mainly in Vestfjorden in Lofoten, Barents Sea, and off Spitsbergen during about six weeks in the summer. The boats are equipped with winches and cooling facilities, since the meat and blubber

are primarily flensed on deck and then stowed onboard before being delivered to and processed by local fish plants mostly in northern Norway as food for human consumption (Foote, 1975; International Study Group on Norwegian Small-Type Whaling, 1992).

Ownership of the whaling boats is family based: the boats are often owned by two or three brothers, with their sons and other close relatives included in the crew of 5-7 members. The whalers are in fact fishermen by definition, since whaling is only one of the fisheries they are engaged in, and boats are therefore equipped for both whaling and fishing. The income from whaling is slightly lower than from other fisheries but is regarded as more stable. Being a relatively minor economic sector in northern Norway, whaling as a primary economy (with important secondary effects) is most vital to some small and isolated communities in Lofoten, such as Reine and Skrova. Here, 20% of the workforce is directly involved in whaling, and in Skrova another 30-40% in the processing industry (Mønnesland *et al.*, 1990).

In the last eight years, the situation has changed drastically. In 1982, the IWC adopted a moratorium on commercial whaling, which came into effect in 1987. In 1983, the last year with "normal" activity, the quota was 1690 whales. Today, only a few whales are taken for scientific programs. There are only about 35 whaling boats left in Norway (with about 200 whalers), and this number is steadily declining due to personal bankruptcies (Norwegian Small-Type Whaling Association, pers. comm. 1992).

In contrast to this development, recent research on the status of the minke whale stock in the northeast Atlantic has shown that the present size of the stock is 86 700, with a 95% confidence interval of 60 700 to 117 400, as agreed by the IWC Scientific Committee in 1992 (International Whaling Commission, 1993).

The negative social and economic effects of the present moratorium, the non-endangered status of minke whales, the antipathy to whaling among anti-whaling organizations and a majority of government members of the IWC and the until recently undeclared intentions of the Norwegian government have left the whalers and their families with a strong feeling of despair and abandonment. On top of this, they feel misused by foreign organizations who have destroyed their livelihood and ridiculed their culture. They see themselves as pawns in a political game they cannot influence and that has little to do with real conservation (International Study Group on Norwegian Small-Type Whaling, 1992). In light of this development, as will be shown, the introduction of a whale tourism project with clear anti-whaling incentives is seen by the whalers as another attempt to attack their culture and deprive them of their livelihood.

Whales and Key Symbols

A most distinguished trait of the modern save-the-whale movement is its creation of an image of "the Whale." This image is built up by real or imagined traits found in several species of whales and by desirable human characteristics. Kalland (1993) shows how traits found in different whale species are put together to create a veritable "super-whale," a non-existing mythical creature. Since real whales have several ambiguous marks and features compared to most other animals, they are difficult to place in a cultural category and therefore become culturally charged. An invented super-whale is even more powerful than real whales, since it comes to possess a

whole set of human-like characteristics. Such a whale is perceived as at least as intelligent as humans, friendly and caring, fond of music, able to effect inter-species communication, with a huge repertoire of accumulated knowledge and stories, etc., and holding all these traits in one imaginable body. The super-whale has now become a totem, since a symbolic association between a sacred animal (the whale) and its creators (the animal-rights movement) has been created. The totem is not only a way of integrating various like-minded social groups, but also reinforces a common opposition to others. If there is no appropriate opposition, then one must be created. The result has become a single and powerful symbol, or rather an *elaborating key symbol* (Ortner, 1973). Such a symbol holds a central status in a culture, due to its ability to sort out experiences, feelings and ideas, "making them comprehensible to oneself, communicable to others, and translatable into orderly action" (Ortner, 1973:1340).

