REVIEW ESSAY:

Tourism in Cold Water Islands: A Matter of Contract? Experiences from Destination Development in the Polar North.

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Abstract

Lack of local understanding and low preparedness for tourism characterise many remote communities of the Polar North, thus undermining positive attitudes towards tourism even if tourism is seen as a development force. The relatively new interest in Arctic regions as a tourist destination combined with different exogenous forces like globalization and climate change make the situation even more complex. The peripheral and insular location often renders cruise tourism as the only option. Under these circumstances, the readiness to accept tourism as a development tool varies from destination to destination, ranging from being seen as a passport to development to a threat to local culture and traditional life. In order to bridge these perception gaps, the idea of a mental or written contract between tourists and local residents is discussed.

Keywords: Polar North, tourism, globalization, climate change, cruise ship, contract

Introduction

Tourism's importance as a driving force of economic and socio-cultural change in less developed regions has been well documented over the last three decades (Pearce, 1989; Lindberg & Johnson, 1997; Brown & Hall, 2000; Lundgren, 2001; Hall & Roberts, 2003). In many cases, tourism is regarded (at best) as one of the few realistic sectors for jump-starting the economies of these peripheral areas. This is because, *inter alia*, tourism is recognized as a labour intensive industry with a market for unskilled employees a source of foreign currency, a promoter for the intensified use of existing infrastructure, and a promoter of regional and international contacts (Jafari, 1996).

In recognition that, over time, tourism's impacts do not remain static and that various forces affect the nature of the sector's development, a substantial body of literature focuses on the dynamics of tourism's evolution in destinations, including islands (Doxey, 1975; Butler, 1980; Faulkner & Tideswell, 2001; Hall, 2000; Ritchie & Crouch, 2005). The path towards tourism's development has not been without obstacles and this may, in certain instances, cloud the local's perceptions of and confidence in the sector (de Kadt, 1979; de Burlo, 1996; Hovgard, 1998; Lüthje, 1998; Dyer *et al*., 2003).

Lack of local understanding of, and low preparedness for, tourism are common characteristics in many small and remote communities of the Polar North and this may undermine any positive attitudes towards the sector (Johnstone, 1995; Marsh & Staple, 1995; Wanhill, 1997; Timothy, 2001). Tourism in these regions is a relatively new phenomenon and research experience from warmer places may not be accurate for understanding Arctic conditions. The Butler sequence has as a point of departure a state of development of the local society with a modern or even early-modern historical context while the Arctic region is surrounded, when tourists appear, by a post-modern context with porous borders, flexible actors, and a multiplex reality. The change from a more or less traditional to an open society is therefore more rapid and distinct.

In tourism history research, focus has normally been on the tourist and the tourism industry. Little has been written on how host societies catered for the needs of the traveller (Towner, 1996). Adler (1989: 7) argues that, during history, tourism has been undertaken in order to yield "... meaning pertinent to the travellers and their publics". Tourists often have certain expectations on a destination based on the context of their ordinary life at home and these expectations do not always correspond to what they experience during their trip (Laxson, 1991).

The background contexts for the tourist differ from the context of the local residents, otherwise tourists flows would not be especially substantial (MacCannell, 1999; Urry, 2001; 2002). Due to these differences, it is likely that the nature of images and expectations of each side, rooted in these contexts, is more or less misleading for both. Altman & Finlayson (2003), for example, find that a lack of market realism among Aboriginal participants in tourism projects in Australia is matched at times by the lack of understanding by tourists and the tourist industry. Laxson (1991) has the same experience from the meeting between tourists and Native Americans. Lüthje (1998) concludes from her studies among Saami people in Northern Finland that tourists tend to perceive their travel destinations selectively, seeing just such things which reinforce their preconditions or prejudices. Entrepreneurs can use this to present local culture and attractions in a way that facilitates this reinforcement of prejudices among tourists. This in turn creates resentment among groups of local residents since they do not recognize themselves in the presentations (Lyngnes & Viken, 1998; Pettersson, 2004). Especially in studies with a primarily economic, sociological or anthropological background of Polar North destinations, reference is often made to such an attitude of resentment towards tourism among local residents (Hall & Johnston, 1995; Butler & Hinch, 1996; Aarsæter & Bærenholdt, 1998; Hinch, 2001:115).

