



PERCEPTIONS, VALUES AND ATTITUDES ON
WHALES AND WHALE WATCHING BY WORKERS
ON WHALE WATCHING AND -HUNTING SHIPS

Pia Järvi

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Advisor: Professor James Higham,
Social Sciences, Norwegian Business School,
University of Stavanger



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BY WORKERS ON WHALE WATCHING AND -HUNTING SHIPS

AUTHOR

Pia-Maria Järvi

ADVISOR:

Professor James Higham

Student number: 222880	Name: Pia-Maria Järvi	
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Dedication

I dedicate this thesis to my sweet boys Erik, Simeon and Kinyi- you are my inspiration for
always striving to better myself.

Simeon, thank you for arousing my curiosity towards whales.

Abstract The aim of this study was to gain a better understanding of the views and attitudes of the stakeholder groups whale hunters and whale watching tourism workers, as little research has previously been done in this area. As watching whales in captivity has gained much negative attention worldwide many aquariums have recently been forced to close down, and this is expected to lead to a rapid growth in the area of whale watching tourism.

The research questions were divided into the following main themes: 1) Attitudes towards whales, 2) Is whaling and whale watching mutually exclusive, 3) Information about the whaling industry, and 4) Attitudes towards environmental values. Research was conducted in Northern Norway and Iceland, leading to 19 personal, semi-structured interviews. Data was analyzed using NVivo 11 PRO software, confirming previous research results, but also proving new information: in Norway the whale hunters and whale watching tourism workers had mostly opposing views and feelings about whales and their utilization, but agreed on the importance of nature preservation. The whale hunters further expressed annoyance towards the demands of the tourism industry, but felt the two industries can exist side by side. Tourism workers generally wanted to see whaling stopped. In Norway demands for more control and education were heard within the whale watching industry, and the entire tourism infrastructure was seen as being in need of improvement. In Iceland Finn whaling has come to an end, but Minkie whaling is still done, and people working with whale watching tourism hold strong anti-whaling opinions. Hence, the mutual existence of the two industries is not seen as an option. This is also communicated to tourists in a more direct way than in Norway, e.g. by asking tourists to boycott restaurants that serve whale meat. Future research could be conducted with younger or female whalers / workers in the whale watching tourism industry. **KEYWORDS:** whaling, whale watching tourism, whale meat, sustainability, profitability, green values.

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Foreword

This is a Master's thesis written at The Norwegian School of Hotel Management at the University of Stavanger, Norway. The current research was carried out in Northern Norway and Iceland with the financial support from Northern InSights, a research programme financed by Forskningsløft Nord, the Research Council of Norway. The research's aims were to find out more about the attitudes and thoughts of people working with whales; including namely people working with the industries of whale watching tourism and whale hunting.

First and foremost, I want to thank my friend Lauri Pietikäinen, who lives and works in Northern Norway, for his enormous help in finding people to interview for this thesis, and also for providing valuable information about life in the North. Lauri, without your help and support this research had not been possible to conduct. I also want to thank my supervisor Professor James Higham for his valuable advice, guidance and support in writing this thesis. James, I am greatly impressed by your supervision skills, and by how fast you always responded to my questions, even if being literarily on the other side of the world!

A Thank You also belongs to our course coordinator Torvald Øgaard, as well as to Sandra Ellefsen at the Faculty Office for their support and advice during this thesis writing process. I also want to thank Ellen Abalgård who has guided and supported me in concerns to the cooperation with Northern InSights and last, but not least belongs a warm Thank You to all the people who agreed to participate in the thesis interviews, and to all other people who provided me and the scientific community with new and valuable information in the fields of whale watching tourism and whale hunting. A special Thanks here belongs to the secretary of the Norwegian whalers' association, Steinar Jonassen.

“Few creatures carry more emotion...than whales; and few issues arouse as much passion as whaling” (J.E.S. Higham, Bejder, & Williams, 2014, p.1). These emotions and passions give rise to conflicting views on whales in concern to their utility, identity, nationhood and sovereignty (J.E.S. Higham et al., 2014). This thesis addresses whale watching tourism from the stakeholder perspectives of the workers on whale watching boats in Norway and Iceland, and whale hunting boats in Northern Norway, also making comparisons between the situations in Norway and Iceland as industrial whaling is currently done in both of these countries.

The whaling industry in Norway is small, with about 20 whaling ships. Onboard each boat works 4-5 people (Småkvalfangerlag, 2016). In 2014 729 whales were killed in Norway (Palmer, 2014) but the sales of whale meat is low in Norway and internationally, raising questions of the industry’s future. The Norwegian whale watching industry is also small, but it is expected to continue its growth, as is the case with the whale watching industry worldwide. In Norway mainly two companies have provided whale watching tours, usually in the summer touristic season (May-August). Recently also in a winter season (November- February) has grown rapidly, especially in towns as Tromsø, Northern Norway, where a lot of new entrepreneurs have started business. The bigger one of the Norwegian companies, Hvalsafari, receives about 14 500 tourists in the summer season and 500 during winter months (Maan, 2014). The smaller company, Arctic Whale Tours, receives about 3500-4000 tourists during the summer seasons and received about 600 in the first winter season of 2015-16 in Tromsø (L. Heiskanen, 2014; L Heiskanen, 2016).

Explanation of the Research Problem

The current research was carried out in Northern Norway in the towns Tromsø, Andenes, and Svolvær, and in Reykjavik, the capital of Iceland, through semi-structured interviews. The people interviewed were either currently working on whale watching/hunting boats, or they had previously worked on them. Also a whale researcher based in Norway was interviewed as a specialist in the field. Likewise, the representative of IFAW in Iceland was interviewed in order to learn more about the situation concerning whaling, whale watching and whales in Iceland.

Purpose of the Study, Research Questions and Contribution of Work

Studies show that tourists who seek interactions with cetaceans also hold strong pro-environmental values. The aim of this thesis is to find out if this is also the case with people who work on the whale watching and whale hunting boats. Even if research on tourists' attitudes on whale watching has been researched upon, little is known about the motives, thoughts, and attitudes concerning whales and whale watching by people who work on whale watching/hunting boats. Hence the goal is also to find more information about the whale hunters themselves. According to Parsons & Rawles (2003), cited in Higham & Lusseau, 2008, p.64: "The reality is that there is a chronic lack of clear understanding of whale-watchers, namely who they are and where they stand...". Further questions of interest are what are the whalers and tourism workers views about the business itself, their motives for working in the field, their views and perceptions on conservation and sustainability, and especially their thoughts about whales. Of special interest is also how their attitudes may have changed over time, especially if they are /have been involved in both whale watching and fishing / whale hunting: has whale watching influenced a change of attitudes towards whales in them? The research questions were divided into the following main themes: 1) Attitudes towards whales 2) Is whaling and whale watching mutually exclusive 3) Information about the whaling industry 4) Attitudes towards environmental values

(for a full list of questions see Appendix B). By doing research on this topic I have added valuable information to the scientific community and can hopefully help bring closer the information gaps that exist between different stakeholders in the field.

Why Research is Needed at this Time

The negative attitudes towards watching sea mammals such as dolphins and whales in captivity has caused companies such as the Dolfinarium in Tampere, Finland to close down (Särkänniemi, 2015). Sea Life in San Diego, USA has also stopped its killer whale shows (Neate, 2015), while the Dolfinarium in Harderwijk, the Netherlands has decided to close for the winter season as visitor numbers have dropped (Dolfinarium., 2015). These events are expected to add to the growth of whale watching tourism as people are intrigued by the large sea mammals and wish to see them in their natural living habitats, making research in the area of even greater importance.

Overview of the Thesis Structure

This thesis consists of Five main parts. Part I is the Introduction to the work, Part II gives a review of related literature to the thesis, Part III describes the methods used in the research work, Part IV states the results obtained from the study and finally Part V discusses the findings in relation to previous study results, also giving suggestions on implications of the study and future research suggestions.

The chapter reviewing literature that is related to this research is divided in 5 main themes: animal ethics and animal welfare; tourism related issues; whaling, the co-existence of whale watching tourism and whaling and finally sustainable food consumption. The Literature Review chapter is followed by a Methods chapter which underlines the research design and

presents the research methods chosen for this thesis. The work then continues with a presentation of the findings, a discussion of the them, a critical analysis of the limitations of the study, research contributions, implications for the study, and ends with a conclusion which briefly summarizes the results of the research and presents suggestions for future research.

Review of Related Literature

The aims of the research were: 1) to find out the attitudes and thoughts of people working with whale watching tourism / whaling on: whales, environmental values, sustainability/conservation, the industries themselves; 2) motives for working in the field 3); changed attitudes towards whales over time; 4) more information about whalers in general; 5) bring closer information gaps that possibly exist between the different stakeholders in the field (see Appendix A for the list of research questions used).

As this thesis is about whale watching tourism and whaling, which can both be viewed as different forms of utilization of whales, this literature review starts with a discussion of animal ethics, animal welfare and attitudes towards animal use. In order to get an overview of the two industries, but also in order to understand the sustainability aspects of them the following areas of research are discussed shortly: animals as tourism objects; whale watching; responsible tourism; ecotourism; whale hunting. Sustainable food consumption and eating meat are brought up because of the issue of whale meat consumption due to whaling, and also due to the topic of sustainability in general. Last the co-existence of whaling and whale watching is discussed in order to understand possible challenges / difficulties that exist in the area of research, possibly giving hints about ways to solve conflict situations when needed.

Animal Ethics and Animal Welfare

Animals are usually accorded instrumental value instead of intrinsic value, they are objects and means to an end, rather than subjects. In tourism animals are commodified for the benefit of tourists and tourism operators. In order to promote truly responsible and sustainable forms of tourism organizations need to hold animal rights in regard (Fennell, 2015). Both tourism industry managers and tourists alike are in need of ethical self-reflection (Burns, 2015).

Animal welfare deals with scientific and moral questions concerned with the use of animals. Animal welfarists are of the opinion that benefits for humans override the interests of animals and the concern is only over the quality of animal's lives, not over any pleasure, pain, suffering or death they may experience. There is no moral question whether animals should at all be used by humans, the only concern is that animals are treated well in e.g. laboratories, farms, or zoos. Contemporary definitions of animal welfare fall into three categories: natural living; physiology, and feelings/mental/behavior. Animals are said to be faring well both mentally and physically when they have freedom from hunger, thirst, discomfort, pain, injury, disease, freedom to express normal behaviors and freedom from fear and distress (Fennell, 2015).

Animal rights and utilitarianism.

According to animal rights theory all individuals, including animals, have value in their own right and all individuals are equal in importance. This means we are not allowed to harm others and we need to treat others with respect and help them when needed. Animal rights should also override the desire for human gains, leading to animal experiments and entertainment in zoos and circuses being morally wrong (Fennell, 2015).

Utilitarianism is an ends based theory that is concerned with the optimum outcomes or consequences of an act. The act is good if it leads to as great a balance of good over bad than other possible acts and vice versa. Hedonic utilitarianism sees an act as something good if it produces more group happiness than other alternatives (Fennell, 2015).

Attitudes towards animal use.

“Animal use” is a term used to describe a variety of practices that involve how humans use animals, e.g. for entertainment (circus, fox hunting), for personal decoration (wearing animal fur, cosmetics testing), or for research (drug testing). Belief in animal mind (BAM) is the term used for how people attribute to animals’ mental capacities, e.g. intellect, the ability to reason, feelings of emotion. BAM has been defined and measured in many different ways, and is thereby not a single and constant measure. According to Attribution Theory people make sense of each other by attributing characteristics of that person. BAM can be seen as a natural extension of this, referring to internal attributions, e.g. mental states, characteristics and abilities that people believe animals to possess. Thereby when people do not believe animals to be capable of e.g. thinking and feeling, they are more inclined to support animal use (Knight, Vrij A., Cherryman, & K., 2004).

Research has showed that attitudes towards animal use are influenced by experience of animals whereby e.g. pet owners rated animal research as less acceptable than non-pet owners did. According to the “contact hypothesis” contact with members of an outgroup, e.g. animals, or an ethic group can lead to a mutual understanding and decreased prejudice towards that group, even to the development of an emotional attachment between these two. Positive experiences usually lead to less support for animal use, whereas negative experiences with an animal may lead people to become more supportive of animal use. Males also present lower levels of BAM

compared to females, and males are also generally more supportive of animal use. Females are more likely to attribute mental states to animals. They are more likely to sympathize to animals if they believe that it will cause some kind of pain or distress to the animals in question. It also looks as younger people are more against animal use than older ones (Knight et al., 2004).

So called blood sports and animal management issues are usually presented by media as a political argument, a core-periphery debate. People from more urban backgrounds present more positive attitudes toward animals and are more against animal use than people from less industrialized, and less urbanized countries. It is also possible for people to hold different attitudes towards different ways in which animals are used, e.g. experimentation that leads to death of animals vs. entertainment (non-lethal use) (Knight et al., 2004).

Animals as tourism objects.

Tourism is an industry that is based on valuing its products according to the use it has to tourists, who are seeking personal satisfaction. Tourists are escaping from their daily lives while on holiday, and wish to experience different places and activities in order to increase their personal feelings of happiness and wellbeing. Different objects, both humans and animals, are produced for human consumption. This leads often to animals and nature being objectified as products. Animals become underprivileged counterparts in tourism power relations and are seen impersonally and as merely economic commodities for human use. This ignorance of animal value downgrades their capacity of independent agency and can result in their inappropriate use. They are only viewed as worthwhile in the sense of what they can do for humans (Burns, 2015).

Wildlife tourism is often divided into consumptive and non-consumptive tourism. Consumptive tourism means deliberate killing of animals by activities such as hunting and

fishing. Consumptive is also used in a wider sense to describe the commodification of natural and cultural products, where tourism turns its objects through “the tourist Gaze” into marketable items. Some claim that wildlife tourism, and tourism consumption can bring substantial benefits for the wildlife as it contributes to conservation. Watching wildlife is also said to be good for people in a psychological sense and hence good for nature conservation. This argument puts the welfare of humans above animals’ “we conserve them because they can do positive things for us” (Burns, 2015, p.49).

Whale Watching

Whale-watching tourism is by definition commercial tours enabling tourists to observe, swim with and/or listen to cetaceans (whales, dolphins or porpoises) in their natural habitat (Lambert, Hunter, Pierce, & MacLeod, 2010). Whale-watching operators organize tours for tourists at the sea areas where whales exist. Whale watching can be done from aircrafts, boats, or from land, and can also include swimming with cetaceans (Hoyt & Hvenegaard, 2002). There are considered to be three types of whale watching: commercial whale-watching where tourists pay whale watch operators for a guided opportunity to see whales; opportunistic whale-watching where amateurs conduct non-commercial whale watching, and nonlethal research on whales by independent researchers. Non-lethal research is sometimes carried out alongside or in conjunction with commercial whale watch operations (Hoyt & Hvenegaard, 2002). In this work “whale watching” refers to commercial whale watching. Whale watching is wildlife tourism, and is usually considered as beneficial or ecotourism (J.E.S. Higham et al., 2014). The whale watch industry has an estimated total annual worldwide revenue of over \$1 billion (Lambert et al., 2010) or even \$US 2.1 billion and generates 13,000 jobs annually according to IFAW (J.E.S. Higham et al., 2014, p.109-126)

Whale watching has its roots in California, where first whale watching trips were introduced in 1952, as “disaster” or “extinction” tourism (J. E. S. Higham & Neves, 2014). Since this time the whale watching tourism has increased dramatically and today cetaceans are viewed on an industrial scale (J.E.S. Higham et al., 2014). In 1998 over 9 million tourists took part in whale-watching excursions in 492 communities in 87 countries (Hoyt & Hvenegaard, 2002). Whale watching was recognized as a legitimate tourism industry by The International Whaling Commission (IWC) in 1993 and it is to provide for sustainable use of whales. Whale watching has been for many years promoted by NGOs as an economically viable alternative to whaling. Whale-watching affects, and is affected by the broader local-global, socio-cultural, economic, ecological and political environments within which it exists (J.E.S. Higham et al., 2014).

Whale watching is often compared to whale hunting as a non-lethal consumptive activity, or good and conservative alternative to it. While whale hunting is seen in a negative light worldwide, most people think of whale watching as an acceptable activity, leading it to have gained high popularity as a tourist attraction. Whale watching also continues to grow, especially in developing countries, where very few regulatory and management frameworks are implemented (J. Higham, Bejder, Allen, Cockeron, & Lusseau, 2015; J. E. S. Higham & Neves, 2014) Profit-oriented goals often also tend to override ecological conservation objectives or concerns with social equity and human well-being. Even if ecotourism is often associated with biodiversity conservation and social development, it usually gives rise to uneven development with negative ecological impacts in reality (J. E. S. Higham & Neves, 2014). Tourism infrastructures in use might not also be sustainable. (J.E.S. Higham et al., 2014)

Even if many tourists do not take part in a whale-watching experience, the option itself is appealing and may enhance the overall tourism experience in the area. E.g. Californian coastal

communities receive considerable socioeconomic impact from annual whale-watching festivals, attended by hundreds of thousands of people. Only a fraction of the visitors actually does whale-watching, but they still enjoy participating in the celebration of the gray whale migration (Hoyt & Hvenegaard, 2002).

Motivation for whale watching.

Motivation for going on whale watching trips has not been much researched upon but the basic assumption is that people are fascinated by whales and want to get as close to them as possible. For many this explanation is self-evident but according to research conducted in Australia the proximity of the boat to whales is not of great importance. The presence of whales and their behavior are on the other hand important constructs for whale-watcher satisfaction. A high degree of customer satisfaction can actually even be achieved in the absence of whales (Orams, 2000). It is also important to remember that whale-watching tourists are not homogenous in their values, attitudes, expectations, motivations or demographic backgrounds. They might not also respond homogeneously when presented with the same stimuli (Lambert et al., 2010).

The factors contributing to visitor satisfaction with whale watchers were according to an Australian study by Foxlee, 2001: 1. Numbers of whales seen, 2. Distance from whales, 3. Whale activity, 4. Information about whales, 5. Information available about other marine life, 5. The style in which the information was presented (Wearing & Jobberns, 2015).

Negative effects of whale watching.

Tourist usually want to see wild animals close-up, and they crave for unconstrained and prolonged interaction with them, sometimes even touching them. Wild animals are generally

human-averse, and avoid humans. They respond to human encounters and to the “human gaze” by fleeing and retreating to cover. Seeking animals for tourists to see requires the same techniques as hunting: systematic locating, identifying and pursuing target animals. This triggers alarm and anti-predatory responses in the animals to avoid detection and minimize close or prolonged interaction with humans. Twenty-five years of research prove that human interactions with cetaceans affect animal behavior and can have wide biological and ecological consequences (J.E.S. Higham et al., 2014). As tourist need to be brought to places where interactions with whales are predictable and constant in order to ensure that they will be able to see them, the tourists are brought to wildlife habitats where feeding, resting, socializing, and reproduction occur, leading to disturbing the wild animals, their mental health and tranquility, and hence leading to sustainability concerns (J. E. S. Higham & Hopkins, 2014).

There have also been collisions between whale- watch vessels and cetaceans (Bertulli, Leeney, Barreau, & Swann Matasa, 2014), leading to injuries and even death. As the volume and speed of surface transportation increases in the areas where whales are present this constitutes a growing concern (Higham & Neves, 2014). Also marine vessel strikes, noise, toxic poisoning and other forms of chronic environmental pollution, fisheries depletion and by-catch, tidal energy generation, seabed mining, and marine oil drilling cause problems for cetaceans (Higham & Hopkins, 2014). Land based whale watchers seem to be more concerned about boats harassing whales than boat-based whale watchers (Hoyt & Hvenegaard, 2002). Studies indicate that repeated disturbance can lead to displacement from preferred habitat and reduced fitness at the population level (J. E. S. Higham & Hopkins, 2014).

All tourists also contribute to climate change through carbon dioxide (CO₂) emissions from air travel (J.E.S. Higham et al., 2014). Strategies to increase environmentally responsible

behavior might include: knowledge about environmental problems, value discussion and discussions about alternative solutions to these, development of problem analysis and problem-solving ability, skill training, personal norm, environmental or personal responsibility, verbal commitment, and perceived health threats (Fransson & Gärling, 1999). More recent research shows that environmental education can encourage pro-environmental behavior, and conservation intentions can be created by stimulating emotions towards wildlife. This kind of emotional engagement is seen as more effective than knowledge transfer or emphasizing of responsibility (Jacobs & Harms, 2014). It is thereby important to raise awareness of marine conservation among both whale watching visitors and amongst host communities (J.E.S. Higham et al., 2014). A study conducted in United Kingdom in 2006 on seal watching tourism shows that by acting in a responsible and sustainable manner, boat operators also have the potential to enhance tourist satisfaction (Curtin, Richards, & Westcott, 2009).

