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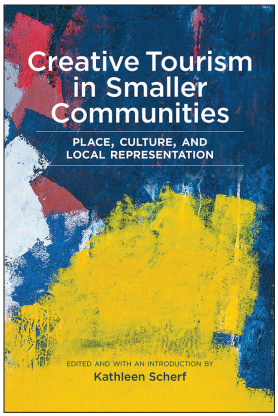

CREATIVE TOURISM IN SMALLER COMMUNITIES: PLACE, CULTURE, AND LOCAL REPRESENTATION

Edited and with an introduction by Kathleen Scherf

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Creative Yukon: Finding Data to Tell the Cultural Economy Story

Suzanne de la Barre

Introduction

The Arctic is a region facing rapid change due to globalization; the growth of governments and institutions; climate change (Southcott 2013); and an increasingly empowered Indigenous population that have negotiated land claims, fought for the right to self-government, and who are involved in reconciliation using diverse instruments, including community economic development by way of tourism (Hull, de la Barre, and Maher 2016). Arctic tourism is also impacted by changes brought about through the development of new tourism seasons (Rantala et al. 2019) and transformations occurring to the role of Arctic urban areas (Müller et al. 2020).

Similar to other places on the planet, the experience economy is having a significant impact on the development of the region's creative and cultural sectors (referred to in this chapter as the "cultural sector"), and has enriched placemaking and place-marketing processes. In the mid-1990s, the phrase "cultural economy" emerged in the social sciences and humanities and became a subject of scholarly investigation for two main reasons: first, as a result of interest in the culturalization of the economy; and second, to address the commodification and materialization of cultural consumption (Pratt 2008; Lash and Urry 1993). The cultural sector includes music, dance, visual arts, storytelling, ceremonies, rituals, and folklore, and provides a means for communities to enhance diverse place-based considerations (OECD 2014). These sectors also incorporate

activities linked to hobbies, traditions, popular culture, art, and new media, and are recognized as drivers of economic growth that coincide with the rise of the creative class in urban areas (Florida 2004; Scott 1999, 2000, 2010).

There is a growing motivation to understand the way the creative sector engages social innovation, increases community resilience, generates positive social change and cross-cultural engagement, and affects economic diversification. Collins and Cunningham's (2017) recent volume provides a framework approach to understanding the cultural economy in the peripheral regions of the European Union and aims to stimulate future analysis and discussion. Focussing specifically on the Arctic and its specific peripheral features, Petrov's (2017, 2016, 2014, 2011, 2008, 2007; Petrov and Cavin 2013, 2017) assessment of the "other economies," including the cultural economy, provides a compelling story of how creative capital in its widest reading is likely to play a defining role in the regional transformation of remote areas. Among other things, he suggests that these sectors are greatly embedded in and dependent upon the internal capacity of communities (Petrov 2017). Others contribute evidence that the cultural economy offers a means for communities to leverage place-based concerns toward desired outcomes, including: (1) engaging the sector to strengthen regional and community resilience and to revitalize the economic and cultural life of remote and rural regions that suffer from economic dislocation and decline (Fleming 2009; Gabe 2007; Huggins and Clifton 2011; Leriche and Daviet 2010); and (2) supporting economic diversification objectives, for instance through entrepreneurship or tourism (Cloke 2007; Petrov 2007, 2008). Brouder (2012) presents a case in point in his study of northern Sweden, where tourism is deployed as a catalyst for innovative local development in "creative outposts" such as Jokkmokk.

The cultural economy connection to tourism research has been made by many, including Richards (2011), who points out that tourism is a significant force for economic growth in the field of culture and creativity. Commenting on the relationship between the creative and cultural industries and tourism in the Nordic context, the Nordic Council of Minsters (2018) claim that "although tourism is often not considered a creative and cultural industry, the industry is closely related to Nordic Arctic culture and the promotion of it. Tourism exposes visitors to Nordic Arctic

culture, either through experiences or creative and cultural commodities or products, which in turn provide new sources of income" (17). Moreover, tourism benefits from resident-oriented cultural activities such as events and festivals, which often serve as the intermediary between culture and cultural tourism.

The World Tourism Organization (1985) defined cultural tourism as "movements of persons essentially for cultural motivations such as study tours, performing arts and cultural tours, travel to festivals and other events, visits to sites and monuments, travel to study nature, folklore or art, and pilgrimages" (6). However, Richards (2003) explains that defining cultural tourism is problematic owing to two factors: (1) challenges in defining "culture," including the multiple and diverse interpretations of the term cross-culturally, and (2) the different approaches used to define cultural tourism—for instance McKercher and Du Cros's (2002) motivational, experiential, and operational approaches. More recently, Richards (2011) deliberated on how the "creative turn" in tourism studies altered the way we understand the "drivers" of creativity in relation to both tourism producers and consumers.