In order to benefit from tourism as the important development vehicle, this gap between what tourists expect from visited destinations and what local people expect and want from tourists should be bridged. One way of doing so is to establish better communication between tour operators and local tourist entrepreneurs. Williams & Richter (2002) argue in their study of channels between tour operators and destinations in Northern Canada that a development of alliances between local destinations and distribution channels can affect the patterns of destination use.

The different contexts can be illustrated by the following model:

Figure 1: Model for Relations between Tourists and Local Residents.

MARKET ←————— TOUR OPERATOR —————→ DESTINATION
                          TRAVEL AGENT

THE TOURIST   LOCAL RESIDENTS
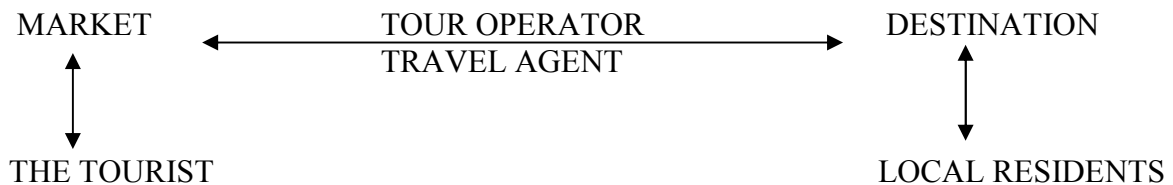
Context:

Demographic

Age, family, occupation

Cultural

Interests, education
Habits, preferences, values

Environmental

Urban-rural, landscape
Accessibility to nature
Outdoor activities

Source: The author.

The connections between market and destination flow normally between the market and the destination as geographic entities, mediated by tour operators, travel agencies and welcome organisations at the destination. However, there are normally no direct flows between individual tourists and local residents. Instead, knowledge about each other stems from the mediators. The meeting at the destination is materialised by tourist entrepreneurs and that means that the main characters of the play, tourists and local residents, are not involved.

Some kind of a "contract", mental or written, between "buyers" (tourists) and "sellers" (actors in the local context) may engender a better understanding of the costs and benefits affecting each of these. This is probably more important today than ever, since the digital revolution has in many respects eliminated the use of tour operators or travel agents as

intermediaries between tourists and local entrepreneurs. Distance booking systems are, however, probably not suitable for more subtle discussion and information on local culture and conditions. The remoteness of Polar North destinations and what is often seen, by tourists, as 'strange culture' means that such a contract is probably needed more today in such locales than at other destinations.

The aim of this article is to discuss how resentment among groups of local residents in the Polar North towards tourists can be proactively diminished by some sort of mental or written contract between tourists and local residents, implemented by some of the mediators between the two sides.

The Polar North: A World in Transition

Is there a special cold water destination?

There is a wide-spread agreement that the background contexts for visitors to the Polar North involve a longing for: locational difference; remoteness; pre-modern authenticity; spirituality; absence of signs; slow pace; and nostalgia (Timothy, 2001; Dann, 2006; Kaae, 2006; Baldacchino, 2006). Of course, most of these motives, which illustrate a concerted effort to escape the routine and drudgery of everyday life by travelling to "out of the ordinary" places (Urry, 2002), drive tourists to visit various destinations around the world, not only Polar North destinations. However, a trip to Arctic regions by definition involves the attainment of a certain degree of inconvenience. This stems from a curiosity which reaches far beyond the usual pursuit of the enjoyment to be derived from the pleasures of the "four Ss", defined by Turner-Ash (1975) as *sun, sand, sea, and sin.* Kaae (2006) argues that, when it comes to cold water destinations, the four 'S's are replaced by the four 'I's, namely ice-bergs, inaccessibility, initiation, and island isolation. Unlike the four 'S's, which are very much associated with collective (mass-oriented) actions, these 'I's are linked to individuality. For instance, when she talks about initiation, Kaae implies the development of one's inner self through a brand new experience that has a meaningful and long-lasting impact.