Tourists are often unaware of the fact that whale-watching vessels can cause many and severe problems to nature, and particularly to the animals gazed upon (J.E.S. Higham et al., 2014). This is why commercial whale-watching practices need to be recognized as a form of non-lethal consumptive exploitation, and the industry is in urgent need of sustainable management and paradigmatic transformation. This means moving away from open-access management paradigms, and being regulated more widely on both national and international levels. This in turn requires new thinking about nature-based tourism issues, and wildlife tourism practices in general (J. E. S. Higham, Bejder, Allen, Corkeron, & Lusseau, 2015). Governments, NGO's, policy-makers, resource managers, local communities and tourists need to respond fast to make appropriate regulations and enforcements for local practices towards sustainable whale

watching practices, especially in the developing world where the industry is growing (J.E.S. Higham et al., 2014).

Whale-watching in Iceland and Norway.

Iceland is one of Europe's most popular whale watching destinations with a variety of cetacean species. The high season for whale-watching is from April to September and the Icelandic whale-watching tourism mainly consists of local small and medium-sized enterprises. The industry started on a small scale in 1991 by one whale-watching tour operator and with 100 annual whale-watchers. Now Ecotourism, and especially whale-watching constitute an increasing source of income for the economy and was in 2007 worth around \$US 24 million, competing with the turnover from the Icelandic whaling industry at its peak in the 1980s. Tourism is the fastest growing sector in the Icelandic economy, and whale-watching the fastest growing activity in tourism. It is said that the number of new places of work created, business spin-offs, as well as social benefits created by whale-watching tourism industry outweigh the social and economic influences that the whaling industry has had, or ever will have (Andersson, Gothall, & Wende, 2013).

The whale watching tour operators co-operate with the organization Icewhale, which is a non-governmental organization in Iceland and represents the opinion of the whale-watching tourism industry in Iceland. Whale-watching mainly takes place in the following areas: The Reykjavik area, the nearby Reykjanes Peninsula area, the north with the fishing towns of Husavik and Olafsvik, and the Snaefellsnes Peninsula. Husavik is regarded the top spot for whale-watching in Iceland (Andersson et al., 2013).

The Norwegian whale watching industry is small, with mainly 2 companies providing whale watching tours, usually in the summer touristic season. The bigger one of the companies, Hvalsafari, is located in Andenes and receives about 14 500 tourists in the summer season and 500 during winter months (Maan, 2014). The smaller company, Arctic Whale Tours, receives about 3500-4000 tourists during the summer season (L. Heiskanen, 2014). Whaling is also conducted in the nearby area of Vestfjord /Vesterål to Finnmark, Bjørnøya, Spitsbergen (Hauge, 2011), leading to questions about the co-existence of the two perhaps competing industries.

More Ethically Responsible Tourism.

Scholarship around tourism ethics has increased enormously in the last decade, leading to the creation of labels such as “responsible tourism”. The 2002 Cape Town Declaration on Responsible Tourism contains seven key characteristics of responsible tourism, but lacks the mentioning of animals or wildlife. The fourth of the characteristics seems most relevant here: making positive contributions to the conservation of natural / cultural heritage in order to maintain the diversity of the world. Even if wild animals are important tourist attractions all over the world, they are rarely considered in broad managerial-type guidelines, and also lack from the UN World Tourism Organization’s Global Code of Ethics for Tourism, which is meant to guide tourism development. Animals are not considered as tourism stakeholders in any models and compound the lack of recognized animal rights and agency, as can be seen in Figure 1. (Burns, 2015).

<u>PRINCIPLE</u>	<u>DESCRIPTION</u>
Intrinsic value	Wildlife has inherent value, independent of its usefulness to human activities
Moral obligations	Awareness of the environmental consequences of their actions can compel tourists to change their behavior through a sense of moral obligation
Moral reasoning	Information on environmental ethics can assist tourists

	in engaging in ecocentric moral reasoning
Precautionary	If a wildlife tourism action has a suspected risk of causing harm to animals or their habitat, in the absence of scientific consensus that the action is harmful, then the burden of proof that it is not harmful falls on those proposing the action
Avatar	The interconnectedness of humans and nature requires management of both in a more holistic framework as part of shared ecosystems
Belong in nature	Humans must acknowledge that wildlife belongs in and with nature and that humans are visitors to the habitat
Reflective manager	Managers need to self-reflect on how their ethical position is constructed and could potentially change over time

Figure 1. Seven principles for an ecocentric approach to wildlife tourism (Burns, 2015, p.53). By adopting ecocentric principles into management policies, practices and planning it is possible to refocus relations in order to recognize the intrinsic values of animals and not only see them as touristic objects or products for consumption. It also demonstrates the need for informed moral reasoning, self-reflection and obligation by both managers and tourists. Wildlife tourism happens where the animals belong, their home is the nature, which tourists visit (Burns, 2015).

Ecotourism.

Tourism is the fastest growing industry in the world. An increased demand for travel and for environmental quality has led to the growth of ecotourism. One definition of ecotourism is: “traveling to relatively undisturbed ... areas with the specific objective of studying, admiring, and enjoying the scenery and its wild plants and animals [or] existing cultural manifestations found in the areas” (Isaacs, 2000, p.62). Ecotourism is advertised as an alternative form of tourism; responsible travel that conserves natural environments, as well as sustains the wellbeing of local cultures. Benefits of protecting natural areas are recreation, habitat protection, biodiversity preservation, soil formation, nutrient recycling, and control of water and air pollution. Ecotourism is additionally supposed to raise the public’s awareness of the environment, to

sensitize travelers to nature and its processes, and to reduce negative impacts of travel. It is further seen as a profitable and relatively non-damaging form of economic enterprise. Tourism service providers can limit negative impacts on wildlife habitat in the name of self-interest as some tourists are ready to pay more for a clean and undisturbed environment. Tourism can also cause damage upon flora and fauna, indigenous cultures, and different ecological assets. The development of ecotourism may however in fact lead to the expansion of more intrusive and mainstream tourism in environmentally sensitive areas, areas that possess rare beauty, wildlife, and other environmental characteristics, eventually leading to increased negative effects for the areas (Isaacs, 2000).

There is no real consensus to the meaning and interpretation of the term “ecotourism” and it is difficult to separate ecotourism from other forms of tourism, such as “nature based tourism”, “adventure tourism” or “sustainable tourism”. It can also be a subset of alternative tourism or mass tourism, and the majority of ecotourism is in fact operated as mass tourism (Buckley, 2000). According to Higham et al, 2014, ecotourism needs to have conservation benefits and visitor operations should be low in impact (J.E.S. Higham et al., 2014).

Eco labeling.

Ecolabelling is a product developed and applied in ecotourism in order to address and improve quality, and it is becoming a common practice in many places. The key principles are: natural area focus, environmental sustainability, interpretation/education, return to local communities and cultural sensitivity. The negative impacts of tourism should be minimized and positive ones maximized. Over one hundred eco labels have been developed world wide for tourism hospitality and ecotourism since the development of the first one, the Blue Flag, in 1985 (Chen, 2011).

Chen, 2011, describes a case study of the Taiwanese government introducing Eco labeling in whale and dolphin watching trips. The blue flag was introduced as a voluntary program, hoping that tourism trips were carried out in an environmentally sustainable way, and creating a positive and educative experience. The tools measured were both tangible (e.g. comfortable boats, life vests) and intangible ones (e.g. good customer service, safety training). Of great importance was also environmental impact: to minimize disturbance to whales or dolphins. The results showed that boats that had introduced eco labeling were found to create more educational trips, and turning tourists into “greenies” (Chen, 2011).

Ecotourism and whale watching.

Whale watching is the fastest growing form of ecotourism and has grown from US\$1bn and over 9 million people in 2001 to US\$2.1bn and over 13million people participating in over 119 countries by 2008, supported by 13 000 full-time jobs and is expected to still continue growing fast (J. Higham & Neves, 2015, p.109-126).

Ecotourism and whale watching has been criticized as the cetaceans are seen as being treated unethically; they are valued only through the production, consumption and industrialization process of tourism (Wearing & Jobberns, 2015). Whale watching is valued for its contribution to environmental education and scientific research and has hence potential for sustainability (Orams, 2010). An increased number of nature-based activities and interpretive programs in marine-based ecotourism have been created to fulfill the needs for development, fulfillment and self-education for Eco tourists. Learning and interaction with wildlife are seen as important factors in contributing to pro-conservation goals. It may also help in advancing the issues associated with whaling (Wearing & Jobberns, 2015). A study done on swim-with dolphin tours in New Zealand showed that respondents appreciated the information given on tour, and

that they would in fact have liked to receive more information, in particular about the wider marine environment (Lück, 2003).

The impacts of tourism activities on cetaceans are quite unknown, but research assumes that whales use the same considerations when faced with hunting or tourism as when they perceive any other risk of predation, including evasive behavior such as changes in movement patterns, and increases in diving and swimming speed when encountering boats (J. Higham & Neves, 2015), even to reduced maternal care, which can in turn lead to reduced reproduction success, and to displacement from habitats. Vessel noise also disturbs underwater communication and singing (Wearing & Jobberns, 2015), and increased injuries are caused from collisions with whale watch vessels (J. Higham & Neves, 2015). Even if there are restrictions based on tourist activities, it should be noted that globally there are very few restrictions on commercial shipping, on ferries and sailing vessels. Research suggests also that the type of vessel, the noise it creates and the way it is operated are far more important variables with regard to disturbance of whales than the geographical proximity of the vessels to whales (Orams, 2000).

Even short-term behavioral changes in animals can have huge biological consequences for individual animals and populations. As Wearing and Jobberns (2015), p.85 warn: “We must be wary of substituting whale watching for whaling, and then industrializing whale watching, so that we once again see the whales jeopardized”.

As wildlife tourism (including whale-watching) causes negative impacts on animals it should be recognized as a form of non-lethal consumptive exploitation. In order to deal with the negativity caused there is a need of new regulation and management of commercial whale-watching (J.E.S. Higham et al., 2014). In different whale watching locations different strategies have been implemented in order to manage and control whale watching activities. These include

regulations, permit and licensing systems, industry guidelines, education and interpretation, supported by research (Wearing & Jobberns, 2015).

According to Burns, 2015, whale watching in Norway can be compared to Seal watching in Iceland. Both of these are new tourism products and need proper regulations in order to protect the animals from excessive disturbance, but also in order to provide attractive and sustainable touristic experiences. Tourists also need to be provided with educational material and to be told about their moral obligations when wildlife watching. It is uncertain what kind of impacts tourism cause for whales, and it is important to make sure that tourism provides conservation benefit and is more positive than hunting. In Norway and Iceland wildlife tourism has developed without much planning and policy guidelines. Planning would now need to be started in stages and with taking ethical principles in consideration (Burns, 2015).

Tourism is also very dependent on oil, as oil is used by airplanes and whale watch vessels. This makes the whale watch industry directly implicated to the release of massive amounts of carbon dioxide (CO₂) and contributing to global climate change, as can be seen in Figure 2. Carbon dioxide projections from tourism are expected to increase by more than one-hundred- and -thirty percent (130%) from 2005 levels by the year 2035. Changed sea surface temperatures also affect the cetacean sources and migration patterns. The drilling of oil further poses a severe threat to water quality, and increased risk of marine ecological disasters, as well as most likely causing negative effects on cetacean morbidity and mortality (J. Higham & Neves, 2015, p.109-126).

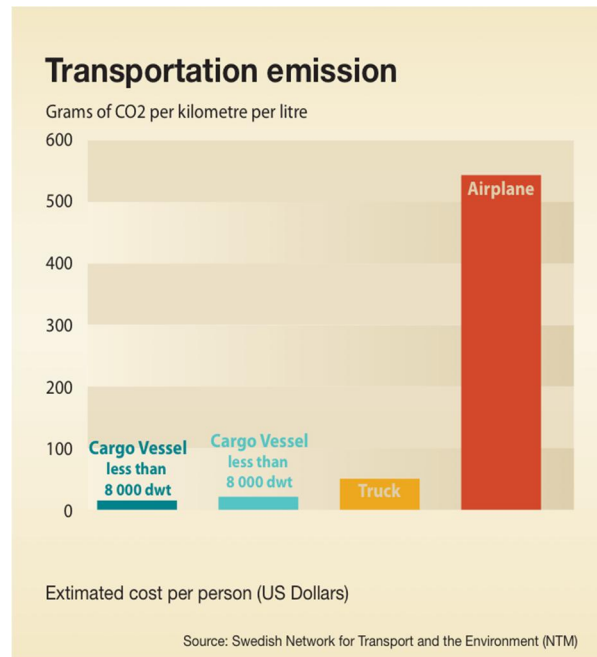


Figure.2. Emission in 2013. The figure shows how emissions caused by airplanes exceed other forms of transportation emission (cargo vessels and trucks) in grams of CO₂ per liter. The Figure is found on GRID ARENDAL's web page as "Transport emission", last updated 09.10.2013, available at http://www.grida.no/graphicslib/detail/transportation-emission_6573, accessed at 05.06.2016. Copyright 2013 by GRID-Arendal.

Global climate change (GCC) is changing the sea surface temperatures, ocean acidity, climate patterns and climate variability, hence affecting marine ecosystems. Global sea surface temperatures are expected to increase between an average of 1.1°C and 4.6°C by 2100 from 1990 levels. These factors in turn cause changes in the species distribution, the occurrence and abundance of individuals, the timing and length of migrations, reproductive success, mortality levels, changes in community composition and structure and changes in the occurrence of local cetacean species. While whale watching relies on the certainty of cetaceans existing in foreseeable and close by sea areas in order to ensure their sightings to tourists and hence affect tourist satisfaction with whale watching trips. Temperature changes are expected to be especially

high in Arctic areas, e.g. Iceland, Norway, Alaska where changes will be seen first (Lambert et al., 2010).

Whale hunting

The International Whaling Commission (IWC) distinguishes between three forms of whaling: whale hunting conducted for commercial, research purposes or aboriginal subsistence. Aboriginal subsistence whaling (ASW) is according to Donovan (1982) as cited by Bertulli et al, 2014, p. 1 “for purposes of local aboriginal consumption carried out by or on behalf of aboriginal, indigenous or native people who share strong community, familial, social and cultural ties related to a continuing traditional dependence on whaling and on the use of whales”. ASW is allowed in Greenland, Siberia, Alaska, and St Vincent and The Grenadines (International whaling commission, 2016). Commercial whaling on the other hand is defined as any whaling, unrelated to research, which does not fit with the definition of ASW (Holt, 1985).

Despite the fact that the majority of industrial nations are opposed to whaling at a commercial scale several countries still practice either aboriginal substance whaling or commercial whaling. The countries who support whaling are of the opinion that sustainable harvests of some whale stocks are possible. Some even argue that culling of whales is necessary in order to reduce conflict with commercial fisheries or in order to re-establish balance in certain marine ecosystems. However, according to many researchers most of the whale stocks depleted in the past have not yet recovered to pre-whaling levels (Bertulli et al., 2014).

Commercial whale hunting dates back to the 16th century in the North Atlantic and to the late 18th century in the Pacific Ocean. Modern whaling is said to have started in 1863 when Norwegian whalers brought together the industrial technologies of the explosive-tipped harpoon

and the steam powered whaling vessel. It dramatically reduced the whale population stocks as over a million whales were killed in the Southern Ocean between 1928 and 1968. The IWC adopted a moratorium on commercial whaling in 1982 when whaling had brought whales close to extinction (J.E.S. Higham et al., 2014).

“Whaling” usually refers to the hunting of the larger Sperm whales and Baleen whales, such as Humpback and Minke whales. Iceland, Norway and Japan are the countries conducting whaling today, while Caribbean hunters mostly target small cetaceans in the Caribbean islands. These include Toothed whales, Beaked whales, Pilot whales, and various dolphins (Hoyt & Hvenegaard, 2002).

Earlier the whales’ blubber and other fatty tissues were rendered down into oil, which was used for oil products such as candles and fuel for lamps, later it served an increasing range of purposes as e.g. animal feed, machine lubricants, glycerin-based explosives, soap, detergents and margarine (J. E. S. Higham & Neves, 2014). Today whaling is practiced to maintain a stable fish population, as well as to produce whale meat for consumption. Scientific hunting of whales is also carried out in Iceland, Norway and Japan in order to understand how whale populations interact with other components of marine ecosystems, especially with commercially important fishes. The sale of whale meat is here a by-product (J.E.S. Higham et al., 2014).

Norwegian and Icelandic whaling.

Norwegian whaling is small-type coastal whaling, originally developed by fishermen on the coast of Mfdre in the late 1920s. It was first performed from small boats of seven to twelve meters, now from bigger about twelve to twenty-four-meter-long fishing boats. The whaling boats are usually owned and run by families. The whalers are in fact fishermen, and boats are

equipped for both whaling and fishing since whaling is only one of the fisheries they are engaged in. The income from whaling is a bit less than from other fishing but is regarded as more stable income. Even if whaling is seen as being a relatively minor economic sector in Northern Norway, it is a primary economy and is vital to some small and isolated communities where the workforce is directly involved in whaling (Ris, 1993).

Strong international critique against whaling led to the moratorium of whaling after 1987. In 1993 commercial whaling was again permitted in Norway. Different international environmental and animal rights groups protested against Norway's decision to resume whaling, including e.g. Greenpeace and Sea Shepherd. There were also threats of economic sanctions from non-whaling countries and threats to boycott the Winter Olympic Games that were scheduled for Lillehammer, Norway, in 1994. The Norwegian government's decision to resume whaling was based on two assumptions; that the stock of minke whales was abundant, and that whales could be harvested on a sustainable basis, without risk of extinction. In 1993 there were four vessels participating in the scientific hunt and twenty-seven participating in the traditional hunt (Bjørndal & Conrad, 1998), in 2015 twenty-one boats took part in the traditional hunt and 660 Minkie whales were hunted. Six hundred animals killed per year give around 700-900 tons of meat worth about 21-28 million Norwegian kroner. The quota for 2010-2015 was 1286 whales (basic quota 885 whales). The amount of Minkie whales and the amount of whales killed can be seen in Figure 3. In 2016 the quota for Minkie whales to be hunted in the North-Western Atlantic is 710 whales and 170 whales by Jan Mayen, yielding in a total quota of 880 Minkie whales (Øien, 2016).

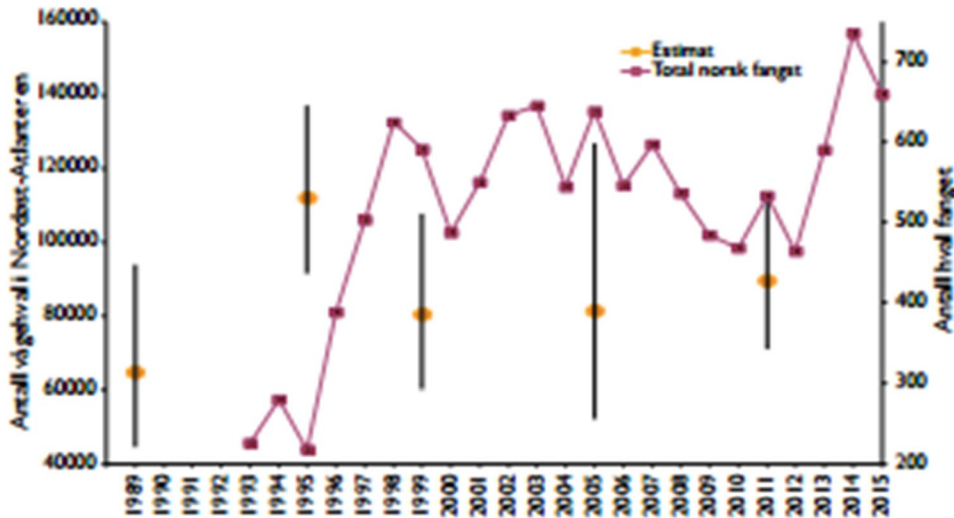


Figure 3. Amount of Minkie whales and the total amount of catches 1989-2015. Øien, 2016, imr.no, accessed 10.5.2016. The picture shows how the numbers of whales (numbers on the left) and the number of whales that have been hunted (numbers on the right) have increased during the years.

The vessels in the scientific hunt were chartered by the Norwegian government and they carried marine biologists. During the scientific hunt they were harvesting whales from certain, pre-designated areas under the direction of the biologists, and based on the average yield of meat per whale. Vessels participating in both hunts had a quota on the number of whales they could take, but the commercial vessels were free to search for larger whales, which would presumably maximize the revenue from the sale of meat as meat is by far the most valuable whale product in Norway (Bjørndal & Conrad, 1998).