In this chapter, creativity is investigated with the aim of identifying data that can also contribute to broader-based sector implications: for instance, cultural activities are also defined as "something to do" and as what brings "people together for reasons other than promoting the creative industries per se" (Mayes 2012, 7). Richards (2011) contributes to theoretical developments on the co-creative dynamics that exist in the tourism context. He points out that the increased commodification of everyday life is at stake when tourists are involved in a community's day-to-day cultural activities. He explains the way arts and creative activities are increasingly visible in the cultural tourism market, and that cultural tourism is a desirable market because it is generally high-spending tourism. It is a type of tourism that can also stimulate a destination's cultural activity, where local residents can also gain access to the benefits of cultural tourism activities and events. Richards underlines the growing link between cultural tourism and creativity ("creative tourism"), where the visitor engages in self-development and personal skills enhancement, and is involved in experiences with the local culture at the same time. These points are similarly discussed in chapter 10 of this volume, in which

Prince, Petridou, and Ioannides provide insight into the way artist clusters support co-placemaking and satisfy the needs of both residents and visitors—arguably an increasingly recognized necessity for tourism development in small places, perhaps even more so when these small places are also located in remote regions.

Referencing the challenges posed by commodification, Gibson (2012a, 8) asks: How can research on the cultural economy "be made social and not assume a capitalist-oriented language of firms, growth, employment and export, and instead value the communitarian purposes to which creativity can be put"? For Gibson, the dilemma persists when he examines a similar objective a few years later in his exploration of the role of academic intermediaries and their potential to advocate for progressive alternatives (2015). With these challenges, Gibson aims to intervene in neo-liberal, market-driven, and narrow economic development objectives that dominate typical approaches to outcomes, and he calls for more reflective examinations of the creative industries and their potential for transformative agendas. Smed Olsen et al. (2016) are among those who claim the creative industries contribute to more than just economic benefits: they promote personal development, educational objectives, and social inclusion. This work has implications for regional and community planning and policy-making based on correlation with creative capital, innovation, and economic growth, for instance. In a similar manner, and significant when it comes to defining features of the Arctic region, Indigenous leaders are voicing their support for an enhanced focus on the transformative values associated with economic development generally (Dolter 2017), and tourism specifically (Bunten 2010).

Nonetheless, the quest to better understand new development opportunities in the world's remote and sparsely populated regions are hindered by challenges associated with our lack of knowledge about the cultural sector. Petrov (2016) explains that "although instances of cultural economy in Arctic communities are easy to find, there is no systematic knowledge of its volume, characteristics and geography" (12). In light of the growing attention placed on new economies, including the creative economy, the desire for economic diversification, community (development) imperatives, and the existing knowledge gaps and data challenges, this chapter

explores local data sources that might allow us to be more attentive to the cultural sector story in a peripheral place.

Canada's Yukon offers an apposite example of a sparsely populated, peripheral, northern, and polar place that is undergoing change and embracing new economic opportunities. At 482,223 square kilometres and with a population of 42,152 (Government of Yukon 2020), the territory is a vast place and home to relatively few people. It is a place whose settler history and economic activity have largely been driven by mining, as well as by Canada's national interests. Cries of "Gold! Gold! Gold!" and other echoes of the Klondike gold rush of 1898 still resonate across the territory. Using the Yukon as a case study, this chapter aims to explore the challenges related to measuring the cultural industry in peripheral areas and identifying local, embedded sources that can help us understand the dynamics and relationships it is implicated in. Specific questions that support this query include:

- What type of secondary source and "place-based data" is available and accessible that can help us tell the cultural economy story in peripheral places?
- What co-relationships can be employed to determine the broad symmetries involved in the development of the creative and cultural sectors and economic goals (e.g., tourism), as well as social objectives (e.g., well-being, resilience)?

The chapter also discusses the impact the cultural sector is having on the territory, including its contributions to residents' quality of life and community well-being, as well as the engagement between the cultural and tourism sectors.

The following section situates creativity in the periphery and features past research on the creative and cultural sector in relation to its expression in remote areas, and then specifically in the northern and circumpolar region. The chapter then provides an investigation of the issues under discussion through a case study of the Yukon Territory, situated in the northwestern-most corner of Canada. A section on methodology and a description of the data collected is then followed by a discussion based

on the findings. The chapter concludes by proposing a research agenda going forward.

Where Is Creativity?

Scholars of creativity in peripheral regions, including Gibson (2012b), Collins and Cunningham (2017), and Petrov and Cavin (2017), all share the view that research on the creative economy has largely focussed on urban areas. Gibson's (2012b) research in Australia considered "what counts in small, remote, rural places—those places assumed by others to be 'uncreative' because of the histories of farming or manufacturing" (6). Collins and Cunningham (2017) uncover different facets and dimensions of the creative industries with the motivating rationale that they present crucial, underinvestigated opportunities for sustainable development in non-urban areas. Petrov and Cavin (2017) propose that the disregard for the way creativity functions in remote locations evidenced in the mainstream literature, which has focused almost exclusively on urban areas (e.g., Florida 2004, 2005) and mid-sized towns and cities (Margulies-Breibart 2013; Waitt and Gibson 2009), has led to the emergence of a literature on "creative peripheries."