In the background context for visitors to Polar regions, there may also be some who desire to collect places for reasons of prestige (Timothy, 2001). For example, in a visitor survey, Rassing & Sørensen (2001) found few repeat visitors to the Faroe Islands; they suggest that these islands have a status of a place that one visits just once in a life-time in order to afterwards put a mark on the map for one's self-esteem or to impress friends and family.

The local context of destinations in the Polar North involves both attractions and settings. Warm water islands, by contrast, are mainly settings where various activities can be conducted, especially if the destination is an island (Butler, 2006). But these activities may not necessarily be connected to islandness since they can be carried out in many mainland settings and produce similar experiences. In the case of cold water islands, the island or the isolated mainland itself, is often the main attraction and the activities that take place are very much a consequence of the very situation that exists on each island (Timothy, 2001).

Whale spotting, canoe paddling, experience of nature, and indigenous culture are typical activities expected by visitors to be offered on most Polar destinations, while just relaxing is relatively unusual. These conditions, and the mere fact of the inconvenience of access, lead to a low market potential: it is too costly and time consuming to get there, compared to alternative destinations (Butler, 2006).

Globalization forces with more flexible and easier movements of labour and capital over national borders seem to strike Polar North destinations harder than less peripheral places due to infrastructural disadvantages. Monocultures like fishery and agriculture are more frequent at these destinations and make them more vulnerable to external competition. Asymmetric dependence on surrounding environmental resources, together with low levels of technology and innovation, creates a situation which has to be compensated for by new strategies (Kaalhauge-Nielsen, 2000). The alternative is often to give in to outer impact and reorganize local structures to meet new demands, a reorganization that often causes unemployment for large groups at the destination. Tourism is in both cases often given the role of a growth driver. Coping processes, rooted in people's own acceptance and activities, can establish a way to smoothen the inconveniences caused by these globalization forces (Aarsæter & Bærenholdt, 1998:16).

Different destinations choose different solutions. Dalvík on northern Iceland is an example of a village where monoculture (small-scale agriculture) has been diversified to include tourism as a substantial part of its economy. The decline of agriculture due to a lack of competitiveness, along with the absence of a good harbour, has forced the inhabitants to diversify their economic activities. Today, tourism is an important and accepted part of the local economy (Dahlström *et al.*, 2006; author's findings from visits to Dalvík in 2002 and 2006).

Banks Island in northern Canada is another example of how a local context affects reactions to outer impact (Marsh & de la Barre, 2006). For the inhabitants on Banks Island, the exogenous impact was not so much a matter of free labour and capital movements as of climate change. Reduction of permafrost started to damage both local homes and accommodation facilities for tourists. Residents responded to this serious jeopardy of the local economy by starting to preserve the houses from the damages of disappearing permafrost through stabilization efforts. It has been done voluntarily and according to Marsh & de la Barre, this gives the islands a chance to showcase their culture and to educate guests about the Arctic way of life also under changing climate conditions. One interviewed citizen confirmed this view on tourism and transformation by saying that:

> "… in a small community, it is exciting and refreshing to meet new people and learn about different parts of the world" (*ibid.*: 81).

Destinations like Dalvík and Banks Island seem to understand this reciprocal nature of tourism: the local society gains from the influx of money, and the tourists get a "once-in-a-lifetime experience".