In Norway it is allowed to hunt only the Minke whale (*Balaenoptera acutorostrata*) which is a nine-meter-long whale that weighs 5000-8000 kg and lives at least thirty years. The meat is mainly used as food for humans. Minke whales have a migration pattern similar to that of the Blue whale, and its diet is very varied, from copepod (zooplankton), krill, fish (e.g.

capelin, herring, mackerel, codfish). The catches are regulated by quotas that are made together with the IWF and these are monitored carefully by the Institute of Marine Research, Norway. DNA tests are taken of all Minke whales that are caught. These form a part of a national DNA register. In this way all whale meat that is sold can be traced back to the individual whale in question, and legal whaling can be controlled. The long term goal is for the amount of whales to be at a sixty percent (60%) level of the original amount of whales. The Minkie whale has a quite long life expectancy and this is why big differences in the amount of whales is not expected during less than a period of five to ten years. Based on the hunt in the 1920 it is estimated that there were about seventy percent (70%) whales left from the time thirty years earlier (Øien, 2016).

Whale hunting takes place in the summer, mainly in Vestfjord/Vesterål to Finnmark, in Lofoten, Barents Sea, Bjørnøya and Spitzbergen, lasting about six weeks (Øien, 2016; Ris, 1993). The area Spitzbergen (or Svalbard), “the last European wilderness” and is located between Norway and the North Pole (74-81degrees N, 10-35 degrees E). The area is characterized by Alpine peaks, glaciers, and fjords. The sensitive environmental area is also visited by 12 000-15 000 cruise ship tourists and 1500-3000 people go on shore the islands every summer. The Norwegian government is to develop tourism in the area but tourism is not managed well and is expected to cause increased problems in the area (Kaltenborn & Emmerlin, 1993).

Today the Norwegian whale hunters hunt two different whale populations. The most important one is the North-Western Atlantic population in the North Sea, along the Norwegian coast, in the Barents Sea and by Svalbard. The last estimate is 89 600 Minkie whales, it is based on calculations in the period 2008-2013. This estimate has been accepted by the IWC scientific

committee in 2015. The Norwegian whale hunters also hunt limitedly in the economic zone around Jan Mayen on the central population. The whale population there is 11 000 Minkie whales (based on 2010 calculations), a rapid decrease from 26 700 (calculations 1997, 2005). In the North Western Atlantic there are 184 000 whales based on estimates from 1995 (Havforskningsinstituttet, 2016; Øien, 2016).

Commercial whaling in Iceland had its peak in the early twentieth century, when whale oil was seen as an essential product. Between 1986 and 2006 463 whales were killed for scientific purposes in Iceland: 292 North Atlantic Fin whales, 101 North Atlantic Minke and 70 North Atlantic Sei whales. There was no commercial whaling between 1990 and 2003 and since 2003 only North Atlantic minke whales were killed. In 2006 Iceland announced the continuation of commercial whaling and the quota consisted of nine Fin whales and thirty Minke whales yearly. 43,600 minke whales and around 25,800 fin whales were estimated to live in Icelandic waters and therefore the commercial whaling activity was seen sustainable by the Icelandic government (Andersson et al., 2013).

Sustainable Food Consumption and Eating Meat

A general interest in sustainability, sustainable production, and sustainable consumption has increased. None the less daily consumer consumption practices are still much driven by convenience, habit, value for money, personal health concerns, hedonism, individual responses to social and institutional norms, and resistance to change. Achieving sustainable development includes strategies to achieve economic goals in the form of profit (a fair price for producers and an affordable price for consumers), social goals (needs of the society as well as the needs of the agro-food sector), and environmental goals (care for natural environment and livestock, people's quality of life). Sustainable products are products that contribute to one or a combination of these

aspects. The ecological goal is preserving the environment and sustainable use and management of natural resources. Sustainable consumption is based on a decision-making process that takes the consumer's social responsibility into account, and not only their needs and wants (Vermeir & Verbeke, 2006).

Food consumption is a negotiation about what a person will, and will not, let into his or her body; the ethical consumer perceives a more direct link between what is consumed and the social issue itself. This includes environmental issues but also animal welfare, human rights, and labor working conditions in the third world. The ethical consumer feels responsible towards society and expresses these feelings by means of his purchase behavior. There is however an attitude-behavior gap that shows that attitudes alone are often poor predictors of behavior, as shown by the fact that sustainable organic food, products free from child labor, legally logged wood, and fair-trade products often have market shares of less than one percent, as price, quality, convenience, and brand familiarity are still the most important decision criteria for consumers (Vermeir & Verbeke, 2006). According to research by Vermeir et al, 2005 a more sustainable and ethical food consumption can be stimulated through raising involvement, PCE (perceived consumer effectiveness), certainty, social norms, and perceived availability for sustainability (Vermeir & Verbeke, 2006). Vermeir and Verberke, 2008, argue that consumer attitudes can be changed to become more positive towards sustainable products by communication strategies. This together with increasing awareness for where to buy sustainable products (lists of shops) and by adding the sustainable products sold in supermarkets the amount of sustainable foods bought could be increased (Vermeir & Verbeke, 2008).

Demand for particular types of food is influenced primarily by social psychological factors such as beliefs, attitudes norms and values (Knight et al., 2004). Motivation behind eating

is complex and situation dependent, and in everyday life different motivations may not be mutually exclusive or clear as people may have many reasons for complex activities such as cooking or eating (Schösler, de Boer, & Boersema, 2014). Research by Schösler et al, 2014 shows that specific cultural and motivational factors have a positive impact on carefully produced food and eating less animal protein. Lack of sustainable food choices are on the other hand explained by lack of identification with nature, extrinsic motivation or amotivation in food choices (Schösler et al., 2014). Vegetarianism is seen as related to value orientations such as an increase in altruistic values, a decrease in traditional values, appreciating less material and technological growth, redistribution of wealth, goals of self-actualization, and decision making determined by non-materialistic values. BAM (Belief in animal mind) might also be a reason to people abstaining from eating animals and also other animal use. Eating meat can itself represent an attitude towards animals: animals should not be eaten (Knight et al., 2004).

As it is difficult to convert animal feed into dietary protein for human consumption meat is responsible for an unreasonably large share of food based environmental pressure. Animal protein has become the main source of protein and the industrialized animal production has grown incredibly in the twentieth century. This meat is produced and packed in a standardized and de-animalized way so that it does not remind people of the link between killing animals and meat consumption. Negative effects caused by this large meat production include climate change, rate of biodiversity loss, disruption of the nitrogen cycle, freshwater availability and land use change due to factors such as e.g. greenhouse gas emissions from manure and animals, cultivation and fertilization of crops and feeding areas, deforestation and grassland conversion (de Boer, Schösler, & Aiking, 2014).

As the world population and its per capita income is expected to grow rapidly the demand for livestock products is expected to grow by seventy percent by 2050. The consumption of these products and especially red and processed meat can lead to health problems such as type two diabetes, different types of cancers, and cardio vascular disease. Solutions to this might be to introduce consumers to meatless days, to eat smaller portions of meat per meal, or meat produced in a more sustainable manner, or to introduce more/new vegetable proteins as food sources (de Boer et al., 2014).

Whale meat consumption in whaling countries.

Demand for whale meat is low internationally (Wende & Gothall, 2008). The whale meat market in Iceland is very small seen both as international and a domestic context. Since whale meat was not available in twenty years Icelanders were not used to whale meat when the whale meat from scientific whaling entered the Icelandic market again in 2003. The government launched a promotional campaign (publishing cooking recipes, politicians eating whale meat, articles about the benefits of whale meat) in order to increase the demand for whale products in Iceland. This led to the increased consumption of whale meat in Iceland from around 150 to 200 tons the same year, but the repeat sale rate was low. Export of whale meat is also difficult due to trade restrictions as well as low demand for whale meat. Potential markets for whale meat were China, former USSR, Norway and Japan. However, as Japan, China and Russia have no CITES import permits, these countries cannot be classified as potential trading partners. Iceland gained permission to export whale meat to Japan in 2009 (Andersson et al., 2013). According to research conducted in Iceland by Bertulli et al (2014) Icelanders see whale meat as a specialty food, but it is marketed to tourists as novelty food. When tourists were asked if they have ever consumed whale meat sixty-five percent (65 %) of the respondents stated that they would never

even try it. Out of the twenty percent (20%) of the respondents who had tried it the majority ,69.1%, stated that they had done this out of curiosity (Bertulli et al., 2014).

Also the Japanese market have been struggling with declining prices for whale meat for long. Japan is said to keep between 4,500 and 6,000 tons of whale meat in long-term cold storage, hoping to find something to do with it. The Japanese government has e.g. tried to introduce whale meat in schools for children to eat, but without being very successful in it (Palmer, 2014).

The average Norwegian eats less than a pound of whale meat per year, and research suggests that consumers think of whale meat as a product of the distant past, and as something objectionable (Palmer, 2014). Even if the Norwegian whaling industry exports more than one hundred tons of whale products annually, Norway's whaling industry remains a marginal business. This might however change as Spar, an international, multibillion euro enterprise with more than 12,000 stores in 40 countries, and one of Norway's leading food retailers, has begun distributing and selling whale meat and the Norwegian government together with private entities have created several marketing campaigns in an effort to boost whale meat sales, promoting it to the hotel, restaurant and catering sectors and focusing on improving the packaging, advertising and diversity of whale products to tempt consumers (Perry, 2015).

Conflicting Cultural Views- Can Whaling and Whale Watching Coexist?

One of the most noticeable cultural conflicts of Western society is the open conflict between different hunting communities and the animal-right welfare movements, creating problems for indigenous peoples by driving campaigns against them, and hence causing much damage to the locals. Animal welfare movements, the European Economic Community and anti-

whaling companies are also blamed for same kinds of actions; actions that are carried out in light of their own culture-specific values and without respecting the ecological or socio-economic nature of subsistence hunting (Ris, 1993).

According to Ris, 1993, “ethics” is taken for granted to change from worse to better and the change of views about whales is seen as a natural step in the right direction towards a higher form of civilization. Whaling cultures are seen as backward and are expected to give way to change, as they have not yet been exposed to the right kind of knowledge and education about whales. Ris, 1993, further argues that whaling cannot be stopped by simply insulting the whalers as this will destroy the opportunities of dialogue with them. What needs to be communicated is that whales are worth more alive than dead and that a carefully developed whale-watching industry will benefit local communities. By providing and translating information about whales and their “universal values” to people of diverse cultures and religions will support will be created for them (Ris, 1993).

Problems experienced from the coexistence of whaling and whale watching.

The coexistence of whaling and whale-watching is considered problematic as whaling causes removal of whales and disturbances/changes to their regular activities, hence removing the number of whales available for whale-watching. It can also cause different avoidance responses to boats, e.g. increased dive intervals, changes in movement and direction when boats are in the vicinity. Whaling also causes negativity to the destination image by tourists and whale-watchers (Bertulli et al., 2014; J. Higham & Lusseau, 2008). Tourist reactions to whaling are according to Higham and Lusseau (2008) the following: 1. tourists accept the coexistence of whaling and whale-watching; 2. Any kind of whaling is seen as offensive and has a negative

impact on tourism; 3. indigenous whaling is an acceptable local cultural expression and might even enhance the visitors' destination interest.

Pro-whaling proponents see whale watchers as people who will do anything to stop whaling, and who refuse rational discussions on sustainable harvest, anti-whaling proponents see whale watchers as the group of people who have the greatest chance to stop all. No-one really seems to know who the whale watchers are and what their views are concerning whaling. The polarized views held by different groups are preventing constructive discussions on the topic of whaling (J. Higham & Lusseau, 2011).

Whale as a totem animal.

The so called save-the-whale movement is said to have created an image of “the Whale”, a super whale built up by real or imagined traits found in several species of whales and by desirable human characteristics. This 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, and holding all these traits in one imaginable body” (Ris, 1993, p.158). The symbolic association between the whale, and its creators -the animal-rights movement - has though made the whale a totem animal. The totem integrates various like-minded social groups, but also reinforces a common opposition to others, in other words the whalers. The whaling opponents are discussing the ethics of harvesting whales for so-called “consumptive” use; whether it is morally acceptable to kill whales, regardless of the motive. The ethics of killing an animal is philosophically equal to the killing of any other animal of any species, but cetaceans are often separated from other animals. Barstow, 1989 argues like this: “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” (Ris, 1993, p.158). According to Wearing and Jobberns, 2015 p.87: “Finding common ground between the interests between non-whaling countries and whaling countries must eventually come to the gradual displacement of whaling.”

The coexistence of whaling and whale watching in Norway and Iceland.

A Minkie whale was killed in front of whale watchers in Andenes in 2006. The whalers’ explanation was: “(We) don’t have anything against the whale safari boats ... but it’s important to get across that it’s the extreme opponents of whaling that travel out to see whales” (J. Higham & Lusseau, 2011, p.64). This incident can be seen as a result of polarized talks on the compatibility of whale-watching and whaling in Norway (J. Higham & Lusseau, 2011).

The Icelandic government tries to prove that whale hunting and watching can coexist. Whereas in Norway Sperm whales are popular for watching and Minke whales for hunting, in Iceland Minke whales are the main targets for both whale watching- and hunting (Andersson et al., 2013). World Wide Fund for Nature (2003) states that it is supporting the Icelandic whale watching industry specifically in order to develop the industry as an economic alternative to whaling (J. Higham & Lusseau, 2011). Almost half (48%) of Icelanders surveyed in 2006 believed that commercial whaling will have a negative impact on Icelandic tourism in a Gallup poll conducted at the commercial resumption of whaling in Iceland the same year. All whale-watching tour operators had negative attitudes towards the decision for Iceland to resume whaling, and they had noticed a drop in amount of customers, and also severe avoidance responses and behavioral changes by the whales. The Icelandic whale-watching tour operators additionally think whaling should be prohibited and they do not believe in the coexistence of

whale-watching and whaling in a long-term perspective and are lobbying against it. The Icelandic Tourist Industry Association was also under the impression that whaling might harm the growing whale-watching tourism industry (Andersson et al., 2013).

There is said to exist a silent agreement between whale-watching and the whaling companies and according to it the hunters are not supposed to hunt close to the whale-watching sites even if these overlap. The whaling companies have even asked for a map of the whale-watching locations in order to know where not to hunt, but they have none the less disregarded the agreement, and whaling has actually been carried out even in front of whale-watching tourists. Tour operators have also been affected negatively as they have had to travel longer distances to find whales, as whales have started avoiding boats due to hunting. This in turn results in higher demands of time and increased costs of operation. Whale-watching tour operators do still not blame the whaling companies or the local communities for whaling as they feel the reason to the resumption of whaling is due to the country's recently gained independence, and is reflected as Iceland's will to assert its own independent decisions without listening to other European countries (Andersson et al., 2013).

Findings from research carried out in Iceland in 2009 amongst whale watching tourists showed that a majority of the respondents did not support whaling and additionally did not think that whale-watching and whaling could exist side by side. Tourists from non-whaling Western countries did not perceive whales and dolphins as harvestable resource but even if whaling was not supported some respondents had already tried or would consider trying whale meat. Landscape, whale-watching and culture were reasons for visiting Iceland and based on the fact that more tourists had tried whale meat than either puffin or guillemot meat leads to the presumption that whale meat may be more strongly marketed to tourists as "local food" (Bertulli

et al., 2014). According to Higham et al (2014) some people may boycott Iceland as a tourist destination because of whaling, whereas others want to support the whale watching industry in order for it to become an economically strong option to whaling.

Icelandic whaling operators claim that the whale-watching industry is not as profitable and stable as the whaling industry, but ecotourism and especially whale-watching comprises an increasing source of the economy in the country. Whale-watching revenues exceeded hunting revenues in all nations that continue whale hunting and have done so since the 1990s (J.E.S. Higham et al., 2014).

Method

The main aim of this study was to gain a better understanding of the views that people working with the industries of whale watching tourism and whale hunting have on whales and on environmental values. Of importance was also to gain more information about the whaling industry in Norway, and of the co-existence of these two diverse, even contradictory industries. The chosen research design was qualitative personal and semi-structured interviews, as this is a useful method when desiring to study a few cases in depth, and to gain a deeper understanding in the research topics. This research method gives also both the interviewee and the interviewer a chance to ask for clarifications and follow up questions when needed (Yin, 2011).

Research Design

The research consisted of primary data collected from interviews made with whale hunters in Norway and with people working with the whale watching industries in Northern Norway (Svolvær, Andenes, and Tromsø), and in Reykjavik, Iceland. Additional or secondary data sources of the industries were also gained through participation in the Norwegian whale

hunter's semi-annual conference in Svolvær, Norway, on 3-4 December 2015, and by participating in one whale watching trip in Norway in December of 2015, and in another trip in Iceland in March 2016. Two additional interviews were also conducted, as two so called expert opinions were heard. One expert heard was the whale researcher Tiu Similä, who has been working as a whale researcher in Norway since 1986, and another one was Sigursteinn Masson, the representative of IFAW in Iceland.

The secondary data consists of Power Point presentations, hand outs and personal notes from the Whale hunter's conference in Norway, from pictures taken on the whale watching tours in Norway and Iceland and from additional sources of information gained from interviewees in the form of continued email communication. Permission to the storage and use of these sources for the thesis work was granted to the researcher by the people involved.

Data collection

As whale hunters are people who gain much negative attention in the media the assumption was that they would be difficult to reach for interviews. This also turned out to be the case with Icelandic whale hunters, who did not respond to any of the researcher's attempts to reach them: emails, Facebook messages, and even letters. However, the possibility to take part in the whale hunter's semi-annual meeting in Svolvær, Northern Norway, gave her the possibility to reach the Norwegian whale hunter's community, and provided a chance to approach them in an informal and relaxed atmosphere. During the two-day-long conference the researcher was able to conduct six interviews with current whale hunters and two interviews with former whale hunters living in the area, one of which is currently working with whale watching tourism. Hence a so called purposive sampling was used in order to better reach the intended population,

rather than random sampling, which uses random selection and large sample sizes (Neuman, 2011).

In-depth, semi-structured interviews are according to Longhurst, 2009, verbal interchanges where the interviewer achieves to obtain information from another person by asking questions. The interviewer has a list of predetermined questions but the interviews are usually carried out in a conversational manner, which offers participants the chance talk more about issues they feel are of most interest (Longhurst, 2009).

An interview guide is a pre-designed list of questions and topics to be used during the interviews in order to make sure all the necessary topics are covered, as well as to guide the conversations. The interview guide used in this work was originally written in English and thereafter translated (by the researcher) to Swedish and Finnish in order to give access to a more fluent language of communication, and increased mutual understanding between the researcher and interviewees. All these three languages were used in the interviews: eleven of the interviews were conducted in “Scandinavian” language (a mixture of Swedish and Norwegian languages), six in English and two in Finnish. The questions in the interview guide were built on James Higham’s NEPDSP questionnaire (see Appendix C on page 119).

The interviews started by a brief introduction to the research’s aim. Participants were thereafter asked to tell about their background, and current work and then guided through the research questions. A so called responsive interviewing technique was used, whereas the researcher adapted to new information and altered directions when it was necessary to get a deeper understanding to the findings (Rubin & Rubin, 2012). The shortest interview lasted thirty minutes and the longest four hours. The interviews recorded verbatim and were later transcribed into English (by the researcher) for the thesis writing purpose.

Mainly two questions caused some of the interviewees to ask for clarifications, maybe because of the wordings used, or maybe just simply because the questions were so opposing to their own views. These questions were: “Is it different to eat whale meat than fish or meat in general?” and “Are plants and animals on Earth primarily to be used by humans?”

Sample and Sampling Method

The researcher was able to recruit only mature male hunters for the interviews at the Whale hunter’s conference. She was told that female whale hunters are rare and was not able to reach any as they were not present at the conference, and their contact information was not available. The younger whale hunters participating at the conference were also shy to be interviewed “officially”. There was no official demographic data available on the whale hunters, but the researcher was told that the hunters participating in the conference was representative for the population (Norwegian whale hunters).

The people who participated in the other interviews were reached through a so called snow ball or chain referral sampling method, which is a method used in interconnected networks of people and organizations (Neuman, 2011). In this study, the researcher aimed at studying the members of the whale watching industry in Norway, which is a relatively small community, and hence the chain referral method turned out to be the best way to reach interviewees. The interviewees were former or current colleagues and/or acquaintances of a Finnish man working on a whale watching vessel in Norway (an acquaintance to the researcher). Initial contact with this man and also the interviewees was made via social media (Facebook). Only one of the interviewees was recruited spontaneously on site. Also the interviewees contacted in Iceland were reached through snow ball sampling. The whale hunters’ association was initially contacted

via email communication, whereas the first interviews were planned. The next interviewees were reached by the chain referral method.