By communicating the Whale as a totem, it is possible to distinguish visible and comprehensible opponents, i.e., whalers. As a way of actively defending the Whale, the self-appointed guardians have introduced an extensive discussion about the ethics of harvesting whales for so-called "consumptive" use (Barstow, 1991). A central question here is whether it is morally acceptable to kill whales, regardless of motive. As animal-rights philosophers point out, the ethics of killing an animal is philosophically equal to the killing of any other animal of any species (Singer, 1990). The problem of resisting whaling without getting entangled in a perpetual discussion of human relations towards animals is solved by separating cetaceans from all other animals:

I am not arguing for the sanctity of all life on earth. I am not advocating equal rights for all animal species. I am seeking to set forth a rational and moral basis for a future determination by one, specialised, international, human agency that one order of marine mammals should be managed in this manner. Why whales? My rationale most simply is that whales are uniquely special. They really are in a class by themselves [Barstow, 1989:12].

By this move it is easier to implement the Whale in practice, i.e., to set up an effective plan of action on its behalf and especially outside one's own social group. The goals can be achieved by, for instance, creating a new management regime of permanent protection from within the IWC or, as shown in this paper, introducing whale tourism in whaling countries. In both these cases, the defenders have developed a special strategy to impose their specific cultural views on those holding different cultural views.

NON-CONSUMPTIVE UTILIZATION

The strategy of developing whale-watching facilities in a whaling region like northern Norway follows an increasing international trend in the 1980s. The key concept is *non-consumptive utilization of whales*. This idea signifies a fundamentally different view about whales as a natural resource. It rests on opposition to regarding whales as food or a fishery resource, in favour of an emotion-based affective relationship between humans and whales. The term applies to "any use of cetacean resources which does not involve deliberate killing or critical harming of whales . . . in contrast to the . . . whaling industry which has been to kill and consume whales by processing their bodies" and involves, among other issues, benign research, recreational whale-watching and cultural valuation

(Barstow, 1986:155-156). The latter issue focuses on "aesthetic, educational . . . and even religious values of whales alive," and the explicit challenge is to "support through educational and cultural channels on a global basis the optimum utilization of the world's whale resources by non-consumptive means as a unique part of the common heritage of all humankind" (Barstow, 1986:163).

It is argued that the abundant occurrence of mass media features has provided the general public with facts and imagery about whales, knowledge that has brought humankind to the threshold of a profound moral transformation, since the world is turning from valuing whales dead to valuing them alive (Barstow, 1989:13). Or as stated by the U.S. branch of World Wide Fund for Nature (WWF): "not killing whales is evolving as the norm among the nations of the world" (Fuller, 1991). In this respect, whales are seen as an earthly good, offering humans moral and material support. Attitudes towards them are expected to be sensitive and proportionate, based upon feeling, as well as knowing: "Caring about whales is a mark of personal and societal maturity; and it is good practice in caring: the most difficult assignment of Homo Sapiens climbing toward humanity" (Scheffer, 1991:19). Thus, the understanding of non-consumptive utilization of whales not only seems to be based on a culture-specific and evolutionary view of cultural change, but also includes an ambitious plan of action for propagating the views of moral progress to a much wider audience, i.e., other cultures, and especially whaling communities, as will be shown below.

However, modern whaling presents a problem. It is now admitted among whale-protection advocates that there is little scientific doubt that some whale stocks can sustain limited and regulated catches in the future without endangering the species (Barstow, 1989:11; Gummer, 1991; Marine Mammal Commission, 1991:3-4). It is said that the argument against the killing of whales can no longer be based on preventing extinction, so a different rationale is required. Such a rationale is a "new world moral and ethical standard." It is thought that the past 40 years of highly significant changes in attitude and ethics with regard to whales will permanently protect them from consumptive exploitation in the future (Barstow, 1989:11-13).