Other destinations focus more on a wish to preserve the existing structure. Adaptation to new conditions is often slow. Tourism is regarded as a part of the globalization process and hence a threat to this preservation, especially if local culture, as described above, is exploited by tourism entrepreneurs in a way that local residents find inappropriate (Aarsæter & Bærenholdt, 1998; 2001; Nilsson, 2003; Bodén & Rosenberg, 2004). Postmodern trends towards a more flexible society are not accepted or introduced (Urry, 2001; Wolf, 2001). Uummannaq on the north-west coast of Greenland is such a traditional destination. The area is isolated from the rest of Greenland by poor infrastructure. Structural change has forced the Inuits to abandon their hunting culture and shift to make their living from fishery. Tourism was thought of as a solution to some of the problems caused by this structural change. This did not work very well: Bærenholdt (2001) suggests that tourism, driven by one single entrepreneur – who is the owner of the only hotel in town - has caused antagonism among local residents. His activity is based upon a Danish TV-series on Santa Claus, living on Greenland, and filmed on location in Uummannaq. The sets for the series, shown on TV in Denmark, are still in place and are exploited for tourism purposes. But, people in the town are suspicious: there was a general culturally inscribed scepticism to tourism development (Bærenholdt, 2001:7). In Uummannaq, cultural differences between the exogenous Danish influence and the endogenous hunting culture have eroded possibilities for establishing an entrepreneurial spirit within the community, and hence for coping with the transition process in a constructive way. Local residents do not recognize the gains of tourism and there is no mutual understanding between tourists and residents of costs and benefits connected to the tourism industry (Nilsson, 2006).

Reflexivity and Solidarity

The readiness to see tourism as a way to replace lost economic structures caused by external forces from the examples of Dalvík, Banks Island and Ummannaq can be seen as an implementation of French sociologist Durkheim's (1912) two principles of solidarity in society: mechanic and organic. According to Durkheim, mechanic solidarity exists in a society when citizens possess similar, interchangeable roles. This reflects a static society with a low degree of division of labour among the residents and a lot of social control since everybody is considered to be responsible for the stability of the whole society. Organic solidarity is based instead on the division of labour. The labour force is flexible and replaceable, social control is less visible, society is much more pluralist, and the individual's future is more difficult to forecast. Organic solidarity facilitates a tourism policy based upon an adaption to the forces of globalization, while mechanical solidarity offers ingredients for a small-scale tourism based on cultural heritage but not necessarily very profitable to the host society from a commercial point of view.

In a study on the quest for autonomy for Inuits within the Canadian state system, Martin (2001) tested Durkheim's theory in the two communities of Kuujjuarapiq and Umiujaq in Nunavut. He found that the community with a mechanic solidarity (Kuujjuarapiq, an old Cree town) was unwilling to change structures, even under outside pressure; while the community with organic solidarity (Umiujaq, a new town developed in 1986) was better

positioned to cope with and accept structural changes. Martin argues that globalization processes brought out these different reactions.

Aarsæter & Bærenholdt (2001) use the concept of *reflexivity* to explain why different destinations manifest a different readiness to accept structural changes caused by exogenous forces more or less out of the control of the impacted society. The authors accept Martin's view of different forms of solidarity but found it too simple as an explanation. By using the reflexivity concept, which involves an inner reflection of how to encounter these exogenously driven impacts, they argue that among local residents there often exists an ambiguity of what is best for the society and the individual. As an outcome or solution to this ambiguity, Aarsæter & Bærenholdt argue that, in many cases, local residents choose a compromise between adapting or resisting change.

The fact that tourism often plays a decisive role for these compromises is central. In a study of the development of the tourism industry at six different destinations in Northern Sweden, Bodén & Rosenberg (2004) argue that the transformation process at these destinations does not always have a rationally based action agenda for both individuals and companies. Thereby they resort to the concept of reflexivity: faced with a choice between business success or community success, some individuals were not willing to act in favour of just only one of these. A compromise between the different alternatives was chosen, and not always based on rational arguments.