A total of nineteen (19) interviews were conducted with eight whale hunters and eleven tourism workers, including fifteen (15) males and four (4) females. The interviews were carried out during the winter months of December 2015 and March 2016. Eleven (11) of the participants were Norwegians, four (4) Icelandic, two (2) Finnish, one (1) Hungarian and one (1) German. Their ages were from 28 to 66 with an average age of 53 years. The average age for the whale hunters was 58 and 49 for the people working with whale watching tourism. To be mentioned is that one male had previously worked with whale hunting and is now working with whale watching tourism, and is hence considered in both calculations. He is referred to as Tourism worker 10 (T10) in Figure 4. below, where a description of the interviewees demographic information, education, current and previous work experience is presented. The whale researcher was excluded from the calculations as she does not work for any of these two industries and the IFAW representative was included in the people working for whale watching tourism because of his anti-whaling opinions.

Interviewee	Gender	Age	Nationality	Education	Current work	Previous work experience
Hunter 1	M	61	Norwegian	Shipper	Farmer, fisherman	whaling for 5 years
Hunter 2	M	51	Norwegian	Secondary school, School for driving boats	Fisherman, whaler	same since the age of 16
Hunter 3	M	52	Norwegian	Shipper-captain	Fisherman, whaler	always same
Hunter 4	M	66	Norwegian	Shipper, engineer, economic studies	Boss, whaler	Same for 50 years

Hunter 5	M	58	Norwegian	Cabinet worker, certificate for fishery	Fisherman, whaler	Same always
Hunter 6	M	60	Norwegian	Secondary school, Navigation certificate for boats	Fisherman, whaler	Same for 48 years
Hunter 7	M	65	Norwegian	Secondary school, shipper	Only whaling	Whaler for 42 years
Whale researcher	F	56	Finnish	PHD in marine biology	Whale researcher, entrepreneur	Whale researcher
Tourism 1	M	63	Norwegian	Car mechanics	Whale safari entrepreneur	Car mechanic
Tourism 2	M	47	German	Master in Biology, soon PHD in Marine Biology	Private consulting company	Whale tours for 2 years
Tourism 3	M	64	Norwegian	University, bachelor in Philological subjects	Captain on whale watching boat, entrepreneur	Whale tours
Tourism 4	F	28	Hungarian	University degree in Finance	Researcher, working on whale watching boat	Whale research
Tourism 5	M	56	Finnish	Gardener, 4h advisor, agronomist	Whale tours guide, cook, PR	Fisherman, farmer
Tourism 6	M	66	Norwegian	Shipper	Shipper	Whale safari since 1991
Tourism 7	M	35	Icelandic	BA (Hons) International Tourism Management, MSc (Ecotourism)	Wildlife guide	4 yrs. whale watching guiding
Tourism 8	F	48	Icelandic	Digital marketing; Management and leadership in tourism; MBA Human resource	General manager, whale watching entrepreneur	Whale watching business 17 yrs.

				management, Business administration		
Tourism 9	F	32	Icelandic	Education, political sciences, masters in international affairs/relations	Project manager	Whale watching business
Tourism 10	M	53	Norwegian	Engineer, sea captain	Captain on whale watching ship	Tourism, whaling, scientific hunt
IFAW	M	48	Icelandic	Journalism, political science, educational science	IFAW	Spokesperso n for IFAW in Iceland

Figure 4. Interviewees' demographic information. Also included are current and previous work experience related to the research. The interviewees are in the Results chapter referred to as H1-H7 (whalers), T1-T10 (tourism workers), IFAW (IFAW spokesperson) plus their corresponding ages.

As mentioned previously, there are not many women working with whale hunting and hence all the whale hunters interviewed were men. However, three (3) of the eight (8) people working with whale watching tourism were females, as well as the whale researcher. The goal was to reach as many people working with whaling as with whale watching, and hence this goal was met pretty well.

Data Collection

The interviews lasted between thirty to one-hundred- and- eighty minutes. They were held in peaceful locations that were easily accessible, and available at the time of study, including a hotel restaurant, coffee shop, whale watching boat cafeteria, a public library, and a meeting room at a hotel. One of the interviews was also postponed and later conducted as a

phone interview. This was due to sickness in the family at the originally planned interview time. One of the respondents further wanted to give written answers to the interview questions instead of the planned personal interview. He provided his answers in an email format.

All except one interview was audio recorded using a professional audio recorder device. The interviews were transcribed when the researcher reached home, and was able to do the transcription work in peace, and with concentration. The researcher listened to each interview several times, and made corrections to the written texts in order to make sure the interview answers were written down correctly.

In order to protect the privacy of the interviewees they all remained anonymous in the writing up of the study results. The interviewees are referred to using either “tourism worker” or “whaler” and their age. Additionally, the researcher explained verbally the study and its purposes to each participant at the beginning of each interview, and gained verbal content to use the responses in her thesis work. The interviewees who were contacted in advance (mainly tourism workers) did also have a chance to read through the research questions in advance and reflect upon them.

By observing the interviewees who worked with tourism, their interaction to tourists and the work environment the researcher was able to learn how whale watching tourism is carried out in Northern Norway and Iceland; to see e.g. how environmental issues were taken into consideration on whale watch boats, how whales were approached, and the way attitudes towards whale hunting was communicated to tourists.

Secondary data material consisted of written materials received at the Norwegian whale hunters conference as well as electronic information sources (Power Point presentations, study

findings, additional answers) sent to the researcher by participants of the conference and other interviewees. This secondary data material was important in enhancing the researcher's understanding of the different aspects of both the whaling and whale watching industries and the information was very valuable as some of these sources are not otherwise available for public or academic use. The researcher also took pictures during the observation trips as they can be utilized for illustrating points of cases in writing up the results of the study.

Data Analysis

As described by Yin, 2011, the Analytical process includes 5 phases: Compiling, Disassembling, Reassembling, Interpreting and Conducting Data. This can be described as a cycle of work, as the phases in this cycle do not always happen in time order, as can be seen in Figure 5. This was also the case in this thesis writing process, as the researcher went back and forth between the different phases of analytical work. The Analysis software NVivo 11 Pro was used in the data analysis process.

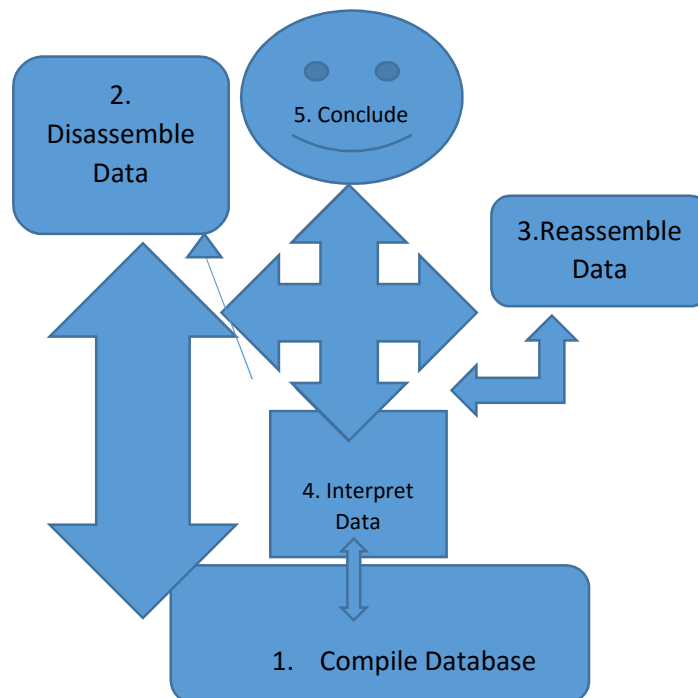


Figure 5. The Five Phases of Analysis and their Interactions. The model shows that research does not always happen in a specific order, but the researcher can go back and forth in the analysis work or “jump” from one stage to another. Picture adapted from Yin, 2011, *Qualitative Research from Start to Finish*, The Guilford Press, New York.

Reliability and Validity in Qualitative Research

In qualitative research reliability cannot be calculated statistically as reality is socially constructed, multiple, holistic and contextual. In qualitative research the relationship between the researcher and the object of the research is interactive and co-operative, focusing on the quality and richness of information gained, the goal being to understand and interpret it correctly (Decrop, 2004).

Lincoln and Guba (1985) in Decrop, 2004, suggest the following four criteria for trustworthiness: credibility, transferability, dependability, and confirmability. Credibility refers to how truthful the findings are, and refers to the personal and interpersonal skills of the researcher. Transferability looks at how possible it is to apply study findings in other contexts, and requires the researcher to know and provide information about the study context, to integrate findings with already existent literature, and describe how related objects resemble each other. Dependability looks at results; if they are consistent and reproducible. However, as reality is multiple and contextual knowledge is bound by time, context, culture and value it is not possible to relocate these. This is why correspondence between the data recorded and what actually occurred in the setting are considered. Confirmability or objectivity looks at how neutral the findings are. No researcher can be completely objective, but the data analysis process is made

objective by reporting theoretically meaningful variables and giving others access to factual data. Triangulation means that the study object is looked at by using different evidences, e.g. data, method or theoretical triangulation (Decrop, 2004)

In this study the interviews were audio-recorded, transcribed and listened through several times in the process of writing down the discussions (interviews), in order to improve the dependability of the study. Further, the researcher did her best to create authenticity by building a good rapport with the interviewees, hence leading to honest and straightforward communication, and more credible answers. She further used the qualitative data analysis software NVivo 11 Pro in organizing and analyzing the data obtained, adding to the objectiveness and credibility of the study. The use of different data sources (interviews, pictures, electronic communication) strengthens the study by combining different methods (triangulation). Many of the study findings were also in line with previous research findings, adding to the transferability of the research work. Providing enough detail about the research process, and including direct interview quotations helps the readers to see for themselves how the conclusions have been reached, adding to transferability and objectiveness of the work.

Reflexivity.

It is common that researchers conducting qualitative research may be influenced by the research topic(s) and this might in turn affect the research process and/or the outcomes of the study. In the current study the researcher did not have previous contact with the research topics, as there are no whales in her country of origin, and hence she does not possess strong emotions or views of the research topic. Many of her friends though hold strongly anti-whaling opinions, and this might have some affect on her opinions. The researcher is however hoping to keep an open mind, and to be able to stay unbiased and objective in her present and future research work, and

also to be able to present the arguments of both pro-whalers and anti-whaling proponents with equal weight.

Results

The research questions were divided into the following main themes: 1) Attitudes towards whales; 2) Is whaling and whale watching mutually exclusive; 3) Information about the whaling industry and 4) Attitudes towards environmental values. In this section of the work each research question and its main findings are presented together with some informative quotations. As many of the interviews did not proceed in the same order as the questions in the interview guide, and because many questions overlap, some answers are partly repeated in different parts of the presentation.

Attitudes Towards Whales

What emotions do you associate with whales?

The Norwegian whale hunters see whales as beautiful, elegant, and very large animals who are well adapted to life in the sea. But first and mainly they are animals to be hunted, resources to be used. The hunters did not experience that they would have a special emotional bond to them. One hunter also wanted to emphasize that he does not carry hatred against whales:

“It’s like with all hunters, they think the animals they hunt are the finest ones...I do not feel any hatred towards them”. (H2, 51)

Whales are an important part of many tourism workers’ and tourists’ lives, some even concluded “whales are basically all my life”. They were seen as colleagues or friends, with whom a special connection is shared with. They add value to the daily work:

“...if they had not been there I don't think I would have had the strength to carry on as a fisherman... Seeing whales is something great, mystical...when humans stayed on land whales chose to go back into the sea, they chose differently.” (T6, 56)

Whales were also seen as a tool to educate people about wildlife preservation, marine wildlife, and sustainability:

“...so symbolically the whales are extremely interesting and important for us basically to learn a lot about sustainable life, you know peaceful life. Most of them are not even resisted properly, you know like when they were hunted on boats that were 10 times smaller than themselves...” (IFAW, 48)

Why do you think that whales create such strong emotions in people?

For some interviewees it was not very clear why whales arouse such strong emotions in people, but the connection between whales and people was obvious. Both whale hunters and tourism workers saw the large size of whales, and the impact of books and movies as being the cause to this phenomenon. Most people working for the tourism industry felt whales' human like features (intelligent mammals with strong social bonds and advanced communication skills) adds to the feeling of closeness with whales. In Figure 6. a young boy is playing with whale toys. He is clearly intrigued by them, but what has caused this interest when he has never seen whales in real life?



Figure 6. What creates interest in whales, and why do they create such strong emotions in people? A boy intrigued by whale toys in Stavanger, Norway. Picture by researcher, 2013.

“Because they are so human-like even if they have a completely different element. We can like put ourselves in their shoes. And also that they are so massive and they live so long, and any of them have a collective memory, a so called shared memory -the oldest whales, who have lived even a hundred years. And then the sense of community, where you can see a human even if we see that it is a completely different thing. But for real, they are very near us, I almost feel I could talk to them, that I have a connection with them”. (T5, 56)

Only one respondent felt whales are unfamiliar, distant and mystic creatures and that they thereby create strong feelings in people:

“...they are unfamiliar to us; they are sort of distant. They live under water, we don’t see them very much so I think a lot of people are curious and they create this mystic- or have this mystic around them” (T9, 32)

Whalers were of the opinion that anti-whaling groups had made the whale into a totem animal by using also false arguments and propaganda:

“It is because the industry has made the whale into a symbolic animal for nature. If it had not been for that I don’t think people actually have stronger feelings for whales than for other animals... I do think whale is more like a totem animal” (H2, 51)

“I think it is because of propaganda, I mean that [idea] came only in the 80es when the stop [of hunting] came and that is when they who want to have them protected- they had campaigns after campaigns, the entire world was there with feelings...So it works on information, maybe even entirely misinformation...” (H6, 60)

Do you eat whale meat?

All whalers eat whale meat as can be expected. In their opinion whale meat is good, healthy, local food from animals who had a good life while living in the wild. Whale meat is also different from the homogenous meat that is sold in Norwegian shops, and it is easy to cook. It is also something that whalers are used to eating since childhood. Most people working with whale watching tourism had tried whale meat, but only a few still ate it because they did not like the taste of it, or because they were against whaling, saying that there is no need to eat whale since there are other options available. Even the legality of selling whale meat was questioned by one immigrant whale watching worker in Norway.

“Yes, I have hunting genes, a father who did whale hunting, who was part of the hunters, who was a cook, so I have eaten whale meat since I was young. I think it is a fantastic, versatile food, easy to prepare, that you can make much of. And it is also local food, and healthy food.

“(H5, 58)

“We have a lot of meat in Iceland, we should stick to lamb.” (T8, 48) and “...there is much other good food to eat...” (T1, 63)

Is it different to eat whale meat than other meat?

The Norwegian whale hunters did not see any difference ethically in eating whale meat than other kinds of meat:

“I think it is exactly like eating any other meat, fish, animal. Largely all food unless you are a vegetarian. It is like nature, if you want to eat something you must kill it first.” (H2, 51)

Whale meat was not eaten for many reasons, and eating whale was also considered as different from eating fish or other meat because whales possess human-like features, uncertainty of the amount of whales (sustainability aspect), and questions concerning the killing time (animal welfare issue).

“But I eat meat, like pig, I am not a vegetarian. But I don't eat whale meat.” (T4, 28)

The health aspect of eating whale meat was also discussed. Is whale meat a healthier option to consider than for example red meat, or is it the opposite - do poisons in fact cumulate in these big sea predators?

“...Because you can say this is not produced meat, it is wild meat and entirely sterile. It is not possible to produce it anyhow, it is straight from the nature. And not the danger of produced meat and red meat has been in focus, but it doesn't concern whale [meat]. In this sense whale meat is entirely unique.... No there is no question of the fact that whale meat is

better, we are aware of the fact that it is nutritious, healthy and better to eat than any other meat.” (H2, 51)

“It depends on what part you eat; the toxins are storing up in the blubber. The research that has been made on the Icelandic, for example the Minkie whale they studied from 2003-2007 showed that the Minkie whales in Iceland were less toxic than the whales in Norway... But I still wouldn't want to risk that, it is still know that the bigger and the more years the animals they live the more toxic they will be.” (T9, 32)

Ethical questions around eating whale meat include: “are whales different from other animals?”; “is it better to eat animals who get to live in the free than those who have been kept in captivity?”; “should we eat meat at all?” and “is it better to kill one whale or five hundred chicks?”

“For example, if you leave pigs out, they develop a quite social behavior. So I don't see much difference- or why whales deserve more special status than other animals? ...then it's maybe better to eat from wild animals that had a good life, that had all the freedom outside, than we eat animals that were caged in mass production units.” (T2, 47) and “For example chicks- you need perhaps a thousand lives for 500 kg meat, then you have one whale who gives 1500 kg meat. This is to focus on.” (H5, 58)

Have your attitudes towards whales changed during the years?

The majority of whalers were of the opinion that their thoughts / feelings towards whales had remained the same during the years; whaling is important, a necessity. Only one whaler remembered his opinion towards whales as have changed; with time he had gotten used to the brutal way of killing whales:

“It might happen I have had feelings- that it was perhaps a bit brutal to kill such a... When I was young I might have gotten those kinds of thoughts. It is not nice to see animals dying, right? But it might often be reflexes and such... But it happens very fast... (H5, 58)

There was only one person who had previously worked with whaling and is now doing whale watching tourism. He said that he thinks his feelings towards whales have not changed, he respects the animals and is of the opinion that whales need to be hunted a bit. He has always been against guns and “killing for fun” and told the researcher that as he was tired of killing he decided to start fishing instead of whaling. (T10, 53)

People working with whale watching tourism had more clearly noticed changes in their attitudes towards whales. This was due to the international influence/contact with green values, and people opposing whaling, but direct contact with whales/ time spent with whales however seemed to be the most important factor in changing people’s views about them. The continued interaction with whales created feelings of joy/happiness/amaze, and also increased the sense of whales being individuals, personalities, even friends, and not just a collective group of animals that are okay to be utilized by humans in different ways. A couple of interviewees also reported that seeing whales in the wild increased their objection to seeing whales kept in captivity.

“When I moved to Norway I thought of whales- that the population is big enough for hunting... And if you cook it in a right way you can convince yourself that it tastes good. But after you have seen the whales you cannot eat them. It is just like that. It has changed a lot.” (T5, 56)

“The reason why we started in the first place [with whale watching] was because it was a business opportunity. When we started doing whale watching we saw how amazing they

are, how different. Because we are Icelanders, we are raised to think that whale is something that you can just hunt, for an exchange to get some currency, foreign currency. But then we realized that this is not just part of the nature - how amazing it is to show it to the visitors because their reaction was so strong...Yes, they actually got me excited. So we started thinking differently when we did this...So it's like you just look at the sea with different view.” (T8, 48)

Education combined with respect for local culture was mentioned as important factors in changing perceptions and attitudes towards whaling in Iceland. Icelandic attitudes towards whaling were told to have become more negative in the past years, whereas Norwegian whalers reported the opposite for Norway.

“Attitudes towards whales- I have actually an opinion about this, it has changed, yes... It is about education I think, more in the newspaper, they are talking about disadvantages of whaling, earlier they never talked about that. We try to do everything to put a shame on whaling, like IWC. But like whaling would be the normal thing to us, not whale watching, it has changed and it is still changing...I think the only think that Icelanders buy is money, they will never think that it is cruel to kill a whale, or very few would think so. It is just a better business, it's negative for the international market.” (T8, 48)

Would you say that your work influences your attitudes towards whales?

One person working with whale watching tourism said that his values had not changed at all due to his work with whales as he had always held pro-environmental values in great regard. The majority of the whale hunters were also of the opinion that their work does not have an influence on their attitudes towards whales. There was one exception however as one whale

hunter described that he sees both his company and living surroundings as effecting how he views whales:

“I am sure it does. If I did not work with hunting and fishing I would surely have had another way of thinking. I think it has to do with where I live and what kinds of people I spend time with. If I lived where I live today but was a nurse for example I would though have the same impression, because it is an environment where we are used to hunting and fishing. But if I lived in London or Helsinki then it would depend on the kinds of impulses I got.” (H2, 51)

People who worked with whale watching tourism saw more clearly their work influencing their views on whales. Tourists’ reactions when seeing whales was told to be impressive for the workers on whale watching boats. One interviewee also pointed out the fact that the connection goes both ways- her interest in whales has led her working with whale related issues- but her current work also makes her even further involved in matters concerning whales:

” Of course work influences. Fishing has influenced it a lot, and especially working as a whale guide. And it effects enormously when you see what a big influence whales have on other people, the ones who come on whale safari. That it is their entire life- for a lot of people all their life is whales. That it is a very important thing. The kind of big thing in life [is] to see a whale. Also the whale watching tourists have affected my attitude very much” (T5, 56).

Is whaling and Whale-Watching Mutually Exclusive?

General thoughts about whale watching.

Whale hunters had varying views of the whale watching tourism. One person saw it as an entirely positive industry and supported it fully, while another person saw it as an ecological

disaster or mess, something completely unsustainable. The general view was however neutral as whale hunters felt they do not know much of it, and hence have no opinion of it.