This is not an isolated view among the whale-protection movement alone. It is also supported by some of the leading nations against whaling in the IWC. The government of New Zealand recognizes the "economic contribution that can be provided by live whales, in the form of whale-watching and eco tourism" and regards whales as "fellow denizens of planet Earth, with perhaps much to teach us, rather than as potential steaks or pet food" (Government of New Zealand, 1991:13). And since "many United States citizens remain opposed to commercial whaling on moral and ethical grounds," the U.S. Marine Mammal Commission recommends that the United States government adopt the position that the non-consumptive value of whales may be equal or greater than their consumptive value and that science alone is not sufficient to dictate that commercial whaling should be resumed (Marine Mammal Commission, 1991:4). The U.S. commissioner to the IWC has also confirmed this position by stating that he will continue to defend it, but that it cannot be done in the face of scientific evidence (Anonymous, 1991:4).

It is also argued that the perception of whales as merely one class among other classes of exploitable living marine resources is naturally held by those who are involved in whaling or live in whaling countries, but despite "continuous global changes

in ethical attitudes," many people do not yet accept these changes (Holt, 1991:8). The reason for the delay is said to be that they have had much less exposure than people in non-whaling or ex-whaling countries to scientific research and media presentations:

In consequence they tend to see public expression of the "non-resource" perception as an unacceptable attempt to introduce a "foreign idea." Thus they are led to emphasize "cultural differences," as if such differences were unchanging and the national cultures were not themselves evolving, largely convergently [Holt, 1991:8].

Whale protectionists have been accused of narrow-mindedly seeking to impose their own values and ethics upon people in other countries who have the right to live by different standards. . . . The fundamental factor, however, is that the issue of whale protection is in fact a global issue which must be resolved in the global arena [Barstow, 1989:12].

The fact that different peoples in different parts of the world develop different patterns of "values and ethics" suited to their own lives and experiences is here overruled by a narrowly conceived notion about cultural change. As "ethics" is taken for granted to change from worse to better according to some evolutionary plan, the change of views about whales in some parts of the Western world is seen as a natural step in the right direction towards a higher form of civilization. Deviant cultures, i.e., whaling cultures, are therefore seen as backward and are expected to give way to change, because they have not yet been exposed to appropriate knowledge and education about whales. This view of cultural change is typical of the notion of non-consumptive utilization of whales and reveals not only a strong ethnocentric, but also missionary way of thinking. As Payne (1991) points out, stopping the "amoral practice of whaling" by simply insulting the whalers will only destroy the opportunities of a "dialogue" with them, and getting many people to recognize the whales' claim to moral concern will require a

major change in their intellectual and emotional views towards animals. The difficulty of achieving that is not a reason to delay the process. As John Stuart Mill put it, "every great movement must experience three stages, ridicule, discussion, adoption." I say, let us get on with this movement! [Payne, 1991:22.]

In other words, changing the whalers' perception into "adoption" makes a tactical approach necessary. Here, the concept of non-consumptive utilization through whale watching and education seems to provide an appropriate means to implement the mission of putting an end to whaling.

It is thought that the need for public campaigns and education to save the whales is especially relevant for whaling nations, since the only way to affect the moratorium is to convince these countries to abide by the IWC decision (McCloskey, 1986:165). The main educational principle is to provide and translate information about whales and their "universal values" into terms that will enlist support of local people, and in such a form that "people of diverse cultures and religions can relate to them." Educators, scientists, conservationists and non-government organizations on the local level are therefore urged to cooperate in combined educational/political campaigns. A moratorium could then be seen as desirable by local people if they learn about the "mysteries" of whales. An alternative could be properly regulated commercial whale watching, and "if accompanied by naturalists and printed information, the public can learn a great deal about the animals and their survival needs"

(McCloskey, 1986:166-167). This is claimed to demonstrate that whales are worth more alive than dead and, above all, that a carefully developed whale-watching industry will benefit local communities (McCloskey, 1983:18). In the interest of assisting the local economy, whaling communities are encouraged to consider changing over to whale watching because of the moratorium:

Especially in areas where such whaling has been carried on for a very long time . . . some of the whaling communities may want to convert the stations into museums of whaling, including displays on the nature and habits of whales. Former whaling company employees could work in the museum, on the whale-watching boats, and in the tourist support facilities [McCloskey, 1983:12].