Looked upon in this way, reflexivity can be seen as a tool for facilitating an understanding of the expectations from tourists and local residents; it can provide insights into the necessity of acceptance of different expectations and references. In a study from Nunivak Island, Alaska, Berry (2006) refers to a discussion on how to cope with a tour operator sending tourists to the island. The cooperatively oriented inhabitants of Nunivak are not pleased with the external location of the tour operator. Most of those interviewed by Berry, however, saw the benefits of having a tour operator placed within the market and prioritized that in favour of a local control of the tourist flows. They appreciated both the benefits and the costs for tourism at their destination.

The ambiguity of how to cope with tourism can also differ within the same destination. Nevmerzhitskaya (2006) describes the problems on the Solovetski Islands in the Russian White Sea (former GULAG archipelago) when hosting visitors. First, people living on the islands can be called 'local' only to some extent, since most of them have come to Solovetski since the 1990s. Second, the actors are local but with a rather hierarchal structure. Nevmerzhitskaya describes the tourist destination organisation as a triumvirate, consisting of the monastery, the museum and the community administration. All have different agendas on what to offer the tourists and how to meet their needs and they do not cooperate. Due to the very attractiveness of the offers, the tourists undergo profound experiences; but these experiences do not match in all ways what they have been expecting.

Another example of how ambiguity can differ within the same group of inhabitants but at different times is drawn from the Lofoten Islands of northern Norway (Pujik, 1996).

Tourists visit this destination mostly in summer and they hail mainly from urban southern Scandinavia or central Europe. They find an expected different experience in many ways on Lofoten: magnificent nature and splendid vistas with high mountains close to the Atlantic, picturesque fisher villages and a never-setting sun. The meeting between tourists and the local population takes place when both parts are on holiday and the interaction within the public sphere is usually restricted to gazing at each other, each of the actors contributing to the other's curiosity. Main frustrations with summer tourists are connected to logistic problems, such as when tourists walk over traditionally fenceless private gardens. This intrusion of the foreign gaze into backstage life in and around the houses is annoying. In winter, the industrial pattern of Lofoten radically changes, since winter is the main season for fishery and tourists and fishers meet each other in different roles: tourists in leisure time or as a business tourist on excursion and fishers in labour time. Tourists walk along the quay side and take pictures when the fish are landed and this disturbs the fishers. An additional factor that complicates the situation during winter time is that the tourists mostly come as part of a group. Group dynamics seem to negatively impact on the interaction with the local population, and this aggravates resentment from the fishers' side (Pujik, 1996).

The Case of Ittoqqortoormiit

The split situation at both the Solovetski and Lofoten Islands is further illustrated in an even more contradictory way at Ittoqqortoormiit (Scoresbysund), located on the east coast of Greenland. Here, both gap and bridge between tourists and local residents seem to exist but not in a comprehensive way.

The structural change of Greenlandic society that has placed fishery as a priority occupation has contributed to a migration from inland to coast. Traditional hunting has become more and more obsolete and is now in many respects just a tourist business (Rasmussen & Petersen, 2006). Ittoqqortoormiit, with its 500 inhabitants, is an example of this structural change. It is very isolated due to its location on the east coast where there is no land-based infrastructure. Sea transport is limited by the drift ice and the long winter when ice covers the sea for nine months a year. Only a few tourists find their way to this remote area. Obviously, this is the right place for an individual traveller to go, longing for Kaae's four 'I's of icebergs, inaccessibility, initiation, and island isolation.

A Swedish tourist who visited the town in 1998, says that at that time nothing was prepared for tourism. He was paddling in the fjord with a local guide and was invited to stay at the guide's private home in town. There were no tourist facilities at all (interview with M. Ericsson, Åre, Sweden, November 16, 2007). Slowly, tourism has grown under the impact of the outside world and with local Inuit traditions and cruising as platforms for development (Hendriksen-Karlsdottir, 2005).