“No, no other than it is an environmental mess (“piggery”). Firstly, people fly around the world with planes and then they drive around and show people whales. Sure, it is great that they have the opportunity to see whales but no-one is talking outloud about the environmental mess that is surrounded by the process. Because it is a damn mess! Because it is we who have to fly Chinese and Japanese here- and by car and bus and boat. And out in the hill, out in a fjord to see a whale for 10 minutes, and then right back. It is directly criminal...” (H3, 52)

Tourism workers recognized the importance of providing good service and experiences for tourists who are on holiday, and looking for “once in a lifetime” experiences. Even if tourism is not eco-friendly exploration and experiencing are seen as things that are good and important for people.

For most people working with whale watching tourism the well-being of whales was also of great importance. Seeing the whales, and being close to them added value to the whale watching tour, but even just being close to them was thought to be enough to provide personal satisfaction. They also pointed out that the atmosphere on the safari, and just being close to the whales are the most important issues, not seeing the whales or taking great pictures. They wanted to point out that natural experiences cannot be ordered in advance or given guarantees on. One of the tourism workers also recognized the fact that his work had increased his knowledge on whales and he had learnt how to act towards them in a non-harmful way, e.g. letting the animals eat in peace, and not following them in the water, but instead to look for curious animals and let them approach the boat.

“...It is not about the product, you must always start with the whale, and [understand] that we are going on the whales’ conditions. We never do it in a way that we “drive the whale from there” and offer the customers a huge experience. It is not the most important thing, but the important thing is to go to the waters where the whales are. If you additionally see that it is a great community then it is something really extra, but the feeling that we are there in the “whale area” -and now we are going there- the entire thing is just as important. And the understanding that you cannot order for anything in nature, you cannot order for a good whale safari or [for] a good whale picture. That the whale trip exists, “that there”- the atmosphere [is what matters] the most” (T5, 56)

Whale watching was also seen as a great way to make people aware of whales or other environmental issues or to educate people about these. Whale watching also provides financial benefits to the local, but also to the wider communities. The benefits include new jobs, sales revenues to different service providers, taxes to the government, and also increased infrastructure (e.g. ferry services, new flight routes).

Disadvantages/concerns of the whale watching business.

One whale hunter was under the impression that whale watching has no effect on whales, and had no concerns about the business:

“ ...Most species of whales are looking for food. Tourism has no effect on it, none whatsoever.” (H4, 66)

The majority of tourism workers and whalers were however worried of the disturbance caused by the whale watching tourism to whales. The issues concerned getting too

close to whales, not letting them have time to rest, objectifying the animals and having lack of respect for them:

“It is not negative for tourists to see the whale. As long as it is not too painful for them. But they are careful animals, so that animals don’t go too close, that it becomes painful day and night, it is not good.” (H5, 58)

“I see [problems]. Like if you don’t do it well, if you go out there without taking into consideration whales’ conditions, or natural conditions. It is the kind of playing with feelings and objectifying [whales]. And the guides and safaris, they are so many, they should be able to explain what it is all about, that we have a possibility to view whales but on their terms. That whales are a part of the product we are offering. It is difficult.”(T5, 56)

“... Because what I can see from our guests and the rest of the boats behaviors that they don’t really respect the animals. So what they feel “if I pay to come here then I want to get the closest and I want to get the more photos, I want to have photos with the whales together so as close as possible”. And they don’t really care that these animals needs to rest, they are not fed so they need to hunt on the fish, and if we bump into them in the middle when they are feeding, if there are twenty-seven boats it’s impossible for them to do ANYTHING [emphasis added by researcher]. And then is the main problem that people who came here don’t really understand that these are wild animals and they need space”. (T4, 28)

Especially people working with whale watching tourism saw the need for more regulations in order to ensure sustainable tourism. Norway and Iceland are seen as places with “no regulation”, a so called “wild west” where anything is allowed, even swimming in the water with the whales or killing them was said to be allowed, and this attracted a lot of whale watching

tourists, in turn leading to increased amounts of whale watching boats in the waters, and huge disturbances to whales:

“Because in this year, or it started last year when I came here- some people know that Norway has a very rich marine life here, and also they have no regulations for the whale watching. That’s why people can swim with the whales also. Also from my boat people can swim with the whales actually. In ANY [emphasis added by researcher] other country all over the world it is not possible, in UCA, B.C if you go inside the water where the killer whales are you get fined like 15 000 dollars, like it happened last year with one guy. And in Norway there is no regulations. That’s why people are coming here, because they know they can get really close to the whales, and there is no regulations so they can do whatever they want. And this year I have a lot of friends who are around the orcas, from all over the world, like from New Zealand, Australia, Patagonia and everywhere. And everyone was here, so the first two weeks in November I have seen on Facebook that maybe a hundred people were here from all over the world, to see the whales here... (T4, 28)

Several people talked about their concerns for the lack of regulations in the industry. Anyone who feels that money can be gained in the sector can just go out on boats and start business without any permits or education about the whales or whale watching tourism asked for. Further no-one is making sure that whale watching guidelines are kept. The amount of boats, the type of boats and how they approach whales, even causing accidents where further seen as problematic issues in the industry. In order to ensure sustainable tourism, they suggest licensing systems, skills test and certification, similar to what already exist abroad in places like America or Canada.

“If you don’t know what you are doing you can cause really a lot of harm, like we have seen here in Tromso, like driving on whales and disturbed whales... Whales do not run into boats, boats run into whales always” (T5, 56)

“...You don’t need to have any kind of permission, even for the swimming or to go and see the whales, just get into the boat and go and see the whales...But in terms of a whale watching seminar in the beginning of the season, it was in November, and we tried to give the people who are going out- so maybe some of them are respecting these rules but the rest is not really...And there is too much boats for the whales. But it’s okay because now is only us and sometimes 1, 2 or 3 other boats out that in the first 2 weeks in the season we had one day 27 boats around the whales. TWENTY-SEVEN BOATS! [Emphasis added by researcher] And you know these animals are very sensitive for the sounds and you can imagine what kind of underwater noise is when you have twenty-seven boats around and the rest is not switching off their engines. So, yeah, it’s kind of frustrating for the animals.... Yeah of course, they are getting too close to the whales. And for the whales it is not nice because you know their social structure is very strong. So they are living in small pots or groups... they really rely on each other, they are hunting together, they are doing everything together, so if a boat is getting too close and it is possible they are gonna get separated, then it will not survive.... It’s too much! (T4, 28)

“Amount of boats and type of boats. All boats are not meant for whale safari. The Sperm whale is very sensitive to sound. If you have a propeller who makes a lot of racket he gets scared and runs off. And he gets stressed. It is not good. And we have seen for example that they come with rubber boats, fast running boats with strong propellers, they are close...it is not good. We do not want that kind of tourism, that is for sure. We must take into consideration [whales],

we must slow down. You can simply not do like that. It is not good. It is the right thing to show respect for animals when you are out on the sea, that's it. "(T6, 66)

Tourism workers and whalers alike also saw problems with the entire Norwegian tourism infrastructure, toilets and bins are lacking in touristic areas, as well as in harbors for the trash coming from whaling and whale watching boats. This of course causes disturbances to the nature and locals as the surroundings are left untidy:

"Earlier you could walk outside our house where we live, it is 50 meters to the road. But it is not possible anymore because there is pee and poop and paper and people who just sit and hang there. There are enormous amounts of tourists in Lofoten and there by our home. And the municipality's responsibility to provide for the tourism industry and take its responsibility. And to provide the tourism with toilets and all, but we are missing them in high degree. And when you go out in the wild in the vicinity of the road it is like in a pigsty. It is nice and cozy when people come to visit us and want to share our fantastic nature but when they leave there is a huge pile of crap... and we who live there, we are supposed to go out in the nature to pick berries, it is..." (H3, 52)

The unfair treatment of foreign workers was also a cause of concern to one of the people working with whale watching tourism. He saw international workers as being taken advantage of, they were paid lower than average salaries and also faced generally unfair treatment.

One of the whale hunters had also concerns about the profitability of the whale watching industry in general: *"The biggest problem with whale watching tourism is that the tourism providers don't get much income from their work. You can almost not call it an industry...And this in Tromsø, I saw an article recently. There were a lot of actors working with it, but no-one*

was making money out of it. If not some earn it black, I don't know (laughs). There must be a reason to work with such things, it needs to be an industry” (H3, 52)

Further the whales' changed migration routes and uncertain sightings caused by these added to concerns for the future of the whale watching tourism in the area. Sperm whales were told to be in Andenes on a stable basis but Killer whales come and go according to the amount of herring that is available in the sea (varies from year to year). The amount of Green whales had instead seen to have increased due to changed migration routes.

Whalers and tourism workers alike also showed concern for the safety of whale watching tourists, especially when tourists were taken out by very small boats and going very close to the huge whales who are unpredictable during feeding, as seen in Figure 7: *“I actually think that it is a bigger problem for the tourists, they go so close to the whales... I think the biggest control would have to be on making it more safe, what they are doing looks a bit scary. They have just a small rubber boat that they fill up with people and they go very close the whale. All that is needed is a hit from the fin and everyone in that boat are dead. It will happen sooner or later... Whale is down there hunting for herring; it is uncertain where he will come up [to the surface] again. You cannot have any idea about it actually. I don't think even the whale knows it, he is hunting and doesn't care about anything else. They are very big and heavy, they do spectacular things, jump up in the air and hit with their fins. It looks awesome at a distance, but if they jump and there is a boat underneath... “(H2, 51)*



Figure 7. Tourists in a small rubber boat get too close to whales feeding. Picture from Tromso, Norway, December 2015. Picture by researcher.

Is whale watching sustainable?

Whale watching was seen as being sustainable both by whalers and tourism workers, under the precondition that it is done in a responsible way, and taking into consideration the whales by e.g. minimizing the amount of boats surrounding them, or by not driving too close to them. The situation was estimated as being better in Iceland than in Norway. The rapid growth of tourism in places like Tromso in Norway or Reykjavik in Iceland was also seen as a threat to the sustainability of the industry. The educational side of whale watching was seen as adding sustainability value to the whale watching tourism, as education increases the understanding for

nature. Currently there was not enough education provided to the whale watching tourists in Norway. The larger tourism industry was additionally criticized for not being sustainable as it means flying people from around the world to see the whales, causing huge amounts of carbon dioxide emissions.

“Actually no kind of tourism is sustainable but if you think that you can increase the understanding for nature, then in that sense it is sustainable...” (T5, 56)

Should whale watching be banned?

None of the interviewees felt that whale watching should be banned but many felt that the industry needs more regulations, management and environmental accountability in order for it to continue sustainably.

Thoughts about whale hunting?

Whaling is a source of supplement income for fishermen in Norway. Whale hunters see whale hunting as a necessity in order to create balance in the sea (sustainability perspective), and in order to provide food resources for humans. Whale meat was seen as a valuable food resource, which could be utilized to help feed people around the world.

“If you don’t hunt whales there will be shortage of food, less cod, and imbalance in the sea.” (H4, 66)

“So, if we are to live in Norway, and the world population is to live, [then] we have make use of resources. The UN has already proclaimed that in about 15-20 years we have a need of double the amount of food that we need today, if the development continues... Already in 5-10 years it might be that there is too little food...” (H3, 52)

People working with whale watching tourism were generally opposed to whaling and saw whaling as something completely unnecessary:

“I think that for Norway it’s unnecessary to hunt them...No, no wild animal needs to be hunted. But for me it’s not important that the whales are hunted. Norway could just as well stop it”. (T2, 47)

“I am against whaling. I think it is unnecessary in the modern days, it is not needed. So I would rather see it as if someone needs to bargain on things it should be humans and the whales should have their own place. The sea is not well if there are no whales in it. Whales are none the less so humane and so close to us. If you have a personal connection to whales it changes how you see Minkie whales, how it comes very close to the boat on a whale safari. It does not feel right that it is being shot... Demand [for whale meat] has decreased and so they want to serve the market with the best meat possible and it is the meat of a young Minkie whale, like veal. And the young Minkie whales are exactly the kinds that the mother has weaned and they go looking for a substitute mother and come close to boats. You see them often on whale safaris and when fishing, “a searcher”, it comes close, and these are hunted, young ones, [who have been] sent away by their mothers. It does feel pretty bad.” (T5, 56)

“I don’t know the reason they are doing it, for some reason they keep on doing it.” (T8, 48)

Also the opposing ways that whales are utilized of was questioned- they are a big source of income for the tourism industry but hundreds of whales are at the same time killed yearly by whalers:

“It’s just too opposite things, on one side we kill the whales and on the other side we make a huge amount of money from them... You know it’s so sad because in Europe we have kind of not so huge marine life, all over Europe of course. So the only country who has really rich marine mammals is this country [Norway]. And why they are killing it- it’s not normal.” (T4, 28)

The political side of whale hunting was recognized by both whale hunters and whale watching tourism workers alike; whale hunting was seen as a way to prove independence or self-governance, the right for Norway/ Iceland to decide over one’s own matters and resources:

“Whale hunting doesn’t mean anything financially. But it means we have the right to rule over our own resources. “(H5, 58)

“Because, you know, the whalers, are basically fulfilling the government’s policy of doing whaling, it is a political issue. it is a political decision, it is not a marketing decision, make a decision to open up a restaurant. So, yeah, this is not a market economy thing, it is not a business, it is a political instrument, so there is no need for this. It is a political tool to demonstrate to the world that, you know, if you are an Icelander, if you are Norwegian or Japanese, you have full independence to do whatever you want. And you have no other people in the world to come and tell you what to do. So this is the political message... For example, for Norway and Iceland the fisheries are so important that the fear have been that if foreign NGO’s and foreign countries can stop this, you know- what next? And this fear is not absurd. it is probably without a reason but it is not absurd when you look at how fisheries and how, you know, how they are part of the northern Iceland, not the whole of Iceland.”(IWAF, 48)

The whale hunters thought that their hunting methods are of world class as the whales shot die very fast, even faster than in slaughter houses. The whale grenade was seen as having saved the entire Norwegian whaling industry as it has increased the amount of instant death of

whales. The tourism workers questioned animal welfare questions in connection to whaling; the humanity of hunting because of the hunting methods used, the amount of time it takes for whales to die, and additionally the uncontrollability of the hunt. Concerns for the objectivity of the researchers assigned by the Marine Research Institute/ the Norwegian government were also mentioned.

“Eighty percent (80%) is said to be very instant from animal welfare perspective- that is good. But from animal welfare perspective the remaining can take a long time and also we question a lot the surveillance. Because there used to be sort of independent surveillance, you know, surveillance on board the Norwegian boats. But even if it is governmental officials that are doing this surveillance, and not fisheries or whaling, I question their impartiality.” (IFAW, 48)

Whaling as a Norwegian tradition was recognized as a reason for the existence of the industry, but the future of whaling was seen differently by different eyes. Some saw the whaling tradition as something that belongs in the past, even if they had themselves grown up with it, whereas others respected it as a continuing cultural tradition. The difference between Icelandic and Norwegian views was also clear; many of the Norwegian whale safari people felt they should not take a stand to whaling, whereas the counterparts in Iceland were not afraid to express their opposition to whaling. The different situations are thought to exist mainly because of the different whale species utilized in Norway and Iceland.

“I don’t have an opinion about it, I try to keep myself neutral towards it... I am not supposed to have an opinion about it but as long as it is done regulated it is okay with Minkie whale, I have nothing against it.” (T6, 66)

” They don’t like to take a stand. I talked to some of the whale touring operators and they said “we are not gonna take a stand against it” ...I think they don’t have a personal view, because in Norway it is actually totally different. They hunt Minkie whales but the whale watching is based on Sperm whales and Killer whales, not Minkie whales. So the whale watching here is based on Minkie whales and they are killing Minkie whales. So I understand they have different view in Norway, they are not even looking at Minkie whale”. (T8, 48)

Scientific hunt in Norway.

The last official scientific hunt of whales was carried out in Norway in the 1980s but even up-to-date whalers help to collect data from whales to be used by the scientific community. This is however unpaid work, and does not officially classify as scientific hunt. The tests include DNA test, weight and thickness measures. The DNA test results are used when making estimates of population sizes. (H2, 51)

“Killing the last whale.”

Outside of Norway many people are unaware of the fact that there exists many different species of whales and that not all of them are endangered. The Minkie whale, which is shoot in Norway, is however not one of these endangered species:

“Most people care about who shoots the last whale, for this is what this environmental people promote we are doing. But it has never been [the case]” (H2, 51)

However, whale hunting is seen as questionable because of the unknown status of Minkie whales in its ecosystem, and because of different estimates of the amount of Minkie whales living in the Norwegian and Icelandic waters. Whale hunting also causes difficulties for whale research, and in creating estimates of the amount of whales in the area as whales suddenly

disappear due to hunt. Whale hunting is also expected to have a negative effect on the Norwegian whale watching tourism, and perhaps even on the wider economy, due to boycotts towards Norwegian products, or tourism to the country. Further, the large use of Diesel during hunts is seen as an ecological concern by one of the whale hunters.

“I mean- my impression is that the fact Norway does hunt whales might have negative influence on tourism -you can hear that quite often, especially Germans...I think I heard it from the media that they encourage people to boycott Norway and products... I thought it was a bit over the edge. But of course it might influence negatively.” (T2, 47)

“And I must say it is uncertain how much Minkie whale exists in the sea, the count, but I am not sure how it is possible to count in a big sea... If I was to take into account the whales I have seen in the last years, as a basis to hunting it should be stopped today, because I saw much more whales earlier than now. And this summer I think I saw only 2 whales the entire summer, really. I don't know if I saw even one [Minkie] whale last summer.” (T1, 63)

Is whale hunting sustainable?

One of the tourism workers described whaling as the most efficient and least emission causing animal protein production, but whaling was condemned simultaneously on ethical grounds, and due to societal influences by several tourism workers:

“I don't know, of course there are different definitions to sustainability but it needs to take into consideration societal influences etc. So I don't see it as sustainable. I don't think they are hunting the whales to extinction, they are far from it actually. So the killing of the whale can be continued sustainably but the operation is not sustainable in my opinion.” (T9, 32)

The correct estimate of the amount of whales in regards to sustainability of whaling was also questioned by the tourism workers:

“We cannot say that whaling is not sustainable from a population size. Because we simply don't have the information. ... We don't have the numbers; the marine institute does the counting. We will not take that debate, from a population perspective. It is not sustainable from a social perspective. You know the 3 pillars of sustainability, at least the 2 of them, the social is not sustainable”. (IFAW, 48)

“Regarding whaling I don't see how it is sustainable, because firstly they don't know how many whales are there and proved by the international whaling commission it is really, really how I could say unaccurate, because it is 7 % that it is wrong. So if you estimate 7000 Minkie whales around Iceland it can be 3000 or 10 000, we don't know. It's somewhere in between. And in the beginning, we were starting to look at the numbers, they were talking about 45 000 Minkie whales around Iceland and it has gone down to 10 000 now. What do you think has happened? Maybe the counting is really wrong or the whales just moved away. Because I am sure that 30 000 whales did not just die. We have not hunted 20 000 Minkie whales, just 5000.” (T8, 48)

The current whale population sizes were also compared to the population sizes a hundred years ago; the sizes of whale populations are today not even a fraction of what they used to be:

“It might be possible to defend it on a biological basis, that they are not hunting an endangered species. 700 Minkie whales are shot every year, a maximum of 800 and the stock is growing. So using that justification “Ahaa, we can tax [the whales... But then we don't take into consideration the fact that there were over a million Minkie whales just over a hundred years

ago. And in this sea area there is space for eight times as much whales as there is now...And then the fact that the whale populations have not even recovered yet, Minkie whale population is still not even a fraction of what it was a hundred years ago.” (T5, 56)

Whale hunters saw the whales competing with both them, and with other sea mammals for e.g. herring, lodge, krill, arctic cod, and leading to these species decreasing dramatically.

The whale hunters saw whaling as sustainable from the population perspective in its current form and with current population sizes. It was also seen as a necessity from a sustainability perspective, in order to avoid misbalance in the sea:

“If you don't hunt whale there will be lack of food, lack of cod, misbalance in the sea. The sun warms the sea and starts the production of nutritious salts, which becomes food for animal plankton and...the whale...In order to use the energy here you need to hunt in this food chain. This is sustainable management.” (H4, 66)

Norwegian whalers further thought whales are becoming too many, and that other species of big whales (Finn whale, Humpback whale, Blue whale), should be allowed to be hunted from a sustainability perspective:

“The whales are very many, of each species. We only catch one, Minkie whale. But both it and especially the other bigger whales have exploded in amount. So sooner or later... It is already a problem... And the problem will increase. It is like a logarithmic scale». (H2, 51)

The interviewees gave different estimates of the Minkie whale population size. The estimates ranged from 130 000 to 300- 400 000. According to the Norwegian Marine Research Institute the amount of Minkie whales is 100 615 according to sighting surveys in 2008-2013

($cv=0.11$) (Haug, 2016). The amount of Minkie whales to be hunted in Norway in 2016 is 880 (Järvi, 2015)

Should whaling be banned?