NORWEGIAN WHALE WATCHING

The town of Andenes, on the very northern tip of Vesterålen in the county of Nordland, is heavily dominated by fishing and NATO activities, but also has some tourism (Fig. 1). Nordland is the base of contemporary small-type coastal whaling in Norway. There are, however, no whalers or any whaling activity at Andenes itself. Due to the size and location of the town (population 3500), sufficient infrastructure (airport, hotels, shops, tourist facilities) and an excellent seascape (the edge of the continental shelf is only 10-12 nautical miles from the coast), it has proven to be a very good departure point for whale-watching tourism.

The Entrepreneurs

After an initial assessment in 1987, organized by a mainly Swedish organization, Centre for Studies of Whales and

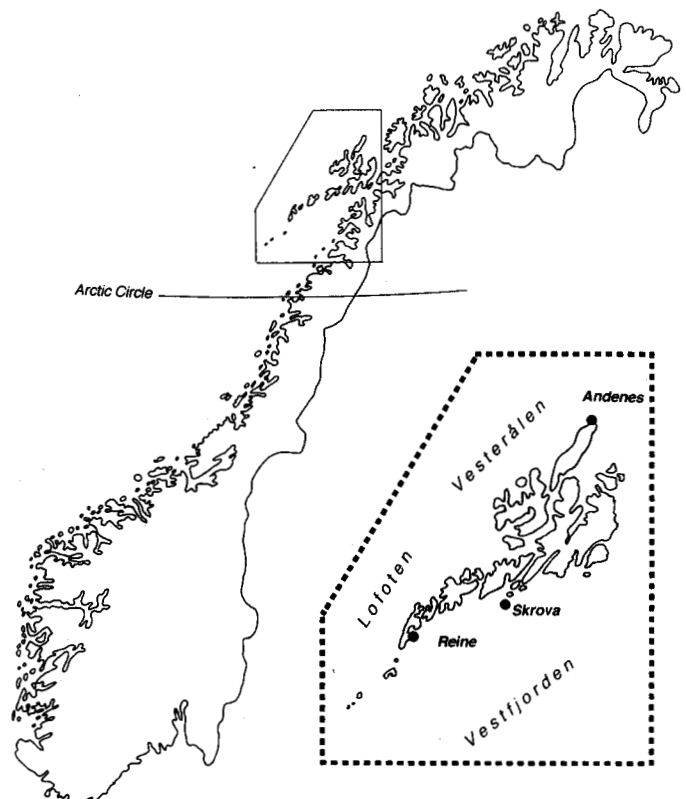


FIG. 1. The region in Norway being discussed.

Dolphins (CSWD) and local interests at Andenes, the first organized tours took place in 1988 and the business has grown since then with amazing speed every year. In the 1991 season over 4500 tourists purchased \$100 tickets to see (mainly) sperm whales outside Andenes. Today the tours are organized from a special tourist building, the Whale Centre, owned by a company called Whale Safari Ltd. The Whale Centre has a reception area for reservations and general tourist information, a souvenir shop and a cafeteria for visitors. Excursion participants also have access to a whale and whaling exhibition, including a colour slide show about whales. In 1991, the Whale Safari Ltd. was controlled by four joint owners: the municipality (40%), local business (20%), the county council (20%) and CSWD (20%). The two latter partners, however, are not represented at board meetings. The boat tours are operated by an enterprising young whaler and his crew on board a family-owned whaling boat. Being a third-generation whaler from a well-known whaling family in Lofoten, he has acquired the special knowledge and great skill necessary for finding whales. Accompanying the trips are also two marine biologists and a number of mostly foreign students, who work as guides and conduct research.