For a place like Ittoqqortoormiit, cruise tourism is a normal way for tourists to pay visits to the town. Cruise ships offer relatively large numbers of tourists but do not require expensive constructions ashore for visitors, other than port facilities and a welcome

service. From the local resident side, cruise tourism gives an opportunity to sell locally produced souvenirs and to deploy local guides, thus encouraging the retention of some tourist dollars in the local economy. From the tourist side, cruise tourism provides a possibility to experience new places and cultures, distinctly different from their own background (Johnstone, 1995; Franz, 1999; Hull & Milne, 2001; Nilsson, 2006). The ships normally stop for a couple of hours at smaller ports and a whole day at bigger ports. In general, 20 % of the passengers stay onboard at the port and almost the same number just wants to walk around by themselves, without leaving the ship out of sight. The rest attend longer or shorter excursions, either as guided pedestrian tours or by bus (Marcussen *et al.*, 2005).

In a report on cruise tourism in the North Atlantic, Hendriksen & Karlsdottir (2005) argue that most cruise vessels are expeditions with a more or less scientific character and with no regular itinerary and timetable. The primary motive for the calls is visiting the national park north of the town with the town itself as a side visit giving added value to the passengers. The flexible route plan of these rather small vessels with an average of 50 passengers means that they sometimes do not announce their arrival until just before they come. This is perceived by the local tourist office as arrogant behaviour and causes problems since the welcome service team is not fully prepared when the ship arrives. Local residents are disappointed over the minimum of spending from the tourists' side and their careless intrusion into local activities, such as schools, churches and other public or private buildings. On the other hand, the tourists are astonished and probably disappointed over not finding exemplars of 'traditional life'. They also note that even the stores offer a set of imported goods quite similar to what they are used to at home. Feelings of being far away in a peripheral area disappear and they do not experience 'the different' which is so fundamental to the tourism experience (Hendriksen & Karlsdottir, 2005).

Another way to reach Ittoqqortoormiit, introduced recently, is by charter flights. Nonni Travel on Iceland arranges tours to Ittoqqortoormiit with offers mainly based upon Inuit traditions converted to tourist experiences (e-mail correspondence with H. Dejak, Akureyri, Iceland, November 27, 2007). The Nonni Travel homepage refers to dog sledge journeys with Inuit guides, glimpses into the life of Inuit hunters and visits to the small village of Ittoqqortoormiit with lodging at a self catering guesthouse (www.nonnitravel.is). Similar to both winter and summer offers is the possibility to learn about the Inuit by observing their everyday life.

Dejak (same email correspondence) agrees with Hendriksen & Karlsdottir:

> "The only resentment … noticed towards tourists is when the cruise liner passengers come to the village and run around and behave like they are visiting the Zoo. Back in 2000, there were only 3 or 4 cruise ship visits; but, in 2007, there were 27 ship calls to the port. This is far too much for the village and the area … Something has to be done to regulate and make rules for all the hundreds of tourists going on land and spoiling the area".

Both the Hendriksen & Karlsdottir report and Dejak's reflections may be biased. Dejak and Nonni Travel are economically involved in charter flights and may see cruise ship traffic as a competitor. Tourists from a vessel with a capacity of 50 passengers and with a stop for a couple of hours can of course be seen as a problem but not as a catastrophe, especially since they anyway contribute to the local economy. The bias may instead be a negative perception of cruise tourism in general which also seems to influence the report from Hendriksen & Karlsdottir. Cruise tourism is by many regarded in the same way as mass tourism but worse since cruise passengers are ideologically perceived as more rich and arrogant than an average mass tourist. Recent statistics show that the modern cruise tourist is more heterogeneous than before and that there is a dominance of middle class passengers (Nilsson, 2007).