Remote areas lie outside main centres of production and population, and are conceptualized in terms of the opportunities and challenges associated with the spatial arrangements that define them (Brown and Hall 2000). The literature on creative peripheries has questioned those perspectives that see proximity to urban areas as vital for the creative economy's development and success. Nonetheless, contributions that seek to better understand how creativity functions in the periphery describe a number of specific challenges linked to the context of remoteness. Gibson's (2012b) edited volume on research in Australia provides considerable insight into the features typically associated with the periphery. They are:

- Small size, so unable to tap into matters of critical mass and rate bases
- Ability to maintain visibility in larger markets
- Far-flung communities, lack of interconnectedness (among communities and to bigger places)

- Distance from key centres and scenes, and gatekeepers; both can also inhibit connections to international networks
- Relocation of talent to larger centres
- Dangers of parochialism
- Post-colonial setting

Specific obstacles may also include an aging population, low or transient social and cultural capital, limited infrastructure, economic marginalization, and constraints on information and governance (Brown and Hall 2000; Hall and Boyd 2005), all of which influence if and how the creative and cultural sectors are supported and promoted. Despite this inventory of obstacles, Petrov (2017) determines that, while the cultural economy in the periphery does follow a different template, it remains generally consistent with the basic principles of the creative capital theory. At the core of that theory is human capital and agency, which are both embedded in social networks and embraced by community (cf. Prince, Petridou, and Ioannides's chapter in this volume). Nonetheless, Petrov also suggests that human capital and agency may be more important for the transformation of peripheral areas than metropolitan ones.

Also contributing to the capital involved in deploying the potential of peripheral places are the place-values associated with them. Mayes (2012) pays tribute to the considerable value provided by remoteness, which can manifest as place distinctiveness and quirkiness. Similarly, others propose that remoteness can support the perception that people or products are "authentic"—uncorrupted, place-connected, and with a "disconnectedness from the machinations of urban capitalism" (Gibson, Luckman, and Willoughby-Smith 2012, 33). In this telling, the remote (frontier, colonial) context is upheld as a source of inspiration (30) and defined by a freedom from "city-based art fads" (Andersen 2012, 71). It is a space characterized by novelty, nostalgia, authenticity, and colonization-embedded and -empowered views of "untouched nature" (Cronon 1996; de la Barre 2013). Remote places also provide prospects for artists, entrepreneurs, and others to be "a big fish in a small pond," and as such they can offer increased chances for involvement in the governance and development aspects of creativity (e.g., policy, planning) (Verdich 2012, 138). Finally, as Gibson notes (2012a),

in the tourism industry, "remoteness, marginality and difference can be brokered into a base for a distinctive and successful industry" (5).

There are other kinds of cultural questions involved in peripheral places, and these centre on the migration, interculturalism, and multiculturalism of "new" settler groups who previously were not part of the discourse associated with the peripheral areas of the circumpolar North. If, as Richards (2011) claims, and resonating also with Carson et al. (2016), we are seeing the development of tourism as part of what challenges current representations of space, then the cultural industries play a crucial part in facilitating tourism's role in this spatial reconceptualization. In the Canadian context, the Arctic and its more general "northern tourism" context has typically been positioned as a nature and wilderness space. There are implications for how this northern space is (1) being reconfigured as a cultural space, and (2) how culture-based tourisms are (re)shaping that space, alongside Indigenization, reconciliation and post-colonialism (Hull, de la Barre, and Maher 2016).

Yukon's Creative and Cultural Economy

Yukon's communities are characterized by their differing degrees of remoteness as well as their natural resource–based economies. Each informs these communities' determination as "path dependent" and also their economic diversification challenges, their limited or constrained human and economic resources, and their inadequate infrastructure and low populations. Whitehorse has a population of 33,119, or about 75 per cent of the Yukon's overall population of 42,152 (Government of Yukon 2020). The city is within the shared traditional territory of the Ta'an Kwach'an Council, who signed their land claim and self-government agreements in 2002, and the Kwanlin Dün First Nation, who signed in 2005. This regional hub city is home to a number of art and cultural organizations, among them the Yukon First Nations Cultural and Tourism Association, the Yukon Art Society, the Yukon Artists at Work co-operative, the Northern Cultural Expressions Society, and the Association franco yukonnaise. There are also a growing number of not-for-profit associations representing the Yukon's diversity, such as the Canadian Filipino Association of the Yukon and the Chinese Canadian Cultural Association of Yukon . Whitehorse is also home to the Yukon Arts Centre, which hosts the only class "A" gallery

space in northern Canada, a small business entrepreneurial and start-up community,[1] and various co-working spaces that have opened up within the last ten years.[2]

Dawson City is similarly positioned to tell a story about the emerging significance of the cultural and creative economies. The "city" is situated 532 kilometres north of Whitehorse, and has a population of 2,297 people (Government of Yukon 2020). As a national heritage site it is a major tourism centre that, up until recently, was known primarily for its role in the Klondike gold rush of 1898. Dawson City is increasingly understood for its contemporary positioning as a Yukon cultural "hub," and for the heritage and present-day significance of the Tr'ondëk Hwëch'in First Nation, who signed their land claim and self-government agreements in 1998. Arts and cultural organizations include the Dänoj Zho Cultural Centre, Yukon College's School of Visual Arts, and the Dawson City Arts Society, which is the managing body of the Klondike Institute of Art and Culture. Among its many festivals, the town is host to the Dawson City Music Festival, the International Short Film Festival, the Riverside Arts Festival, and the Shiver Winter Arts Festival. Dawson City's tourism industry has its biggest impact during the summer months, when the town's population booms with seasonal tourism workers and thousands of tourists, many of whom move through the town on their way to interior Alaska.