The Centre for Studies of Whales and Dolphins is built up by a variety of people and professions — scientists, artists, craftsmen and media professionals — but with a common and active interest in whales and dolphins. The core consists of a limited number of marine biologists and other professionals. In 1983, members of the CSWD made a field trip to Lofoten in order to investigate the possibilities for an extensive whale research project, and also to “gain insight into the importance of whaling in the Norwegian society today and in the future” (Anonymous, 1984:62). At this early stage of the organization’s experience in Norway, the purpose of the project was quite clear:

How shall the attitudes of the whaling industry be changed, so that all whales and dolphins could live in peace in the future without constantly being threatened by man? Is it reasonable to expect that people who live off whaling should give up their livelihood and income abruptly? Finding appropriate ways for a cautious and sensible development of the whale-watching tourism as a new and alternative source of income . . . is a typical project of CSWD. It is interdisciplinary, and if it turns out to be a success, it may be a positive contribution to the whales in our part of the world. Today people are working all over the world to save the whales, and . . . the Centre for Studies of Whales and Dolphins is a part of this whole [Anonymous, 1984:64].

Since then, the explicit connection among whales, whaling and cultural change has been a characteristic trait of the organization. This view has been repeated and exploited by most of the leading members and marine biologists associated with CSWD, as well as by the Scandinavian branches of WWF.

In order to fulfil the prescription of non-consumptive utilization of whales, the Swedish entrepreneurs have introduced whale watching at Andenes as a suitable means to achieve this goal. Here, several instruments are used. One is the mass media, which is the most important ingredient for promoting the tourist project as such. It has thus gained much attention abroad. Television and press from many parts of the world have visited Andenes to cover the tours. On location at Andenes, however, the two most crucial concepts are research and education.

The Use of Research

From the very start of the CSWD involvement in northern Norway, there has been a strong connection among research,

whale tourism and whalers. The present leader of the research activities at Andenes emphasizes that “the aim is to combine whale research with whale-watching: located in the last stronghold of Norwegian whaling the Centre plays an important role in changing attitudes towards whales” (Similä and Ugarte, 1991:18). Whale watching is then expected, according to another marine biologist, to “create alternative employment for whalers and at the same time use their expertise on cetacean behaviour” (Arnbom, 1988:189). And if whale tourism turns out to work well, it is to “secure a long term platform for whale research and general education about whales, and to create a job alternative to former whalers, now unemployed because of the whaling moratorium” (Lindhard *et al.*, 1988:3).

Even if whalers and whale tourism can provide the marine biologists with local expertise and some financial resources, the major costs for the research must come from elsewhere. The key is WWF, which has supported the marine biologists financially since 1987, mainly by funds derived from large “whale adoption” campaigns. WWF has thus offered the public the opportunity to adopt a whale in northern Norway. With brochures titled “Mayday! Save The Whale!” WWF Denmark has invited the public to be subscription sponsors for up to \$100 (WWF, 1990b) and business firms for \$10 000 per sperm whale (WWF, 1990a). Similarly, WWF Sweden has offered the public the opportunity to adopt a whole killer whale for \$1000 or part of a whale for \$100 (WWF, 1989).

As the public is entitled to receive news about “their” whales, the entrepreneurs provide basic information through photographs taken by the marine biologists (Ostrowski, 1989:16; WWF, 1990a). The purpose of the campaign is, according to WWF Denmark, to save the last whales of the world from extinction by raising money for lobbying the IWC and promoting whale tourism (Dybbro, 1990; WWF, 1990a). There is an explicit link between research and whaling: “we are launching a research project in Andenes in Northern Norway, which aim is to replace commercial whaling with whale tourism” (WWF, 1990b). And the chairman of WWF Sweden is also quite frank about this connection: “slaughter or whale tourism is a political question of choice” (Hammarström, 1988:15).