Many, but not all people working with whale watching tourism were of the opinion that whaling should be banned. Some were of the opinion it could continue if managed properly (so it doesn't clash with whale watching tourism), some saw it being just like ordinary fishing. It was also accepted by some as a Norwegian tradition.

People with anti-whaling opinions saw whaling as something that belongs in the past as very few people eat whale meat these days. Of concern was also the large amount of whales that are killed, and whaling was also seem to have negative effect on the tourism industry. One of the interviewees presented a clear vision of how the industry should be run down in a controlled manner, supported by the government:

"I think whaling is a completely unnecessary industry. ...Whaling needs to be run down with restraint, so that these people who are now making a living out of it are not left in an empty spot. There will be a Transition Period, when the loss of earnings will be compensated. Because all ships, each one of them that is a whaling vessel fish in other seasons. So it is not a big deal to end whaling. And the first thing would be, because it is an image question, that for example restaurants would not serve whale meat. And people's eating habits are easy to change, they change fast. The young generation does not eat whale meat, forty percent of Norwegians have never even tasted whale meat and the average Norwegian eats three hundred grams of whale meat, only one portion. Here, the negative trend is that whale meat is served in restaurants as an exotic treat to travelers, and it can only be found in Norway, Iceland or Japan. So a lot of people

come who want to taste the forbidden [food], in other words whale meat. And the restaurants join this. The first step would be to stop all support for whale meat, remove all supports and run the business down with control. Nothing else. For example, whale tourism would surely increase, and a lot of people can find work there. Or at least some. And with regular fishing... there is no need to waste society's money on whaling, instead use the money spent on promoting marketing for the restructuring". (T5, 56)

One interviewee was hoping for the hunters to decide to stop the whaling themselves. The political side of whaling was recognized as a problem as banning whaling would mean that the whaling countries would lose face internationally. Instead an option of the fishery ministry of issuing a zero quota for whaling was suggested.

Can these two industries exist side-by-side?

As a first response the Norwegian whalers did not say they see any reason why whaling and whale watching tourism could not continue its coexistence; they felt there isn't much tourism in the areas where hunting is done, and the same species of whales are not utilized by the two industries. Some tourism workers also told the researcher that they had received help from fishermen in locating whales, and saw thereby the relationship as a form of good cooperation.

There had been confrontations between whalers and anti-whaling groups in Norway in the 1980s but since then the situation has calmed down, and now the situation was said to be free from confrontation. There was said to exist a Mutual agreement between whalers and whale watching tourism not to hunt in the same sea areas. The people working with whale watching tourism were also afraid to take a stand against whaling as not to "rock the boat". The coexistence was told to have started negatively as the whale watching tourism people had been

accused of supporting anti-whalers. Since that time it was seen as very important to keep the peace between these two industries:

“We made a decision once that we would be neutral- so we have no opinion. The reason for it was that in the beginning it was like we were accused of being the base for activists. There were some whale hunters who were of the opinion that we were activists’ advocates and were against whale hunting and there was one thing and the other. They were out in the media, there were a lot of writing in the papers and such. So to get peace... (T1, 63)

Whaling and whale watching tourism was not seen as being able to happen physically side by side. People working with whale watching tourism in both Iceland and Norway wanted whalers to stay away from the areas where they do whale watching: *“You should not provoke with hunting. You are not supposed to do it where the whale watching tourism is. You don’t have to go to the areas where the tourists are”.* (T10, 53)

Despite the “official opinion” people might have different personal views, as can be interpreted in the story about a whale watching boat saving a Minkie whale from whalers:

“There was a whaling scooter sailing up, and they had a man out. We saw a Minkie whale in front of us. I said: “This Minkie whale has counted its days, but let’s see”. And I started going towards the Minkie whale to see where he would come up on the surface. And then I shadowed him. Then the whalers called and asked if we had seen a Minkie whale. “No, they are very scarce” [I replied], I wanted to save that whale (laughs) and hoped “Stay there, stay on that side of the boat!”. And as we proceeded the whale followed us. And I thought it was funny that the whaling scooter didn’t see it... When they heard that we hadn’t seen any whale, they said they will go to Andes for the night. And I followed that whale until I was completely sure that

they had gone. So I saved its life. ...Yes, we saved that whale, it gave me a good feeling. It was probably not a big day for the hunters.” (T1, 63)

As whalers opened up they expressed feelings of annoyance towards the demands of the whale watching tourism industry. They did not like people telling them where they are permitted to hunt as the sea belongs to everyone:

“No [I am not worried about the coexistence of these industries]. We must all act as adults. Whale tourism may not come forward and say, like it has been now in Tromsø: “There is whale there now, our tourists”, and whalers are supposed to just disappear. And it is a bit wrong” (H3, 52)

“The only thing, we have had some occasions when these tourist boats have turned to whalers and said “you cannot come where we are”. I don’t think they have the right to this... They, the fishing and hunting industry have said [that] they [whale watching people] can do what they want but they cannot claim the sea to be only theirs.” (H2, 51)

The Sea Shepard and Greenpeace were considered to be more a threat to the whaling industry than the whale watching boats /industry as they have a reputation of causing problems to whalers by trying to prevent hunting:

“Because you don’t want to meet them [the Sea Shepard or Greenpeace boats], it is a problem if they are close by. You have to avoid them... They will try to prevent hunting... They have big boats compared to us. They cannot do so much but they can come between us and the whale and prevent us from firing. Things like that.” (H5, 58)

In Iceland people working with whale watching tourism expressed a much stronger opposition to whaling. Whalers were told to do hunting too close to the whale watching areas,

and it was also known that the hunt reduces individuals from whale watching, and causes avoidance behavior to boats. This in turn leads to difficulties in finding whales for tourist to view, and to higher operating costs.

Further, whaling was believed to have a negative effect on the number of people visiting Iceland, and especially on the amount of people going on whale watching tours there. Whale watching tourism was hence preferred before whaling as it brings more revenue to the government:

“[Do you feel the two industries can exist side by side?] No, no, of course not. That would be ridiculous. And we have said from the beginning that that is not an option. That has been the position by the government and the whalers and the fisheries but we have said that it is not possible. And we have said that the whale watching says it is not possible. It says they are harming their business and that is why we said that, you know, it doesn't work together.”

(IFAW, 48)

“I think it is actually a lot of problems now since the Minkie whalers are hunting so close to the whale watching area. If it was in completely 2 different areas, they wouldn't be influencing each other. So they could exist theoretically. But then you have to look at the political influence it could be having, like we know that when we go to travel fairs and conferences that there are specific people who don't want to come to Iceland because Iceland is hunting whale. so even if the tourism numbers are increasing a lot, the whale watching industry is slowing down, it is not rising as fast as other tourist numbers. The reasons could be many factors to explain that, we don't know about them... (T9, 32)

There were a couple of incidents in Norway where whale watching tourists had witnessed the shooting of whales or seen dead whales being brought up on deck, and being cut. These events had caused a lot of negative attention in media both in Norway and abroad. Below some of these events are described by a whale watching tourism provider in Andenes:

“I can say it like: if you work with whales as much as I have done, you don’t want to see it shot, especially not in front of our noses. Like what happened one year. It was a big mess up. It was actually after whaling had started up again, it was forbidden in many years. There were 14 whaling scooters going out here and we got our own routes that we have used during all years. So, we were on a tour, on our way out and it was almost impossible not to pass a whaling scooter. I did not understand why it is necessary to lay around here, visible to all tourists... What happened was that we were approaching a whaling boat, 100-200 m beside us. And I was ready to go further out when I suddenly saw that the shooter is ready with his cannon when we are approaching. And I thought to myself “Damn, do they have whale, Minkie whale, in front of them?” And when I came closer I saw that it must be the case, he was standing there, ready to shoot and there was a whale there. And we passed and the tourists took pictures of the whaling scooter. And damn, just as we had passed he fired and he actually shoot a whale. I have heard that if they miss you can’t hear the sound. And we continued, like nothing happened and after a moment we heard another shoot, so there were actually 2 Minkie whales. And the tourists were of course upset and they asked me if the whale had been shot. To calm them down I replied: “No I think they missed”. I was pretty angry with the whole event because it was unnecessary. Not long time passed before the phone started ringing, from media, it happened fast. And it went through the entire world, my name was written even in the Chinese newspapers when I Googled

it. It was mentioned even in the paper of Paul Watson. Before what happened, this exact event didn't gain so much attention. But another time I when we went out on whale safari I saw a whaling boat right in front of us. As we passed I saw that he was in the process of lifting up the whale. And I thought to myself "No, damn, I don't feel like showing this to people" and turned to the opposite side. But when we came so far that we were passing the scooter I saw that they had gotten it up on deck and there was one [hunter] who was cutting it with a knife, beginning to flense it. I saw it from the roof, I don't know if the tourists saw much, we passed it fast. But then it came in the media, and what was written was wrong because they said the hunters had shoot the whale we had been watching. In front of our eyes that is- but it wasn't correct... But it created a lot of noise and I don't understand because they had been fighting for long to start the hunt again and when they finally had the permission again they did something that created... So the government cursed the event, discussed it, it was enormously spoken of in media, it was a real dumb event... I criticized what happened, it was completely unnecessary. To come in the area where we are and do whaling, the sea is big. There are so many places where they can go instead of going straight where the tourists are. If they wanted to create hullabaloo it was something to do, they got a lot of it too! "(T1, 63)

As examples of negative interaction with tourists and anti-whaling peoples the Norwegian whalers told the researcher about tourists that did not like to wave back at them. They also told about people trying to taking pictures of them where they look bad:

"We met with Bjørn in the herring boat in Svalbard some people who wanted to do a photo shoot... Like they wanted to see the bloody whale come in. I just turned the boat. And said to bring in the whale fast. I am not interested in it- we are not there for pictures. " (H3, 52)

“We have shoot whale and they have come and passed us. They don’t actually stand and cheer when they see that we have caught a whale. (Laughs)... We wave at them but they don’t wave back. (Laughs). (H5, 58)

In Iceland there are said to be no problems with Minkie whalers but problems with Finn whalers exist as their paths cross those of whale watchers. There have been incidences where tourists have witnessed whales being brought in on whaling boats. A designated area, where hunting is not allowed exists, but it is not very big and there seem to be no consequences for breaking the agreement of not to hunt in the area.

Suggestions on how to improve the current situation?

The coexistence of whale watchers and whalers was seen as less problematic in Norway than in Iceland. Hence the suggestions on improvements were not really given in Norway, whereas in Iceland the solution was mainly found in ending whaling. One Norwegian whaler was concerned with the sustainability aspect of tourism and suggested providing the area with e.g. more toilets and creating the tourism infrastructure:

“No, it’s just to provide with toilets and this and that, it is easy. Maybe they could arrange for coaches, the amount of cars that come all year round are enormous, they are caravans, all kinds of things. It’s not my business to say but it is not sustainable.” (H3, 52)

“Suggestion to improve the current situation? (laughs) Of course we are still fighting to stop. We want them to stop Minkie whaling, at least in this bay, we know we have the same whales coming in this area again and again and again and we don’t want them to kill them. And of course we have our own personal opinion, it is of course it is not a good business. And like I said you don’t know how long it will take to kill them, it is not actually a tradition in

Iceland to do this, so why are they doing it? And they are not getting any money out of it, so it is in so many ways wrong. “(T8, 48)

One person also wanted to remind anti-whalers that is important to act as adults and not to become too emotional when trying to end whaling. Demonizing whaling or the whalers was not seen as helpful:

“Well, I think it is important when we are trying to get a positive result that we are not demonizing the whaling or demonize the whalers. It is not the issue that they are bad people, we just don’t like what they are doing, their job... So I think we have to approach it as adults, you know. Not like, some people they become over emotional, it’s not helpful (IFAW, 48)

Which of these two industries do you want to see continue, and why?

Most people working with whale watching tourism clearly stated that they wanted to see whale watching tourism to continue, but with more control and regulation, and they also expressed that they want whaling to be stopped. The whalers on the other hand saw whaling as a necessity, providing people with food resources, and it was thereby preferred over tourism, which was considered a luxury product:

“What happens today is that there is too little food, a lot happens when children in Africa don’t get food, there are no resources. But what happens when people in the West don’t get food? There are so many resourced for weapons, atom bombs... But if we are left without food? Poor us! Food fills our stomachs; tourism is luxury.” (H3, 52)

In Norway both whalers and people working with whale watching tourism saw a need for dialogue and saw future cooperation possible:

“The only thing I want to say is that whale watching tourism is not to come at the expense of anyone else. We must do this together, both whaling and whale watching tourism... I am convinced it is possible. It is just to sit down and talk about issues and agree on how it is done.” (H6, 60)

“It’s a difficult question. There should be maybe understanding between them also, kind of...Information could be exchanged a little better”. (T2, 47)

Information about the Whaling Industry

How many people work in the whaling industry in Norway?

There are no exact numbers of the people who work with whaling in Norway or their demographics, but according to the information given at the whale hunter’s meeting in Norway in December 2015 there are twenty boats and about 260 people working with the industry including hunt, and production (Småkvalfangerlag, 2015). The whalers interviewed for this thesis are estimated to be a representative sample of the Norwegian whalers; their average age was 58 years.

In Iceland there is no Finn whaling this year due to problems in exporting to Japan, but last year 155 Finn whales were reported as killed (Aldred, 2016). The Minke whaling has however started in the 2016 summer season, with two companies and two boats involved. So far they've hunted together twenty-one minke whales, out of a quota 264 whales (FiskiStofa, 2016).

Is whaling profitable?

In Norway whaling is done in addition to fishing. The fishes caught are: cod, herring and capelin. The whaling season is from early April to the end of August. The whalers do not get

governmental support for whaling. Only one of the whalers saw whaling as a profitable business, whereas the others saw it as an additional income that didn't pay much but was none the less an important source of income for them:

“No, we think it is not well paid, but it is worth it. It is a part of the income we get in a year combined with fishing. So if it fell of we would have one leg less to stand on. We get 35 Nok for the meat...” (H3, 52)

As mentioned above there is no Finn whaling done in Iceland this year (2016) but the Minkie whaling has started in the summer season 2016. As the Minkie whaling company has gone bankrupt twice in recent years, so it does not seem to be a financially profitable business. The owner stated earlier that the business has become better and that he expects profit to be between two and three million Icelandic kronas (ISK) for 2015. One million ISK was paid for each minke whale brought to shore for processing (Hvalaskoðunarsamtök Islands, 2016).

In Norway the whaling brings in an average income of about 29.5 million NOK (see Figure 8. for the information of years 2013-2015) This sum does not include operating costs for boats etc. but only the money gained from selling the meat (Jonassen, 2016).

Year	Tons of meat	Number of boats	Worth in millions (NOK)
2015	799	20	27,2
2014	983	18	33,2
2013	849	17	28,2

Figure 8. Amount of meat for the total yearly hunt during 2013-15 and worth in Millions (NOK). Information is gained through personal electronic communication with the Norwegian whale hunter's association's secretary Steinar Jonassen in 1.7.2016 (Jonassen, 2016).

Future of whaling?

Whale meat is available at food stores across Norway and Iceland but only a few people eat it regularly. Even if many of the interviewees in both Iceland and Norway had grown up eating whale meat (at least occasionally), they did not find it as a cultural tradition they wanted to continue with. In Iceland whale meat is also cheaper than other kinds of meat but sales are still down:

“I grew up eating whale biff, whale meat, whale stakes at home because it was common at that time. I had uncles that were whale hunters in their younger years... I tried last year, there was whale meat for sale. I thought since it was for sale I should just buy a small piece and taste it again, just to test myself. And I prepared it and I took just one bite and I had to spit it out again. I couldn't take it.” (T3, 64)

“If it is so good, why aren't they eating it all the time? It is cheap and it is sold in all the supermarkets...It is cheaper than other meat here. So it is not like a delicacy. If it is as good as beef, so why don't you cook it at the dinner table all the time?” (T9, 32)

The whalers had none the less faith in the future of whaling, and in increased sales of whale meat through more modern products and increased marketing. They were hoping marketing efforts will change people's eating habits:

“After the stop the sales has not gone up to its previous levels, the product is not modern enough. Most of the products are ready, just to be put straight in the mouth. Whale is just a big piece of meat that you have to cut up yourself.... More marketing, products to a modern kitchen. But it takes time before people start using them. But it is if you eat much Grandiosa [Norwegian frozen pizza]- when people get a real taste in their mouths they don't

think it is good. If you eat shit long enough you start thinking shit is good. And what is actually good and healthy, that tastes bad...” (H3, 52)

A poll conducted by Gallup in October 2015 on the behalf of IFAW in collaboration with the Iceland Nature Conservation Association shows that 81.7% of the Icelandic respondents had not bought whale meat in the last twelve months; only three percent said they had bought whale meat regularly during the last year. Ninety percent (90%) of the female respondents said that had never had whale meat in the last twelve months, seventy-five percent (75%) of men had not. Icelanders have bought this little whale meat last in 2005. Also the attitudes towards whaling were gauged showing that forty-three percent (43%) of Icelanders are supportive of fin whale hunting. The numbers have decreased fourteen percent (14%) in a two years making attitudes towards whaling record low since they have been researched upon since 2003. In the recent poll, young denizens of Reykjavík and females are the people who most likely oppose whaling. As for the whaling of minke whales, fifty percent (50%) of those polled were for whaling, which is a decrease of fifteen point seven percent (15,7 %) from 2013, when sixty-five point seven percent (65,7%) said they were for whaling. In the recent poll, eighteen point three percent (18,3%) of respondents were opposed to the practice while thirty-one point six percent (31,6%) had neutral sentiments (Másson, 2016).

Norskval.no, a web site promoting Norwegian whale meat, had contacted over one the consumers and asked about their thoughts concerning whale meat. The results show that twenty-five percent (25 %) of Norwegians have never eaten whale meat and forty percent (40%) of these people are less than thirty years old. The results show that little whale meat sold in the shops, and people don't have much knowledge on how to prepare whale meat. The company promoting sales of whale meat see a trend in traceability and sustainability of whale meat and great

potentials for increased consumption, especially amongst young consumers. This can be achieved by changing consumer attitudes and by focusing more on the quality and taste of the meat, rather than focusing on the price. The marketing work is focusing on Norsk Hval's home page, social media channels, recipes on TV, new design and packaging (as can be seen in Figure 9) and also quality standards to hunt, production and distribution of meat (Bjerke, 2016) The results are not compared any previous ones, so it is difficult to say in which direction the attitudes towards whaling and whale meat are going.



Figure 9. Whale meat advertisement in Norwegian media. The advertisement says: “Marine, wild and crispy meat from Minkie whale is most likely the most unique staple food. Whale is also environmentally friendly, food, gently harvested according to the principles of sustainability, with the industry’s own quality standards. Marine meat is strong, solid and rich on Omega 3, it tastes just as good raw as fried. Fantastic for sushi, carpaccio, burger, wok or half raw steak with fresh vegetables. Healthier food [than this] does not exist!” The picture is from a Power Point presentation /personal communication, retrieved on 21.3.2016 (Bjerke, 2016).

Norwegian whalers further wish to gain permission to hunt other big species of whales as they see these populations increasing in size:

“No, I mean, we are hoping that other whales were permitted to be hunted as well, especially if the price is different. But it is a little bit different context. But I think that in the future it will be necessary to also take that resource in the country... Especially the big whale populations of Humpback whale and Finn whale, and the populations grow fast.” (H6, 60)

Whale meat was earlier considered meat for poor people and easily accessible food in both Norway and Iceland. The Icelanders did not have the know-how needed for hunting and mostly stranded animals were used as food in Iceland, so whaling is not really considered as being an Icelandic cultural tradition, as it is advertised to tourists:

“...here it is for the tourists, being sold at the restaurants. Here we are creating a trend, basically saying “this is so local, so authentic”- and it is not.” (T9, 32)

According to Norwegian whalers it is possible to “trick” a lot of tourists into eating whale meat by telling them about the hunting and gaining their acceptance:

“...People come and say “whale, no, we don’t want that... Like there at our place, we have a big touristic place, and many hundreds of thousands of tourists are there in the summer and they eat a lot of whale meat...Yes, as I said very many of the tourists find it exciting to try whale meat.” (H2, 51)

Icelanders see whaling as soon coming to an end, and many Norwegians also see whaling as a tradition that will die out by itself as there is not enough demand for whale meat and because of changing cultural norms:

“I think we are almost there; I think we are almost ending it. we just have to be a little bit patient and continue to do things strategically and diplomatically and sensibly and not emotionally. and if we do that we will end it in short time.” (IFAW, 48)

“... I would guess that the hard-die whale hunters that grew up with it- but I think it will die out by itself. Like when my generation is gone, not active anymore I think it will pass out. I have troubles with believing or think that younger people will educate themselves in that kind of industry. I think it will fade out. (T3, 64)

“Whaling is like seal hunting; no-one could imagine 20 years ago that the traditional Norwegian industry could stop. But it stopped, because it had no longer markets and people who wanted to do it”. (T5, 56)

Have attitudes towards whaling changed during the years?