The Yukon provides a ripe context for this chapter as attention to its cultural sector has increased in the past two decades. An early sector assessment by Zanasi, Taggart, and Leaf (2004) led to the conclusion that the "cultural industries are one of the few bright spots in the Yukon economy. The sector is already an important part of the economy and it is suffused with optimism about its future" (ii). Extrapolating from national-level census statistics, they found that cultural employment had grown phenomenally in the years preceding their study and much faster than Canada as a whole—a 33 per cent increase from 1991 to 2001 for the national-level cultural labour force, compared to 100 per cent growth for Yukon. Growth was expected to continue. There has been no internal Yukon follow-up study to provide a contemporary contextualization for these assessments (a later study was initiated in 2016, but no final report was ever released); however, Petrov (2016) refers to a national study by Hills Strategies Inc. (2014), a private research firm that found that 4.62 per

cent of the Yukon's 2011 labour force were in cultural occupations—the highest percentage in Canada.

Data Challenges in the Periphery

De Beukelaer (2014) has claimed that issues around data remain a major question for the cultural sector in general. He calls for "more locally grounded understanding of the significance of the creative economy—and culture in general" (94). Gibson (2012a) suggests that research on creativity in remote Australia requires new methods that enable us to understand the "geography of hidden, scattered creativity" (7). The case studies in his edited volume demonstrate both the complex challenges and opportunities of this sector, which are intrinsically related to remote geographical settings. Petrov (2016) considers the "fragmentary data and patchy knowledge" of the Arctic's "other economies" (2), and concludes that to understand them requires the use of diverse data-sets varying in scale, scope, and time coverage. He claims also that these economies tend to be more endogenous and embedded in peripheral locations, may have stronger internal linkages and multipliers, may generate more local development, and finally, because they have received only marginal and fragmentary attention, that there is limited data. In a later work, he also makes the case that standard methodologies used to analyze creative capital, a significant determinant for understanding how the creative sector functions, may not always be suited to non-metropolitan areas (Petrov 2017). Collins and Cunningham (2017) reiterate what others have determined before them with the claim that "one of the most challenging aspects of the understanding the creative economies and creative industries in peripheral regions is access to data that captures the extent, scope and unique characteristics of this sector" (4). Finally, and in a related vein, Carson et al. (2016), in their investigation of the opportunities outside traditional industries as a way for communities to become more innovative in addressing socio-economic decline, conclude that the lack of data may reinforce stereotypes and typical ways of dealing with different mobile populations (e.g., skilled workers, lifestyle migrants). It is against the backdrop of these data challenge proclamations that this study investigates identifying data sources and analyses that can help to tell the story of the cultural sector in a peripheral place.

Methodology and Findings

Case study research is an empirical inquiry of contemporary phenomena within a real life context (Yin 2014). It is a methodology that supports the in-depth exploration of one aspect of an issue or problem within a natural setting (Harland 2014), aims to answer "how" and "why" questions (Baxter and Jack 2008), and plays a significant role in advancing the knowledge base in a relevant field of study (Merriam 1998). Case study methodology has long been characterized as a weak approach among social science methods (Xiao and Smith 2006). However, early challenges to stereotypical perceptions of case study research state that it has been wrongly maligned, and they propose case studies as an effective way to refine general theory or effectively intervene in complex situations (Stoecker 1991). These types of assertions are found in tourism research (Xiao and Smith 2006), and they exist alongside claims that researchers can learn from previous case study research to support future research (Harland 2014). The present study and the approach used is a timely addition to the northern Canadian context as it also builds comparative opportunities with research in other remote locations, for instance in the Nordic countries (Power and Jansson 2008; Petridou 2011; Törnqvist 2011), and in Australia (Gibson 2012b).

The Yukon case study is concerned with gaining insight into what are the "locally embedded" secondary data sources available that will provide insight into the creative and cultural sector. To that end, data were collected and analyzed from four different sources:

1. Yukon economic, social, and cultural issues reports produced by diverse agencies
2. Government of Yukon–produced visitor guides
3. Government of Yukon–produced *Art Adventures on Yukon Time* guides
4. Government of Yukon arts support funds

YUKON STUDIES AND REPORTS

There are a number of reports about issues representing the Yukon's complex and interconnected economic, social, and cultural landscape produced by a variety of not-for-profits and governments (territorial and First Nations). Eleven reports were selected on the basis of being produced in the Yukon with the goal of examining a critical economic, social, or cultural issue or opportunity. The reports are summarily described in table 4.1. They are employed for their potential to inform what we know about the relationships that are influenced by and that are an influence on the cultural sector from perspectives that are embedded in place.