Several of the CSWD marine biologists also reveal an image of whales as living on the brink of extinction, an idea that directly influences their view about whaling and whalers. One biologist expresses the view that the whaling debate in Norway has moved beyond logic, since they try to find simple solutions to difficult problems: “it is the same sort of problem as with farmers and wolves; when the discussion has gone too far, it does not matter if there are only five wolves left” (Carlson, 1991:7). In 1988, another marine biologist expressed this idea by stating that “the hunting of the minke whale must be stopped; there is no doubt about it. Norway has perhaps only 10-15 per cent left of the original stock from 1930” (Emanuelsson, 1988:23). Few, if any, members of the IWC Scientific Committee believed this at the time. And a third biologist of CSWD explains that “protection of whales is an economic and ethical question: one thing is that the whale is a resource we cannot afford to lose. . . . Another thing is the moral aspect of whether animals shall have the right to exist or not, and I mean that they definitely have such rights” (Myklebust, 1988:9). The CSWD entrepreneurs also back up these ideas, stating that if whalers and local people become more interested in the tourist project, they will also have an interest in protecting the whale stocks: “we simply try to show the whalers that there are other ways

of making money on whales than killing them" (Seinegård, 1987:23).

The tour-operating whaling captain, who tries through this means to save his boat from bankruptcy, has found that the economic reality of tourism is not so simple. He has invested over \$160 000 in order to meet safety regulations for taking passengers on board, but he has never received any contributions from WWF. Instead, in January 1992 he was so heavily indebted that he narrowly escaped bankruptcy and loss of both his boat and home. He can only offer two crew members employment, while during the days of whaling his boat carried a crew of six. At the same time, the local organizer employs (even foreign) students as guides, thus offering them summer jobs at the expense of the laid-off crew (International Study Group on Norwegian Small-Type Whaling, 1992:103-104). The captain's view on the whole matter is very straightforward:

These so-called "researchers" and their WWF friends were the ones who stopped whaling for us. Now they are making money on adopted whales. They have robbed us of our livelihood, but make a profit on the whales themselves. They keep telling us that we do not own the whales, but they sell adoptions as if *they* own them! [Pers. comm. 1991.]

In sum, the marine biologists connected to the whale tourism project at Andenes are caught in a contradiction. At the same time as they are partly dependent on the expertise of the whalers to perform their research, they promote anti-whaling attitudes themselves and accept financial support from organizations that develop large anti-whaling campaigns. Their desire to help the whalers with their financial problems because of the moratorium must also be seen against the fact that some of them have actively contributed to uphold the same moratorium in the IWC.

The Use of Education

The second crucial concept of the Whale Safari activities, education, is linked to the research sector, since the marine biologists also provide knowledge about whales:

Joining whale friends and whalers for a vivid dialogue is an important part of the project. Many locals join the tours out to the whales and learn exciting facts about the whales. Slowly but surely is the image of the whale changing in Northern Norway. *That is the purpose* [Ostrowski, 1989:17].

What are the conditions for such a "dialogue" and what do education and knowledge mean? These words are not neutral in the dictionary sense, but rather filled with implicit meanings. The citation above indicates that knowledge about whales is something that is provided by experts, i.e., scientists. Local people, who are believed to know very little about marine mammals, are expected to join the tours to achieve the new knowledge. In this respect, school classes are argued to be of equal importance in the educational process (Schandy, 1991:14).

Education also plays an important role vis-à-vis the tourists. Before every tour, the participants receive guided information in the Whale Centre. The one-hour preparation includes a guided visit to the whale exhibition and a professional colour slide performance. Then the party leaves (in one body) for the boat, and once on board the guides provide another round of information. During the trip the guides make comments on the behaviour of the whales and answer questions from the tourists.

It seems that their relation to the tourists serves an extra purpose: to provide the tourists with a special kind of knowledge, since the inner meaning of the tour is not necessarily just looking at whales, but also interpreting them in a special

direction. As Horne (1984) suggested, the social significance of tourism can be clarified if one imagines the traveller/sightseer as a modern pilgrim and what is looked for as a relic. What matters then is what tourists are told they are seeing. The fame of the objects becomes its meaning (Horne, 1984:9-10). In the Andenes case, then, the whale seems to be the "relic," which hopefully can heal some of our urban worries about the deteriorating state of the natural world.