Norwegian whalers saw whaling as becoming more acceptable, and this accomplishment was seen as been achieved through honesty and hard work:

“Opposition? Yes, it has changed, it is becoming less and less. It is more accepted. I have been on meetings with IWC and NAMKO and hunter forum and you can notice that attitudes towards Norwegian whaling... of course there are extremists as well, also nations- nothing works, whatever you do... But attitudes are much better, much more accepted “(H6, 60)

Education and news in the media about the negative effects of whaling on the Icelandic tourism industry has changed people’s opinions of it. Opinions against whaling were told to be record high and sales of whale meat record low right now. The situation with whaling and whale watching in Norway was compared to the situation in Iceland fifteen to twenty years ago. Anti-whaling material was also visible in the harbor in Reykjavik as can be seen in Figure 10.



Figure 10. “Meet us don’t eat us! – Look but don’t touch. “Anti-whaling material in Reykjavik harbor, Iceland. Picture by researcher, 2016.

“It is about education I think, more in the newspaper, they are talking about disadvantages of whaling, earlier they never talked about that. We try to do everything to put a shame on whaling, like IWC. But like whaling would be the normal thing to us, not whale watching, it has changed and it is still changing...I think the only think that Icelanders buy is money. they will never think that it is cruel to kill a whale, or very few would think so...I can promise you that. Of course some people are, but the majority of Icelanders are not. (T8, 48)

Do you meet much negativity from people who know you are a whale hunter?

The Norwegian whalers did not feel they meet much negativity from people, especially not from locals. Any opposition in Norway was seen to come from immigrants. Whaling being a small scale operation, and that the whalers not killing the whales to extinction was emphasized to tourists and so many tourists who were at first horrified by whaling, were said to accept it, even seeing it as being interesting. More opposition was expected to be met abroad and this was why some whalers admitted that they don’t tell everyone about their profession when travelling abroad.

“Yes I have met [a lot of negativity]. They ask me and many are incredibly unversed, they think that what happens with Sea Shepherd, those ships, is what we are doing. But our hunting boats are only 14 meters. 14 meters, it is not much. And the biggest one we have here for whale hunting is 30 meters...and then there are boats that are 15,16, 20 meters. These are people who get their living out of this, they fish cod in the winter and shift to this. These are people who work and tear, family owned shipping companies, many generations. But many sit with the attitude that these are big factory boats, but these are in fact small boats and many are shocked if they see them. If it happens that they see a Norwegian hunting boat and how small he is, they freeze completely. Both foreign and [Norwegian] ... Especially if they have read something, they think it is like that. But it can be wrong... (T10, 53)

“Norwegian barbarians” were also mentioned several times in the interaction with the whalers and the researcher, making it clear that this negative expression was hurtful to them. They even asked the researcher (with laughs) not to refer to them with that term in her work.

“Maybe we are seen as Norwegian barbarians, but we distance ourselves from this, because no-one is more careful with whales than we are” (H6, 60)

The whale researcher who was interviewed further expressed: *“Many people think that whalers are a) stupid b) don’t like whales but this is not the case” (R, 56)*

Whalers were most concerned about actions by Paul Watson/ Sea Shepard and Greenpeace. Anti-whalers were also told to have done sabotage in fishing villages, causing much financial damage, and leading to increased security measures taken in order to keep equipment safe. They saw the anti-whaling work being full of lies and misinformation and made for commercial aims:

“Even if we are the bad guys in many people’s eyes, but our opposition are the bad guys because they are driving with lies and misinformation. [Are you talking about Greenpeace?] Yes, and Watson and all other opponents. They lie a lot... a lot of lies, that we use electricity, we kill with electricity. And many strange things like that...I think this focus on us harvesting the whales is too much. As long as it is done in a sustainable way it should be done” (H5, 58).

In Norway so called cold harpoons were used previously in whale hunting. This led to less than twenty percent (20%) of whales killed rapidly. Research to find alternatives to the harpoon used, and improving the killing efficiency was conducted in Norway between the years 1981 and 2005. The harpoon that is used currently is fifty and sixty millimeter harpoon canons, and harpoons with the “Whale Grenade – 99”, developed in Norway during 1997-1999. “Time to Death” (TTD) data for over five thousand Minke whales have been sampled during this time period. Data from 271 minke whales harvested in 2011 and 2012 show that using the death criteria developed by IWC, at least eighty-two percent (82 %) of the whales died an instant death. When whales were shot from a recommended side position ninety-two percent (92%) were recorded dying instantly (Øen, 2016).

Research work in order to improve the killing efficiency was conducted also in Iceland between 1985-2013. Today ninety millimeter Kongsberg harpoon canons are used in the fin whale hunt, the harpoon is equipped with a modified “Whale Grenade-99” with one hundred gram of pressed pentrite as explosive. The TTD data from fifty fin whales caught in 2014 show that using the death criteria developed by IWC, eighty-four percent (84%) of the whales died an instant death (Øen, 2016).

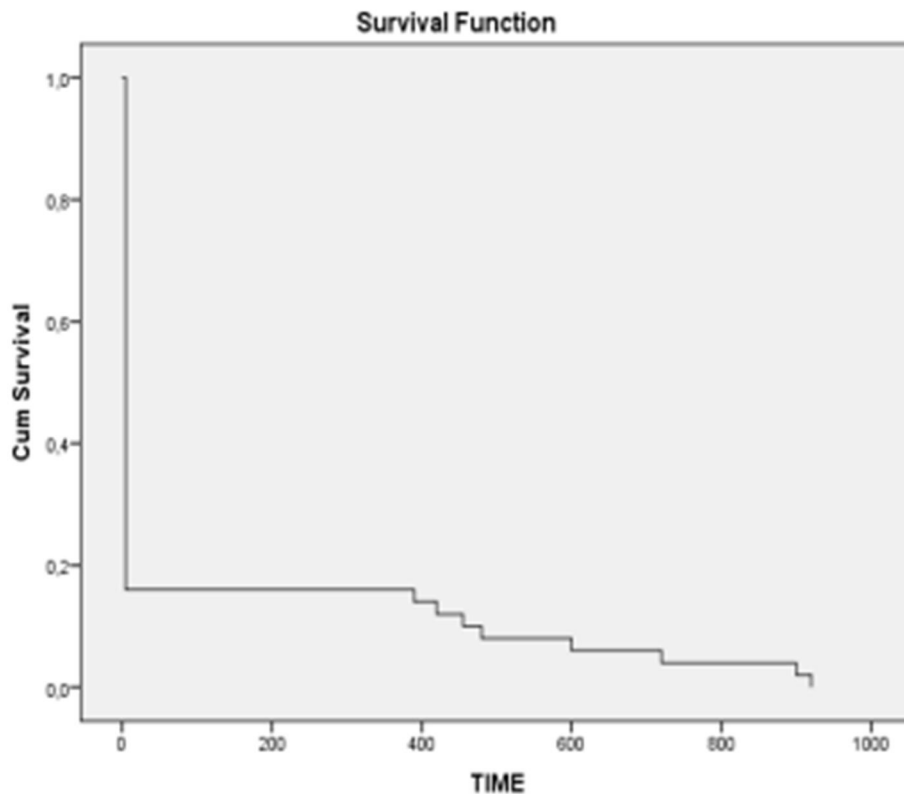


Figure 11. Survival function of fifty Fin whales killed in Iceland in 2014. The horizontal axis shows time (seconds) and the vertical axis the proportion of whales that still show signs of life. The figure shows that most whales die very fast after shooting. The figure is from dr. Øen’s report “Killing efficiency in the Icelandic fin whale hunt 2014- Report to the Directorate of Fisheries in Iceland, February 19, 2015”(Øen, 2015), accessed online 10.5.2016.

The explosive harpoons, invented by the Norwegians over a hundred years ago, are seen by Norwegian whalers as having saved the whaling industry by increased the killing time. Anti-whalers still have concerns about the killing time:

“And from animal welfare perspective it is better than cold harpoons, it could take up to forty hours to kill an animal, so it was horrible, but still we have a situation that we know it can take up to forty minutes to kill an animal, for the whale to die after it is harpooned.” (IWAF, 48)

Environmental Values

Do you think about “green values” or about protecting the environment?

All interviewees agreed on the importance of green values, protecting the nature and recycling. This was said to be especially important for people who gain their living from the sea. Both industry’s representatives complained about the lack of governmental support in doing this, as only bins for mixed waste was told to be located ashore for the boats and even these are lacking in many places. Also more public toilets are told to be lacking, as well as a wider built tourism infrastructure.

“... We, who work with hunting and fishing are the ones who suffer the most. The sea [needs to be] healthy and clean, [and] the populations healthy”. (H2, 51)

“We do recycling abroad; the food goes in the sea. Plastic and other non-recyclable and non-natural products do in the bin bags that we empty, so we don’t throw anything trash in the sea.” (H3, 52)

“These issues should be brought forward a lot, the boats should be better equipped for recycling, water, all boats’ bilge water... It is the responsibility of the society to arrange for waste collection... Now everything from all whale safari boats goes into mixed waste. And then this machinery, hydraulic oils etc... there should be biodegradable oils (in use]”. (T5, 56)

Extracting oil from the vulnerable Lofoten area and Barents Sea was criticized, as well as bringing huge amount of tourists and anti-whaling supporters to the vulnerable areas of Northern Norway:

“I have no idea oil can be extracted in our area, it is very special, very vulnerable, Lofoten and Barents Sea, we are to take care of it... “(T6, 66)

Recycling was said to be a new trend in Iceland. However, the Icelandic whale watching company CEO interviewed said that the company's goal is to be in the forefront of environmental protection and told about the company's involvement in developing environmental friendly fuel (bio fuel), hydrofoil projects, recycling, education, taking a stand against whaling, and most recently joining the "blue flag", that focuses attention on environmental issues and on whale watching boats' behavior around animals (T8, 48). The Norwegian counterparts also reported taking small steps towards protecting the environment, like recycling and re-washing plastic cups used by tourists (T1, 63).

The Whale was also seen as a symbol for environmental issues in a broader sense and as an example of what people can accomplish when working together in order to gain different protectionist goals:

"It's all part of the same approach, you know. And like I say the importance with the whales, and stopping the whaling is how you create awareness about group of animals that have been hunted and have been subject to the most terrible way of hunting in the centuries. How you reverse that situation in modern times so you can use them as a symbol for new ways, for new approach on environmental issues in general. So I see this issue as the whales, and that is big enough, but still, I see it as an example of what we can achieve as humans when we come together and have the same understanding". (IWAF, 48)

Do you belong to any environmental organizations?

None of the whalers belonged to any environmental organizations as they felt these are dishonest, trying to gain money from spreading lies about them, and being ignorant about

environmental issues in general. Also one of the people working with whale watching tourism had similar views with concerns to environmental organizations:

“It is okay as long as it is done in an honest way. What I don’t like is when it becomes and industry where you have big multinational organizations like WWF and Greenpeace who earn a lot of money on disinformation... creating bad myths about us everywhere where they can, and they can gain on money on it. (H2, 51)

Most people working with the tourism industry followed the work of environmental organizations in the media, but only a few of them were active members. The organizations reported were Association for Nature Conservation, WWF and BERONA:

” I belong to Association for Nature Conservation and WWF. I have taken part in their activities, not so active, but taken part in discussions and I belong to Facebook groups. And then I do environmental protection work in practice when guiding whale watching tours or bird watching tours. “(T5, 56)

Do you vote for “green parties”?

The whalers and also one of the men who worked with whale watching tourism said not to vote for Green parties as they were seen as not to run their interests. The green parties were said to be against whaling, and were accused of only thinking about people who live in Oslo. This is why they were not trusted. People working with whale watching tourism saw green values as important and voting for green parties was an option considered by many, but only a few said to vote for parties, as many said they vote rather for candidates than political parties.

Do you think whales are intelligent, socially sophisticated animals with advanced capacities for communicating?

Most whalers did not see whales as being particularly intelligent, but saw a difference in intelligence between different species of whales. Only one of the current whalers described whales as being very intelligent, in addition to the two former whale hunters interviewed. The Orca (which is actually a dolphin and not a whale) was seen as being the most intelligent whale whereas the Minkie whale, which is hunted, was compared to the cow. The Minkie whale was also described as being the nosiest of all species of whales, often coming to boats to see “what is going on”. Many whalers thought whales’ intelligence was a myth that is used to stop whaling; their intelligence was not seen to be comparable to human intelligence:

”When you see a whale you don’t get an impression of him being very intelligent... If a Minkie whale with both eyes and tail, if he was intelligent he would have recognized a boat with a cannon and not swam in front of them...The Minkie whale is like a cow, not very smart. Intelligence is a myth used to stop whaling.” (H2, 51)

“Whales are very intelligent animals. One whale kept all the time a distance of 550 m [a distance to the boat where the cold harpoon could not reach]” (H1, 61)

”If we missed, we had to put a tarpaulin over the cannon so he couldn’t see it, that we later just pulled off. I saw so much of that, when we tried to hunt him in the morning and missed, we could not see a trace of him during the entire day, and had to return ashore, no point [to continue]. It is not possible to hit him with the boat, we were driving 10 miles, 12 miles- he was always the same distance away from us! If you drive slower, he is exactly as far away. I have seen so much- he is much smarter than we think! ...even more than humans.” (T10, 53)

People working with whale watching tourism were aware of different studies made on whales in connection to their communities, communication and intelligence. They saw whales

as being socially sophisticated and very intelligent animals with e.g. highly developed communication skills, social bonds, and communities. Whales were also seen as animals that are able to express feelings of e.g. sorrow or joy. Many stories were told to the researcher as examples of personal events proving whales' intelligence, for example whales "making a parade" at sea, "creating excitement" by almost running into boats, using boats in order to hide from other whales and/or whalers, a whale called Anna was also told to have been able to recognize and answer people. It was also reported that it had become more and more difficult to approach whales after whaling was resumed.

"I don't think but I know whales are intelligent. And I know whales have emotions. They are able to express sorrow and joy, it is clear as day, for example if a baby is born dead in a killer whale family the other whales in the family, in addition to the mother, bring it to the surface to breathe. This first aid goes on for hours, trying to bring her to life, and when it is hopeless- the situation- the entire pod is completely paralyzed for a long time... Then their sounds, songs, their cooperation, it is a proof of their intelligent. And how orcas hunt; they gather herring to a big ball, and grandmother is the leader, the eldest female. And most of the whales keep guard by the herring and they attack, always led by the grandmother, always taking turns.... they have evolved communication, they have a community, like a village. They act in a controlled manner, like a society, orcas, humpback whales, sperm whales, every single species of whales...I think Minkie whales are smart, they know how to hunt herring the same way as Orcas and cooperate. Maybe the idea that they are not smart comes from them acting foolishly when they are looking for their mum, who has weaned them. They are easy, it looks like they don't understand things, and they don't because they are in that state, they are in that emotion... it is not stupidity if you are leaned, you are completely messed up many weeks. That you are looking

for mum and there is a boat and you start following it, if you don't hide you are not stupid. "(T5, 56)

Do you think that whale watching and whaling as industries should be controlled in order to maintain a healthy economy?

The Norwegian whalers felt their industry could not be controlled more than it already is; it is controlled both ashore and aboard through different means:

"The whaling industry is hardly possible to control more; we are thoroughly controlled. We have both control ashore and electronic control abroad. Three or four different kinds of electronic controls. The first one is AIS surveillance that shows where the ships are, then we have one that only the fishery authorities use to see where we are. Then we have an electronic book for catches that we need to send in, how much we catch. And then we have an electronic system that registers each time we fire and all whales that we take aboard. And then we have the coast guards that come aboard to take random checks. And when we reach ashore it is the industry, the food administration that checks every whale that comes ashore. (H2, 51)

They saw however whale watching industry as being in need of more regulation to ensure the safety of whale watchers, as well as the well-being of whales:

"It looks a bit scary, what they are doing. They have a small rubber boat that they fill up with people and they go very close to the whale. Just one hit from the fin and everyone in that boat are dead." (H2, 51)

People working with whale watching tourism saw an urgent need for more regulations for their industry, both in Norway and Iceland, "the Wild West". They made complaints about no-one making sure that whale watching guidelines are kept. They also agreed

with whalers about tourists being at risk when taken out by very small rubber boats, and going very close to whales that are very unpredictable when feeding. They also said that anyone can start work in the industry due to lack of permits and education required. The boats surrounding whales were further said to be too many, too noisy and going too close to the whales, preventing them from resting and feeding and hence causing concerns for the whales' well-being and further to the entire industry's sustainability.

“I actually think it has to be controlled, not there is no control, you can do whatever. So I think they should have some... We have very strict rules - like we are a passenger boat, we have to meet all the safety standards. But to whales there is nothing”. (T3, 64)

“Many speak of rules for driving... we can have the bible full of driving rules but if they who have boats do not have the right attitude, it doesn't help. People are the ones driving and if they use their senses there is no need for rules... It is a very long road to accomplish things like that [sanctions]. Who controls this?” (T1, 63)

« But I saw in Tromso almost forty service providers. It makes very many boats and means very bad conditions for the animals that are up there. So they should provide documents that they have experience and they know how to do that work, tourism. I have met so many who just start with that. They need to have knowledge of whale safari, about animals. We think we like this and we want to keep it like this, we need to do it in a sustainable way, we need to do it well. “(T6, 66)

In Iceland the organization Icewhale deals with questions concerning sustainability, best practices, and responsible ways of doing things in the whale watching industry. If the different tourism providers cannot agree on issues like this the ministry of tourism is responsible to set

regulations and pass laws. This kind of regulation system was told to have been promoted to be set up in Norway since 2012:

“...I think the best thing is that we have the code of conduct, like Icewhale has put it, very visible on the boats, it is not yet very visible on the boats, very visible, BIG, and it should be introduced on the way out like: “please, help us do things better” You know like: “look at the guidelines we have here at the boat, and let us know if you think or you feel that we are not following it”. So that tourist become directly involved in the surveillance.” (IFAW, 48)

Do you think the balance of nature is very delicate and easily upset?

Most participants were of the opinion that the balance of nature is delicate and easy to upset, however some were of the opinion that nature is never in balance but changing constantly. The human factor was seen as the biggest upsetting factor, causing changes in eco systems and negative effect on animals. The shared view was that humans cannot create balance in nature, but they are responsible of taking care of it, and should make sure to minimize negative effect. Whalers also justified the need to hunt whales in order to create balance in the sea eco system, but this way of reasoning was rejected by anti-whalers as a simplification of the truth. Whalers also defended whaling based on scientific research, it was said to be needed to collect information about e.g. what is making the whales so lean these days.

“... Like fish in the ecosystem can surely not be blamed on the whales like some have done. It is absolutely ridiculous! Those animals have been there for millions of years, living a perfectly sustainable and peaceful life with their environment...But it is important to approach that argument with respect even if you find it ridiculous, to go through the facts. Like the fact that the sea birds are eating much more fish than all the whales combined. You know, what are

then they suggesting- are they suggesting we should cull all the sea birds? All the puffins and others? There is no way to go down that path! (IFAW, 48)

The respondents also told the researcher that changes due to human impact can already be seen in the form of increased sea temperatures, and mild winters in Arctic areas like Tromsø in Northern Norway. Fish and some species of whales were also seen to have migrated to new living areas as water temperatures have changed. The ice in the glaciers was also told to be seen as moving further and further away every year (T6, 66; T3, 64; T5, 56)

Is humankind severely abusing the environment/whales?

All the interviewees agreed on the fact that humans are severely abusing the environment. The situation was however seen as having improved as people have learned from previously made mistakes through education, e.g. killing of the whales or bison. It was however admitted that it is difficult to change old ways of behavior, even if these are seen as having negative effect, e.g. stopping flying even if knowing that it causes a lot of emissions.

Norway was thought to do well with environmental protection in comparison to other countries, even if many things were still seen as being in need of improvement. The problem was however said to be that Norwegians feel that there is so much nature in the country that they might feel it does not need protection. The whales were also seen to be affected indirectly.

A problem was also seen in objectifying nature in order to create pleasure for humans without understanding nature. An example of greed leading to negative environmental effects was given in introducing the King Crab from Asia to Norwegian waters in order to make big money.

“A great whale picture is not worth anything if it is taken at the cost of scaring a humpback whale half to death... or a red-throated diver that has been scared from its nest, but the picture taken was great” (T5, 56)

Are plants and animals on Earth primarily to be used by humans? Were humans created to rule over the rest of nature, e.g. whales?