The perspectives are deployed so as to bring together views on the influence the cultural sector has on the economic, social, and cultural life of places. In light of the "transformational" benefits attributed to this sector, and given the existing literature that assigns different kinds of objectives and outcomes to the sector, particular attention was paid to the way the cultural sector was implicated as a way to foster positive change. The following correlation features were used:

- Support social inclusion—for instance connections to poverty reduction and intercultural learning strategies
- Contribute to First Nations cultural revitalization, healing, and wellness
- Northern uniqueness—for instance, that determines placemaking and as a way to create community, and for tourism related place-marketing

The economic correlation features aimed to also assess the valuation of transformational economic outcomes expected from economically related activity:

- Building community resilience
- Place-based (endogenous) employment and economic activity diversification

The reports highlight the expected instrumentalist rationales for supporting the creative industries, such as economic sector diversification,

Table 4.1. Yukon Reports

	OBJECTIVES	CORRELATION FEATURES	REPORT
Creative and Cultural Sector	Transformational Economic Social Cultural	Cultural ways and being and relationship to wellness; cultural continuity, approaches, competence, and responsiveness	Forward Together: Yukon Mental Wellness Strategy – 2016–2026 (YG 2016)
		Franco-Yukon cultural tourism experiences and business development; celebration of Franco-Yukon culture; support cultural exchange and intercultural experience	Executive Summary: Feasibility Study from Homestay Vacations in the Yukon (AFY) (Chevalier 2013)
		Art and culture for creating inclusion and participating in society	A Better Yukon for All: Government of Yukon's Social Inclusion and Poverty Reduction Strategy (Westfall 2010; YG 2012)
		Cultural life as knowledge worker attraction requirement (e.g., arts, cultural vibrancy, and diversity)	Survey of Yukon's Knowledge Sector: Results and Recommendations (YRC) (Voswinkle 2012)
		Develop and promote francophone arts and culture	Feasibility Study: Franco-Yukon Cultural Tourism Products RDÉE Yukon) (Binette 2011)
		Economic diversification through tourism and cultural industries; cultural revitalization (First Nations cultural centres), and arts infrastructure, Dawson City School of Visual Art (SOVA) as a means to support positive community change	Yukon Poverty Reduction Policies and Programs: Yukon (CCSD) (Edelson 2009)
		Use of culturally relevant arts, traditional crafts	Feasibility Study and Plan for Yukon First Nations Healing and Wellness Centre (YFNSGS) (Penny 2008)
		Economic development and diversification; First Nations Land Claims agreements and self-government objectives (e.g., heritage economic development); importance of and relevance of creative sector through tourism	Yukon's Cultural Labour Force (Zanazi, Taggart, and Leaf 2004)

increasing employability, and creating employment. However, there are also intersections with the cultural economy and industries in less obvious ways. Those intersections present instances that point to the way the cultural industries engage with social inclusion, community revitalizations (cultural, community), and increasingly play a role in the development and valuation of sectors other than those typically valued in natural resource–based contexts.

VISITOR GUIDES

The tourism sector's representation of culture as an asset is a way to assess the development and value of the creative and cultural sector. One way to examine this is to determine if there has been change from nature-based tourism to culture-based tourism. To do this, eleven issues of the Yukon tourism department–produced visitor guides were analyzed. Several high-frequency terms were identified and were themed along two main categories—culture and nature; these are itemized in table 4.2. While it is acknowledged that culture and nature can be viewed as a false dichotomy (Haila 2000; Selin 2003), and also that all tourism is cultural (Richards 2003), the dichotomized high-frequency terms are deployed in order to make useful distinctions for understanding the core amenity or asset promoted for the purposes of tourism.

The four earliest published Government of Yukon visitor guides were published inconsistently (1986, 1991, 1996, and 2001), and are only available in hard copy; they were accessed from government archives and were manually analyzed. Seven random issues produced between 2007 and 2018 were also analyzed; these are available electronically as PDFs, and the "find" feature was used to calculate frequency of word usage. Content difference was calculated on the basis of the number of times the high-frequency terms appeared in each of the visitor guides. Figure 4.1 presents the summary findings of the content analysis.

The high-frequency terms, while they fluctuate across time, consistently show an ever-increasing number of "culture" terms vis-à-vis the number of "nature" terms. However, it is the findings from the high-frequency terms analysis for 1986 (first guide available) and 2018 that tell the most worthwhile story. The data summary shows that the difference in culture and nature high-frequency terms in 1986 was 45.68 per cent; thirty-two

Table 4.2. Culture and Nature High-Frequency Terms

CULTURE	NATURE
Art(s) / Artist(s)	Adventure(s)
Creative	Nature / Natural
Culture(s) / Cultural	Outdoor(s)
Festival(s)	Wild
(Handi)craft(s)	Wilderness
Heritage	Wildlife

years later, the difference in culture and nature high-frequency terms is 17.48 per cent. While nature terms still dominate, there is a positive 28.2 per cent difference in how much emphasis is placed on "culture" in the visitor guides. As a potential indicator of change that has an influence on, or is influenced by, the cultural industries, these figures encourage us to ask if culture-related offerings are repositioning the tourist experience: Is the cultural sector transforming what has been a largely nature-based tourism destination into one that pays more attention to the presence and activities of humans—and by extension, those activities that give humans-in-place cause to reflect upon, make meaning of, enjoy, and express their world? In a similar vein, it may also suggest that the cultural sector is expanding visitor markets to the territory to include more culturally motivated visitors—if not exclusively or primarily motivated by culture, than at least as a significant complement to their nature-based motivations. An overarching question that arises from this analysis is whether or not changes that may be happening in relation to the type of tourism occurring in a destination point to other types of meaningful and non-tourism, community-embedded-related transformations?