A more clear-cut example of the notion of knowledge and education inherent in the whale tourism project is the recent debate on a whaling museum in the Whale Centre. In 1990, CSWD worked out a plan for an extensive permanent whaling exhibition about "the importance of the whale for the people of coastal Norway." The emphasis is centred upon the "two periods of coastal whaling in Norway," i.e., historical large-type and modern small-type whaling, and "impressions, knowledge, experiences, and artifacts" from them (Ostrowski and Steijner, 1990:1). WWF Sweden has contributed \$50 000 for its realization, but the CSWD entrepreneurs give strong rhetorical emphasis to the idea that the work with the museum must from the very beginning be carried out in close cooperation with whalers and others who defend continuous whaling and that the museum must not be perceived as biased by whale-protection interests. Instead, the basis of the personal experiences offered by the museum shall be the ancient local pride over the hunting: "local visitors must find parts of their own identity exposed, though perhaps the pride will be put in a historical context" (Ostrowski and Steijner, 1990:2).

At first sight, there seems to be a conflict between sponsors and entrepreneurs, since an international anti-whaling organization is funding the museum and CSWD seeks to emphasize the whalers' perception of whaling. This is not the case, however. On the contrary, the two perspectives show a tendency to coincide. By putting two completely different socioeconomic phenomena in Norway — the historical and industrial-scale large-type coastal whaling with the contemporary family-based small-type coastal whaling — together into one category and then emphasizing the historical perspective, the entrepreneurs manage to promote the idea that whaling in Norway today is not only a closed historical chapter, but also involves the same unsustainable traits as old-time industrial whaling operations.

Needless to say, this perspective upsets the whaling captain at Andenes. He wants no less than to go out whaling again. Though operating whale-watching excursions for the moment, his harpoon is mounted on the fore-castle head on every trip, since "this *is* a whaling boat, and I *am* a whaler! I am just waiting for the moratorium to end" (pers. comm. 1991).

The historical purpose of the museum and the support from WWF have also upset local organizations. The secretary of the Norwegian Small-Type Whaling Association finds it outrageous that people who are working for a total ban on whaling are touring northern Norway to collect artifacts and memories for, as he phrased it, a "mausoleum" over the whalers' lives, at the same time as the whalers are fighting with all their means to save their occupation. He wishes to see the development of Norwegian coastal culture, with its deep-rooted traditions, but emphasizes that the museum must display this culture in the past *as well as* in the future and that the expertise will be found among the whalers themselves (Storhaug, 1991:5; Münter, 1991:4).

The local organizer at Andenes, Whale Safari Ltd., argues, however, that both they and CSWD have a neutral approach towards resumed commercial whaling and that they for a long

time have wished to establish closer contacts between their activities and the realities of communal life in northern Norway. In this respect, Whale Safari Ltd. emphasizes strongly that money from WWF campaigns must not be used against the whalers (Hagtun, 1991a:12). Further, they find no reasons to sever connections with CSWD and WWF, as long as the cooperation works under acceptable conditions and no propaganda is directed against the whalers. The whalers' reluctance to take an active part in the museum is regarded as satisfactory, since they do not contribute financially anyway. CSWD and WWF, on the other hand, have contributed with "money, enthusiasm, and creativity," and without their support the idea of a whaling museum must be given up. The whale tourism project is seen as far too important to be stopped by the whalers' prejudices, distrust and lack of dialogue (Hagtun, 1991b:18).

The entrepreneurs have seemingly chosen to present the whaling museum in a thematically "neutral" and "non-controversial" way by emphasizing the historical perspective. But a museum always has a meaning and communicates by means of its character. It often has a silent language — a traditional museum displays authority. The museum's audience is seldom allowed to control the ordering and structure of things but is merely a passive consumer of the meanings being provided. By organizing the display and interpretation of objects, stories, etc., their original cultural importance is lost in favour of a new set of meanings created primarily to serve the goals of the museum authorities.