The split between the different players in the tourism game at the destination of Ittoqqortoormiit may emanate from a lack of a reflexive approach among the tourists. They obviously expect an old type of community but are not expecting the problems associated with the transition of such an community; for local residents, the tourist presence can create a 'looked at' experience, one of being looked upon as members of a zoo. On the other hand, the local residents may not have reflected enough upon the effects of changed conditions, such as a better accessibility to their town, an accessibility that facilitates the arrival of even more visitors. As a matter of fact, most tourism is an activity where tourists gaze upon and consume other forms of culture: a sense of being picturesque, exotic of just unfamiliar may be inevitable amongst local residents thus exposed to tourism. In the case of Ittoqqortoormit, it is also necessary to bear in mind the small size of the local population – about 500 inhabitants – and the lack of experience from strangers, both of which are typical in the Polar North. But, under these circumstances, it seems to be even more important for the tourist office and the community to sit down and start a discussion among themselves and conduct a dialogue with local residents on what forms of tourism they want and why. Tourism is looked upon as a cash generating activity only; there are no clear ideas of what the contributions from the locals should be. The locals' main outcries are for charging the cruise ships higher fees for the privilege of visiting, since tourists will continue to come to East Greenland anyway. A Danish scientist living at Ittoqqortoormiit, interviewed by Hendriksen & Karlsdottir (2005: 92), airs what perhaps many think but do not articulate:

> "It would be possible to charge the cruise ship so much that there will be no interest to sail to the East coast … From my point of view, by making it difficult for cruise ships to sail to the Fiord of Scoresbysund, people may be stimulated to come here by other means of transport - people will come regardless of price. For the moment, cruise tourism is beneficial only to exogenous entrepreneurs and tourists" (translated from the Danish original).

Conclusion

The examples above indicate that there is a gap between the expectations held by tourists and local residents about each other. For destinations with an open desire to stick to their

traditional structure, tourism is seen as a threat to their strategy to challenge globalization; but, ironically, the income from tourism is often essential to maintain traditional life. Money from (but not the presence of) tourists is appreciated. For more flexible destinations - with organic solidarity - ready to adapt to the transformation process, tourism is often seen as a means to minimize the problems of coping with change. Such destinations, where it has been possible to give space and time for reflexivity, are prepared to live with and manage as best they can the impact of globalization. That choice has, in the best cases, become a successful mix of tradition – based on mechanic solidarity - and flexibility; and, in the worst cases, a real dilemma. The examples quoted by Bodén & Rosenberg (2004) show that, even in a relatively homogenous region, different destinations develop different strategies for coping with transition processes.

Tourism is an inter-play that requires understanding and trust between two sets of actors: the tour operator and the destination service on one level, and the tourist and the local resident on the other. On one hand, the tour operator and the destination company decide the rules of the play. On the other, the rules are implemented into practice and policy. It is easy to see that some misunderstandings may occur between these two levels.

Tour operators have good knowledge of the background context of the tourists since they operate on the market and have a sense of the characteristics of potential tourists. They know what is typical for the supposed visitors and what they want from a tour abroad; they want to exploit this knowledge in order to make a profit. The destination companies have a fair amount of knowledge of what can be offered at the destinations and they want to sell that in order to align the tourism sector as the driving force for destination development.

This knowledge should be used to diminish the discrepancy between the character of expectation of the tourists and the local residents, a discrepancy that causes a problematic mismatch between emotional and financial expectations. Some sort of *code of conduct* from the tourist's side should be met by a similar code of conduct from the local resident's side in order to diminish the communication gap, a gap which at the end of the day results in resentment. A contract, mental or written, based upon contextual knowledge and mutual expectations and as a result of joint discussions between the stakeholders and the local residents, could be a way of minimizing misunderstanding and disappointment. In a best case scenario - based on a balanced and accepted mix of Durkheim's two solidarity concepts - this can be a 'win-win' affair where there is a mutual cultural gain for both sides.

How one bridges the gap between expectations from tourists and residents in the Polar North remains the subject of inquiry. Further research on the 'contract' concept is required, including how this 'contract' can be developed, applied and implemented or even enforced. The roles of tour operators as mediators, and the impact on the issue of contract of the more independent travel bookings (which bypass tour operators), should also be targets for further research. So should the possible improvement of understanding between tourists and locals enforced by a greater local or aboriginal control or ownership of Arctic tourism experiences.

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