ARTS FUNDING

Changes in the number of funding programs available to support artists and the development of the arts, the type of fund, and the amounts disbursed by the Arts Section of the Yukon government provides a means to assess aspects of the cultural sector. Figure 4.2 illustrates the changes in the number of funds, year created, and purpose of funding from 1983,

Figure 4.1. Visitor Guides 1986–2018—Summary

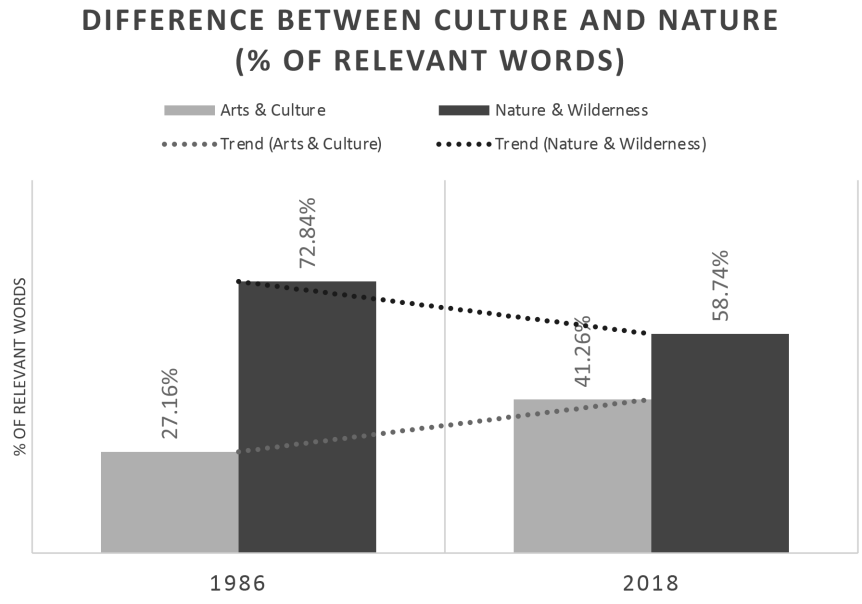
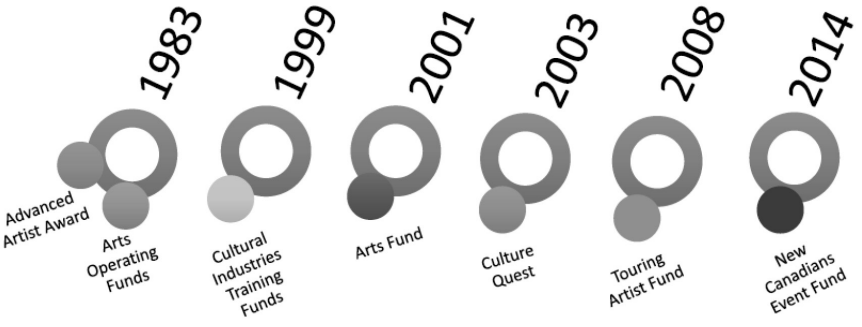


Figure 4.2. Yukon Art Funds, 1983–2014



when the first two funds were created (Advanced Artist Award and Arts Operating Funds). One additional fund was created in each of the following years: 1999, 2001, 2003, 2008, and 2014. This brought the total of arts-related funds to seven.[3]

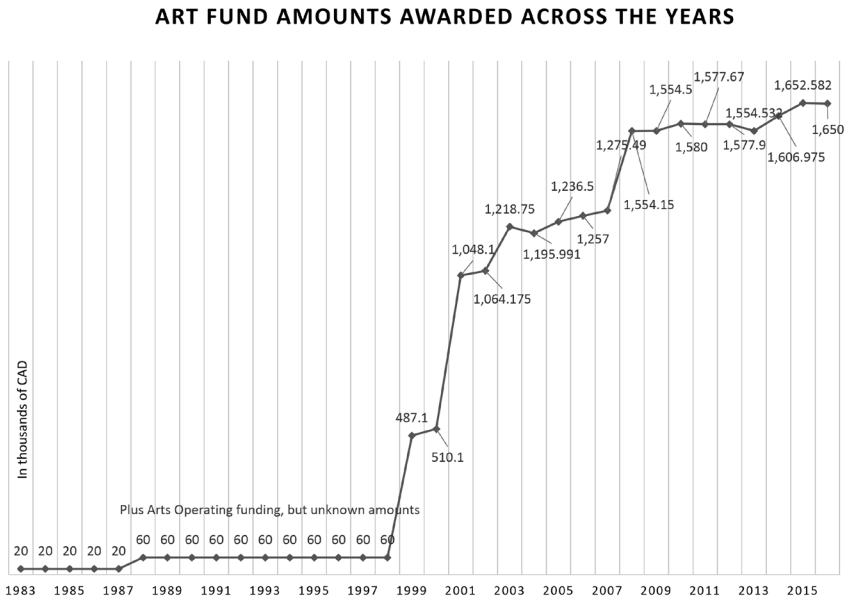
Figure 4.3 presents the estimated amount of funding available from all sources from 1983 to 2015 (Personal communication, Arts Section, Department of Tourism and Culture, Government of Yukon, 11 July 2016). Three distinct periods are apparent: (1) 1983 to 1988, with $20,000 disbursed using two funds; (2) 1988 to 1998, using the same two funds but with an increase of $40,000 per year, for a $60,000 annual disbursement; and (3) the period from 1999 to 2015, in which a new fund is created and added to the existing funds in 2001, 2003, 2008, and 2014, with a total of $1.65 million disbursed from the seven funds.