Variations on this theme are not unusual among museologists. Smith (1989:9), for instance, emphasizes that one of the most insistent problems that museums face is the idea that artefacts can be divorced from their original context and redisplayed in a different context that is regarded as having a superior authority. As Vergo (1989:2-3) points out, museums make choices determined by judgements, which are rooted in our education, upbringing and prejudices. Every arrangement of objects means placing a certain construction upon history, our own culture or someone else's, and beyond all the information there is a subtext of often contradictory strands, woven from wishes, ambitions and political or educational preconceptions of the museum's designers and sponsors. Accordingly, Hudson (1987:114) sympathizes with a museum's wish to appear "objective" and "scientific" but admits that such an attitude is dishonest. After all, as Horne (1984:2) puts it, public culture such as tourism and museums, is a reaffirmation of what life is supposed to be about: sightseeing helps people in modern industrial societies define who they are and what matters in the world.

The conflict and the problems of the whaling museum at Andenes are not unique. A whaling museum seems to be the best way of communicating the cultural, social and economic nature of whaling to a broader audience, but one can only hope that it will emerge from closer cooperation between whalers and professional museologists.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

The notion of non-consumptive utilization of whales represents the idea that future whale management regimes should focus much more on issues like ethics, morals, emotions, public amusement and attractions than on biological and statistical sciences. Since this notion is mainly of Anglo-American origin, the vocabulary used to describe it (global standards, for all humankind, ethics, etc.) should be understood in an Anglo-

American context. It is most unlikely, for instance, that large segments of African, Asian and Latin American societies, or even significant parts of the industrial world, would share this view about cetaceans (or other animals, for that matter). Since it is naturally the antithesis of non-consumptive utilization, whaling is seen by those promoting non-consumptive utilization goals as something that sooner or later must come to a definite end, and whale tourism is regarded as an instrument for achieving this goal.

The whale-watching project at Andenes has clearly proved to be a part of this current urban-based trend to promote the non-consumptive utilization of whales. The foreign entrepreneurs have tried to transform the whale from within its traditional cultural context in northern Norway by introducing instead a fundamentally alien view of it. In this context, they have tried to introduce an image of the whale as something humans are only supposed to enjoy by non-material means. It has become a matter of *either* watching whales *or* hunting them. But people in rural communities do not necessarily share this view: showing respect for nature *and* harvesting living natural resources do not imply contradictory values. On the contrary, they presuppose each other. There is undoubtedly plenty of cultural space in Norwegian coastal societies to accept and promote *both* sustainable/consumptive *and* recreational/non-consumptive use of whales, but the foreign entrepreneurs do not, figuratively speaking, "allow" local people and tourists this choice.

The entrepreneurs have tried to place tourism in the context of whaling. In a missionary spirit, whale watching is promoted as an automatic substitute for whaling in order to help the unfortunate whalers. The entrepreneurs, however, have not succeeded in changing either attitudes or the economic situation for the whalers, since whale watching never can grow to the extent of offering more than a very few whalers alternative employment, and furthermore it constitutes an economy highly dependent on fluctuations abroad. Instead, whaling communities in northern Norway seem to be relatively strong societies with a high degree of cultural resistance to ideas perceived as threats against their traditional economy based on marine resources. The local organizers are then left in the typical position of balancing the expectations of the foreign entrepreneurs and sponsors on the one hand and the frustrations of the whalers on the other.

Connecting wildlife and leisure is often a case of eco-tourism. The fact that profit comes second to ideology may have inspired a Swedish journalist to state that the Andenes case is an example of "green tourism" as well:

It is a combination of recreation and ecological and cultural insights. Its contribution is to save endangered animals. It creates alternatives for those who are dependent on environmentally harmful occupations. So apart from exciting experiences, the whale safari tourist can enjoy a clean environmental conscience [Frieberg, 1991:27].

Contrary to this, current studies indicate that sustainable coastal whale fisheries are among the least environmentally damaging food-protein-producing systems, when the energy costs, habitat disruption and chemical polluting aspects of other food-producing systems are compared (Freeman, 1991). In this limited sense, then, whale tourism within the context of the northern Norwegian whaling culture is an example of Lévi-Strauss's profound insight (1991:89) that totemic animals are indeed "good to think" (but not to eat).

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