Art funds and the amounts presented are specifically from the Department of Tourism and Culture, and do not present the total number of funds or amounts of funding available to support the cultural sector from other sources. Other Government of Yukon funding examples include the Community Development Fund and the funding available through Lotteries Yukon. The latter disbursed $219,644 of its $318,676 Recreation Projects Program funding—or about 70 per cent—to cultural sector–related projects (*Yukon News*, 23 December 2016). The increase in Yukon government funding amounts, along with the type of funding available—including the objectives the fund is meant to support—will have had numerous impacts on the development of the arts and the cultural industries. Some insight into the number of artists and where to see and buy art can improve our understanding of these relationships.

Number of Artists and Places to See and Buy Art

The *Art Adventures on Yukon Time* publication results from a voluntary program and is not a comprehensive inventory of Yukon art makers and their art forms. Moreover, the program has changed over the years, and this impacts where art can be viewed or purchased. For instance, artists without studios were invited to participate in 2014; prior to that, only artists with studios could participate (Personal Communication, Arts Section, Department of Tourism and Culture, Government of Yukon, 11 July 2016). Figures 4.4 and 4.5 present summary results of the changes in

Figure 4.3. Yukon Art Funding Amounts Disbursed, 1983–2015



the number of artists and where to see art calculated between 2000 and 2018 for three locations: Whitehorse, Dawson City, and all of the Yukon.

In the eighteen years since the guides have been produced, there are almost six times as many artists in Whitehorse, almost four times more artists in Dawson City, and almost five times as many artists in all of the Yukon.

For places to see and buy art, the increases are apparent at the Whitehorse and Dawson City levels, and especially significant from the "all Yukon" perspective. It should be noted that what is not factored into these preliminary presentations are the numerous other types of venues that have emerged in recent years, especially during the last decade, for the sale and display of arts and cultural productions: for example, craft fairs, farmers' markets (e.g., Fireweed Community Market), and "pop up" events (e.g., Etsy Made in Canada).

Figure 4.4. Number of Yukon Artists 2000–2018/19

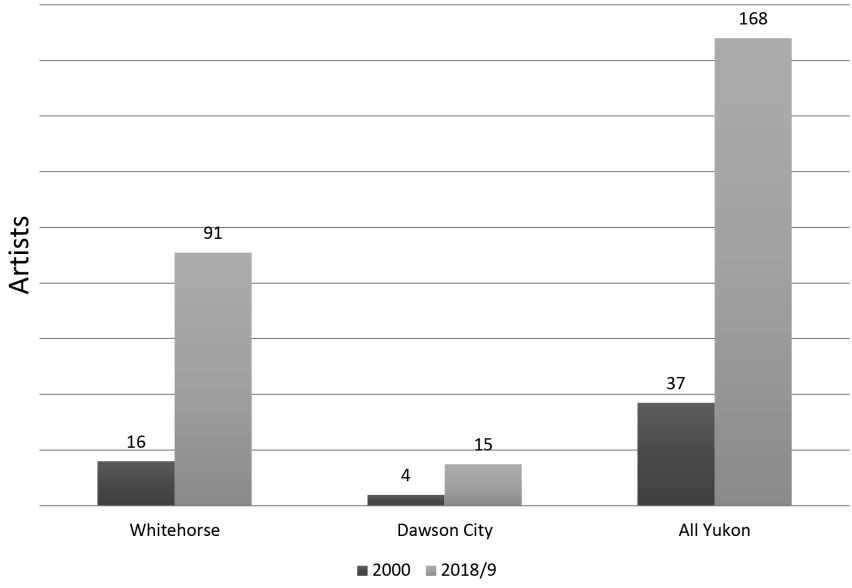
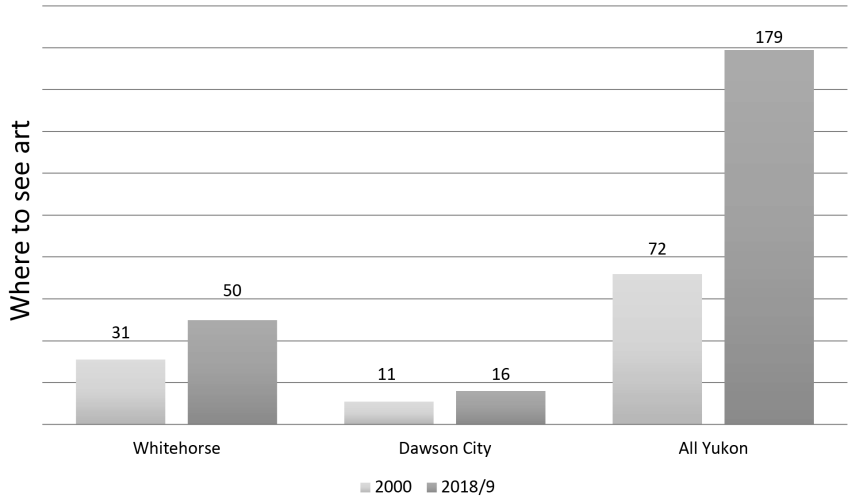


Figure 4.5. Where to see Art in Yukon 2000–2018/19



Discussion and Conclusion

There is a growing amount of research on creativity and the creative sector and its economies in the world's peripheral places, including the circumpolar region. Exploring new sources for place-embedded data can enhance our knowledge of the sector, how it functions, and what relationships it has. In addition to economic impacts, growth- or diversification-oriented information (e.g., tourism, lifestyle entrepreneurship), locally embedded data can also provide insight into the influence the creative sector has on broadly defined objectives of social and cultural enhancement, such as social inclusion and poverty reduction, and community development and revitalization.

A preliminary examination of select Yukon social and cultural reports demonstrates the potential to undertake assessment correlation analyses to better understand the interconnected nature of the arts-and-culture sector, and their support of diverse social, cultural, and economic development objectives. More rigorous approaches could provide a strategic rationale for supporting the cultural sector in order to advance transformational economic development objectives. They might also advance policy initiatives that support the cultural sector and its industries, while also having implications for meeting other social and cultural goals, such as social inclusion and community and cultural revitalization. Such policy formulation may also inform ways of achieving what many governments present as strategic governance goals that depend on the ability of government departments to issue cross-department goals and objectives. In this sense, pulling reports out of boxes and dusting them off with the intention of analyzing them for the way social, cultural and economic issues and their solutions are connected to the cultural sector could provide significant insights for developing multi-purpose policy, for achieving better inter-departmental collaboration, and for meeting overarching goals of community and economic development.

While the nature-culture divide may well be a social construction, the reference points are typically employed in tourism promotional materials in the peripheral areas of the circumpolar world. Nature-based tourism has dominated the circumpolar region internationally, and it is arguably only in the last decade, and specific to Indigenous empowerment

movements and growing curiosity about original peoples, that cultural tourism has been given much attention—even if the implications are much wider than just the significant Indigenous cultural reference points. Given the connection between the cultural sector and tourism, identifying changes in the nature and type of tourism in peripheral regions can also add to our understanding of more than just "emerging" or "new" economies. These changes can also inform our understanding of spatial arrangements and allow us to reflect upon meaningful demographic and intercultural dynamics. Arguably, these changes also encourage a revised view of the North: for instance, as an empowered Indigenous space, and one that also has the potential to narrate the circumpolar region as more than an assumed bicultural space. The latter notion has up to now been primarily defined by frontier, colonial, and settler relations that persist due to a perceived passive population (as opposed to a population that was systemically oppressed). Indeed, identifying these tourism-related changes encourages our ability to embrace cultural constructions that are complex, multi-cultural, and diverse. They also make possible East-West relationships across the circumpolar region to interrogate the historical legitimacy and colonization-embedded rationale for South-to-North dependencies.

Increased funding over time suggest there are significant consequences to the development of the cultural sector, including acknowledging the growing significance of cultural producers and new opportunities for consumers. The relative growth in the number of artists and places to see and buy art appears to correspond almost directly with increases in arts-and-culture funding across time. Similar findings were documented by Zanasi, Taggart, and Leaf (2004), who already in 2004 pointed out that the Yukon's spending on arts and culture led to the "phenomenal growth of the cultural sector" (22). They also lamented the lack of "hard numbers," which, they argued, interfered with the effort to establish whether or not cultural organizations were experiencing decreases in specific cultural funding. A partial assessment of funding for arts and culture is not an effective way to make conclusions regarding relationships or policy recommendations; other funds, such as Yukon Lotteries, would suggest that a more complete picture of funding for arts and culture would prove useful.

These four analyses offer examples of locally embedded data sources that help us to tell the cultural sector story. They enhance insights into several relationships, including 1) the cultural sector and its ability to contribute to social, cultural, and diverse types of economic goals; 2) the connection between cultural content represented by tourism place-marketing in relation to nature content, and the possibility that these relationships may help us also understand Indigenous cultural and other empowerment (e.g., political, economic), and meaningful transformations to the increasing multicultural diversity of the territory; and 3) the relationship between funding support and cultural capital, represented in the number of arts-and-culture producers and consumers' opportunities to access their productions. If, as Petrov (2016) declares, our future task is to improve our limited understanding of the cultural sector, its economies and its relationships with other sectors, community well-being, and sustainable development, then efforts to broaden where we look for and find data—and how we assess it—play a vital role in support of our ability to achieve these goals.

NOTES

1 See https://www.startupcan.ca/2019/05/2019-startup-canada-award-winners-announced-in-whitehorse/.

2 See http://yukonstruct.com/.

3 More information on these funds is available at https://yukon.ca/en/arts-and-culture.

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