Only two of the whalers said they see humans as being “masters of the universe” and that they have the right to rule over natural resources. The rest of the respondents saw humans as being part of nature, not superior to them. They were only seen as having the right to use nature, but not misuse or destroy it. More radical thoughts included seeing humans as the ones imposing on nature and destroying it, “parasites” on Earth, or an “experiment”, about to prove as a mistake:

“No, no, I feel humans are like a sort of experiment, which is about to prove as a mistake, a big mistake. We are just an animal type and the least sustainable. The mosquitos are more sustainable than we are, I mean I think we have certain intelligence, we have certain possibilities to understand our environment. So if we try to do that and try to improve, you know, it can happen. We can learn from the whales, for example, about simple way of life and about how to live in harmony with each other and the environment. Otherwise we have no chance!” (IFAW, 48)

DISCUSSION

The aim of this thesis was to find out whale watch tourism worker’s and whalers’ attitudes concerning whales and whale watching, environmental values, conservation, sustainability, and motives for working in the field. Additionally, the intention was to find more

information about the whale hunters themselves, and to learn if their attitudes may have changed over time, especially if they are, or have been involved in both whale watching and fishing / whale hunting. The researcher further hopes that her study results can be used to bring closer the information gaps that exist between the different stakeholders in the field.

This section starts this with a presentation of the new study results from the current research, then the results that are in support of previous research are described, and finally a description of the results that are contrasting to previous research results are given.

New study results

Attitudes towards whales.

The current work revealed that the Norwegian whale hunters do not have an emotional bond to whales, but see them mainly as a meat resource, an animal to be utilized for hunting. They did consider whales to be beautiful and elegant animals who are well adapted to life in the sea. The hunters did not experience that they would have a special emotional bond to them. Whalers are used to eating whale meat since childhood, and consider whale meat as tasty and healthy local food. They did not consider eating whale meat to be different than eating other kinds of meat from an ethical point of view. The majority of whalers were of the opinion that their thoughts or feelings towards whales had remained the same during the years, and only one whaler remembered his opinion towards whales as have changed as he had gotten used to killing whales with time. The majority of whale hunters also thought their work does not have an influence on their attitudes towards whales. The large size of whale, and the impact of books and movies were seen as reasons for making the whales well known to people. Whalers saw the work of anti-whaling groups to have made the whale into a totem animal.

There was only one person who had previously worked with whaling and who is currently doing whale watching tourism. He said that he thinks his feelings towards whales have not changed, he respects the animals and is of the opinion that whales need to be hunted a bit. He told that he has always been against guns and “killing for fun” and told the researcher that as he was tired of killing he decided to start fishing instead of whaling.

Tourism workers told that they feel a special bond to whales, and the closeness is added by the whales’ human like features. It was not clear what causes the relationship, but the connection between whales and people was obvious. Changes in attitudes towards whales was noticed due to education, and especially due to prolonged interaction with them, leading to anti-whaling opinions and rejecting the thoughts of whales being kept in captivity. Also tourists’ reactions when seeing whales impressed the workers on whale watching boats. Hence also work affected in several ways the attitudes of people working with whale watching tourism. Whales were seen as individuals, friends or colleagues who add value to the daily work. Whales were additionally a tool to educate people about wildlife preservation, marine wildlife, and sustainability. Only a few told to eat whale meat because whales’ human like features, because of its taste, out of a sustainability aspect, animal welfare issues and health aspects. Ethical questions around eating whale meat included both pro whaling and anti-whaling thoughts.

Icelandic attitudes towards whaling were told to have become more negative in the past years, whereas Norwegian whalers reported the opposite for Norway.

Whale watching industry.

Generally, whalers had little knowledge of whale watching tourism and held a neutral view towards it because of this. One whaler had however concerns about the profitability

of the whale watching industry. Whalers and tourism workers alike also showed concerns for the safety of whale watching tourists, and were also concerned because of the disturbance caused by the whale watching tourism to whales.

Norway and Iceland were referred to as the “Wild West” where anything is allowed when it comes to whale watching. Tourism workers recognized the negative effects of tourism to the environment and to whales, but still thought tourism is important for people’s well-being as just being close to the whales gives satisfaction to people. The tourism industry was also seen to create benefits to the wider society by creating new jobs, and increased sales revenues, income to the government in form of taxes, and also leads to the development of the infrastructure in the country.

None of the interviewees felt that whale watching should be banned: whale watching was seen as being sustainable under the precondition that it is done in a responsible way. The rapid growth of tourism in places like Tromsø, Norway and Reykjavik, Iceland was seen as a threat to the sustainability of the industry, however the situation was estimated as being better in Iceland than in Norway.

Thoughts about whale hunting.

Whaling is a source of supplement income for fishermen in Norway. Whale hunters saw whale hunting as a necessity from a sustainability perspective, and saw it as an important way to provide food resources for humans, even around the world. Whales were also seen as becoming too many, and other species of big whales were thought to be allowed to be hunted besides the Minkie whale that is currently hunted. One of the hunters saw the huge amount of Diesel consumed during hunts as an ecological concern. Even if there is no official scientific hunt carried out in Norway, the whalers were still told to help to collect data of whales for the

scientific community in forms of DNA tests, weight and thickness measures. The whale hunters saw their hunting methods being of world class, and gave credit to the whale grenade for saving the entire Norwegian whaling industry.

Whaling was not considered as being an Icelandic cultural tradition, whereas it was recognized as a Norwegian tradition. However, many saw it as a tradition that belongs in the past and is already dying out. People working with whale watching tourism were generally opposed to whaling and saw whaling as something completely unnecessary. They objected to whaling and the sustainability of it due to animal welfare questions, due to the unknown status of Minkie whales in its ecosystem, and because of different estimates of the amount of Minkie whales. One of the tourism workers described whaling as the least emission causing animal protein production, but condemned it at the same time on ethical grounds. Further, concerns about the objectivity of the whale researchers assigned by the Marine Research Institute/ the Norwegian government were raised.

There was a clear difference between Icelandic and Norwegian attitudes towards whaling, especially the “official views” by whale watching companies. Norwegian whale safari people did not want to take a stand on whaling, whereas the counterparts in Iceland were openly anti-whaling. The political side of whale hunting was recognized by both whale hunters and whale watching tourism workers alike. Banning whaling was seen to mean that the whaling countries would lose face internationally. Issuing a zero quota for whaling was instead suggested.

Can whale watching and whaling exist side by side?

At first glimpse the whalers did not see any reason why whaling and whale watching tourism could not continue its coexistence, but as they opened up they expressed feelings of

annoyance towards whale watching tourism industry and its demands for whalers to stay away from sea areas where whale watching tourism is done. Whalers saw whaling as a necessity, while tourism was viewed as a luxury product. Anti-whaling groups were considered as a greater threat to the whaling industry than the whale watching industry. Whalers did not meet much negativity from people, especially not from locals, and even tourists are said to accept whaling, even seeing it as interesting. More opposition was told to be expected to be met abroad, and this is why some whalers kept their profession a secret when travelling abroad. As examples of negative interaction with tourists and anti-whaling groups the following was told: tourists were told not wave back at whalers and some were told to try to take pictures of whalers where they look bad. Anti-whalers were also told to have done sabotage in fishing villages, and causing much financial damage to these.

The coexistence of whale watchers and whalers was seen as less problematic in Norway than in Iceland. Some tourism workers in Norway had even received help from fishermen in locating whales, and saw the relationship with the whaling industry as a form of good cooperation. Hence the suggestions on improvements were not really given in Norway. Complaints were heard in Iceland as there was said to be no consequences for breaking the agreement of not hunting in the designated area. In Iceland the solution was mainly found in ending whaling. The advice was that this should not be done by demonizing whaling or the whalers, as it is not helpful. In Norway both whalers and people working with whale watching tourism also saw a need for dialogue and saw future cooperation possible between the different stakeholders.

Information about the whaling industry.

Twenty boats and about 260 people work with the whaling industry in Norway. The whalers interviewed for this thesis were estimated to be a representative sample of the Norwegian whalers, and yielded an average age of 58 years. In Iceland there is no Finn whaling this year (2016) but the Minke whaling has however started with two companies and two boats involved.

The whaling season is in Norway from early April to the end of August and no governmental support is told to be paid for it. Profit for Icelandic whaling is expected to be from two to three million Icelandic crowns (ISK) for 2015, in Norway the whaling brings in an average income of about 29.5 million Norwegian crowns (NOK) yearly. The Norwegian whalers don't see whaling as a profitable business, but it is none the less seen as an important additional income to fishing. The Norwegian whalers felt their industry could not be controlled more than it is.

Whale meat is available at food stores across Norway and Iceland but only a few people eat it regularly and meat sales are told to be down. The whalers did none the less have faith in the future and saw prospects due to more modern products and increased marketing. They also said it is possible to gain tourists' acceptance by telling them about the work and "trick" them into eating whale meat. Norwegian whalers saw whaling as becoming more acceptable, something that was achieved through honesty and hard work.

Education and news in the media about the negative effects of whaling was told to have changed people's opinions about whaling in Iceland. Icelanders saw whaling as soon coming to an end with record high opinions against whaling and record low sales of whale meat. The situation with whaling and whale watching in Norway was seen to be like it was in

Iceland fifteen to twenty years ago. Many Norwegians saw whaling as a tradition that will die out due to low demand for whale meat and because of changing cultural norms.

Environmental values.

All interviewees agreed on the importance of green values, protecting the nature and recycling, and all also complained about the lack of governmental support in doing this.

Whalers did not belong to environmental organizations, and told not to vote for “Green Parties” as these were told to be anti-whaling and dishonest. Most people working with the tourism industry followed the work of environmental organizations in media, but only few of them were active members. Voting for green parties was an option for many, but people were said to vote for candidates rather than parties. The Whale was seen as a symbol for environmental issues in a broader sense, and as an example of what people can accomplish when working together in order to gain different protectionist goals.

Most whalers did not see whales as being particularly intelligent, but saw a difference in intelligence between different species of whales. The Minkie whale was often compared to the cow. Many whalers thought whales’ intelligence was a myth used to stop whaling; their intelligence was not seen as comparable to human intelligence. People working with whale watching tourism were convinced of whales being socially sophisticated and very intelligent animals with e.g. highly developed communication skills, social bonds, and communities and animals that are able to express feelings of e.g. sorrow or joy.

In Iceland the organization Icewhale was told to deal with whale watching industry’s questions concerning sustainability and best practices. In Norway this kind of organization has been promoted to be set up since 2012.

Interviewees felt the balance of nature is delicate and easy to upset, however some thought that nature is never in balance as it is in a process of constant change. Humans were seen to be responsible of taking care of the environment, and to minimize negative effect, but it was admitted that they are the cause to biggest environmental problems facing the world today.

Humans were seen to severely abuse the environment, but the situation has improved as people have learned from past mistakes. Norway was thought to do well with environmental protection in comparison to other countries, even if many things could still be improved on. An example of greed leading to negative environmental effects was, as told, the introduction of the King Crab from Asia into Norwegian waters.

Only two of the whalers viewed humans as “masters of the universe”, who have the right to rule over natural resources. The rest of the respondents saw humans as being part of nature, not superior to them, with the right to use natural resources while taking care of the environment. More radical thoughts included seeing humans as parasites on Earth, or as an experiment that is about to prove as a mistake.

Results that confirm previous study results

Whale watching tourism.

In concerns to whale watching tourism the current study results confirmed many previous study results, mainly in concerns to the problematic development of the whale watching industry in Norway and Iceland. The whale watching tourism was seen to grow very fast in Norway and Iceland (see e.g. Higham et al., 2014, Higham & Hopkins, 2014, Higham et Neves, 2014); but unfortunately it was clear the industry’s profit orientation overrides the ecotourism conservation goals making whale watching tourism a non-consumptive form of utilization of whales, and not

an ecotourism activity (ibid). The results showed the need of sustainable development and management of whale watching tourism, the introduction of permit and licensing systems, industry guidelines, education and interpretation, as suggested by Higham et al. (2015) and Wearing and Jobberns (2015).

Study results further proved that animals are still objectified in the whale watching tourism industry, as suggested by Burns, 2015. It was told that tourist want to get close to whales and the large amount of whale watch vessels in the water simultaneously, and surrounding whales cause huge disturbance and various kinds of problems to whales, hence raising questions of the sustainability of whale watching tourism. Of concern were also the type of vessels used, the way they operate, the noise they cause, all leading to disturbance to whales (see Orams, 2000). Further, more educational material was seen to be needed for whale watching tourists in order to raise awareness of marine conservation, as suggested by Luck in 2003.

Problematic issues were also that the Norwegian government is still lacking in its development and management of tourism in Norway, and mass tourism and oil drilling is still done in environmentally sensitive areas (see e.g. Kaltenborn & Emmelin, 1993). The tourism infrastructure at large was seen to be in need of development according to the principles of sustainability.

Result further revealed that changes in sea level temperatures are already seen in Norway, as suggested by Lambert et al, 2010, and these have led to changed migration patterns of different species of fish and whales. Eco labelling, as described by Chen, 2011, was told to have been introduced in Iceland to improve the quality of ecotourism trips, but it was still lacking in Norway.

Whaling.

In concerns to whaling the following study results were confirmed: Whaling was practiced in order to maintain stable fish populations, as well as to produce whale meat for consumption, as suggested by Higham et al, 2014; Demand for whale meat was low in line with Wende and Gothall (2008). Norwegian whaling operators raised concerns for the profitability of the whale watching industry, just as Icelandic whaling operators have done according to Higham et al. (2014). Whalers saw whales used as totem animals by anti-whaling groups, as suggested by Ris (1993).

Current study results were also in line with research done on Belief in animal mind by Knight et al (2004), as especially males people residing in non-urban areas (whalers) seem to support animal use (whaling) at large, whereas young females in cities, e.g. in Reykjavik are more anti-whaling. As whalers did not also believe whales are intelligent and capable of thinking and feeling, they were more inclined to support animal use (ibid.) Further, more and more people were seen to think about ethical food choices, which was reflected in their choices of food consumption, for example meat, as suggested e.g. by Vermeir and Verberke, 2006. Many interviewees also saw whaling and eating whale meat as objectionable and belong in the past, hence confirming the ideas of Palmer (2014).

The co-existence of whaling and whale watching.

Reports from whale watching tourism workers confirmed that whaling has caused fleeing responses in whales, and hence problems for whale watching, as mentioned by Higham et al. (2014) The coexistence of whaling and whale-watching was considered problematic by many in Norway, but the anti-whaling voices were especially loud in Iceland, and the polarized views

held by different groups were seen to prevent constructive discussions on the topic of whaling in both Norway and Iceland, as suggested by Higham & Lusseau, 2011.

Contrasting study results

Current study results revealed that scientific hunting of whales is no longer carried out in Iceland or Norway (see Higham et al, 2014). According to Bertulli et al (2014) Icelanders see whale meat as a specialty food, which is marketed to tourists as novelty food, but according to the current study Icelanders saw whale meat as non-traditional meat, which was non the less marketed to tourists as traditional food.

In summary, the current study results confirmed concerns about the fast growth and unrestricted development of the whale watching industries of Norway and Iceland, where conservation goals are overridden by profit orientation (see e.g. Higham et al., 2014, Higham & Hopkins, 2014, Higham et Neves, 2014), requiring urgent and sustainable development and management practices (Higham et al., 2015). An additional problem was seen in the objectification of whales by the tourism industry, as suggested by Burns, 2015, leading to sustainability concerns for whales and hence the entire whale watching industry. More educational material was seen to be needed for whale watching tourists in order to raise their awareness of marine conservation, as suggested by Luck in 2003. It was also clear that the Norwegian government is still lacking in its development and management of tourism in Norway, as suggested by Kaltenborn & Emmelin, 1993. Further, results revealed that changes in sea level temperatures are already seen in Norway, as suggested by Lambert et al, 2010, leading to concerns about the future of the whale watch industry in the areas affected.

Higham and Lusseau (2008) suggested a need for more insights about whaling and whale watching. The results of this study have provided these as the views, attitudes and/or motives towards whales, whaling, whale watching, environmental values and sustainability have been presented for Norwegian whalers and for people working with whale watching in Norway and Iceland.

Conclusions

The current study was conducted in Andenes, Tromsø and Lofoten in Northern Norway, and in Reykjavik, Iceland. People who work with whale watching tourism in these two countries and also Norwegian whalers were interviewed through semi-structured and recorded interviews. The aim was to find information about the whaling industry and about motives for working in the field, and additionally about the views and attitudes that the interviewees hold towards whales, whale watching, sustainability and conservation.

The study findings supported several results of earlier research, mainly in concerns to whale watching tourism and its sustainability aspects. There were also two points in which current study results were contrasting to previous studies. The current research however provided much new information about Norwegian whale hunters and their views, as was hoped for. Additionally, information about the people who work with whale watching tourism was gained, and about the contrasting views peoples in these two industries have. Since little research has been done in these areas earlier, the new information provided is valuable to the scientific community. Hopefully the current information can also be used to open lines of discussion between the different stakeholders in the industries.

Implications and Recommendations for Destination Development

The study results can be used in both Norway and Iceland, as well as in other countries that wish to develop their tourism industry, especially the whale watching tourism industry.

Whale watching is said to generate many benefits, including income to communities, creating appreciation for marine conservation, and enabling the study of whales, but in order for tourism to be economically and socially sustainable tourism also needs to be environmentally

sustainable. The findings revealed that the whale watching tourism especially in Norway, but also in Iceland, is in serious need of governmental support in form of tourism infrastructure, regulation, control and education in order to maintain its sustainability aspect. This is important in order to guarantee the well-being of whales as the tourists that travel to the “wild west”. Suggested is also that Norway would create a non-governmental organization, such as Icewhale in Iceland, that would be in control of the whale watching industry questions.

Limitations of the Study and Future Research Suggestions

The chosen sample consisted of only older men who work with whaling. Even if these were said to be representative of the Norwegian whalers it would be of interest to study also younger male whalers, as well as the few females working in the field in order to see if their views differ from the current sample, and in order to estimate the future of whaling. Likewise, it would be of interest to know the views of female workers in the field of whale watching tourism.

In conclusion, whalers and people working with whale watching tourism alike agree on the importance of sustainability and conservation. Now it is the turn of local governments to take upon them their responsibilities, and start developing the tourism infrastructures and their management in more sustainable ways.

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APPENDIX B**INTERVIEW QUESTIONS**

Background questions: age, gender, education, current occupation, work related to whale watching tourism and/or whaling

Attitudes towards whales (whale hunters & whale-watch tourism)

1. What emotions do you associate with whales?

Vilka känslor associerar du med valar?

Mitkä tunteet assosioit valaisiin?

2. Why do you think that whales create such strong emotions in people?

Varför tror du att valar väcker så starka känslor i människor?

Miksi luulet valaiden herättävän niin vahvoja tunteita ihmisissä?

3. What do you think about whale hunting?

Vad tycker du om valfångst?

Mitä ajattelet valaanpyynnist?

4. Do you eat whale meat? Why/ why not?

Äter du valkött? Varför/varför inte?

Syötkö valaanlihaa? Miksi/miksi et?

5. Is it any different to eat whale meat than fish or meat in general? Why/ why not?

Är det någon skillnad mellan att äta valkött eller kött eller fisk annars? Varför/varför inte?

Onko valaanlihan ja muun lihan tai kalan syönnillä eroa? Miksi/miksi ei?

6. Has your attitudes towards whales changed during the years? How/ In which direction?

Har dina attityder mot valar ändrats under åren? Hur/ i vilken riktning?

Ovatko asenteesi valaita kohtaan muuttuneet vuosien aikana? Miten/mihin suuntaan?

7. Would you say that your work influences your attitudes towards whales?

Skulle du säga att ditt arbete påverkar på dina attityder mot valar?

Sanoisitko että työsi vaikuttaa asenteisiisi valaita kohtaan?

Is whaling and whale-watching mutually exclusive? -Attitudes towards whaling and whale watching

1. What do you think of whaling/whale-watching in general?

Vad tror du om valfångst/valturism generellt sagt?

Mitä mielt olet valaanpyynnistä/ valasturismista yleisesti sanoen?

2. What are the benefits and disadvantages of the businesses to you/the local community?

Vilka för och nackdelar har valfångst/turism för lokalsamhället?

Mitä hyviä ja huonoja puolia valaanpyynnillä ja –matkailulla on paikallisille yhteisöille?

3. Do you have any concerns about whaling/whale watching?

Oroar du dig över något gällande valfångst/valturism?

Kannatko huolta jostain valaanpyyntiin/-matkailuun liittyen?

Prompt: Is whaling/whale-watching sustainable? Why/ why not?

Är valfångst/valturism hållbart? Varför/varför inte?

Onko valaanpyynti/ matkailu kestävä? Miksi/miksi ei?

Prompt: Does whale watching have negative effects on whales? Have you witnessed any of these?

Påverkar valturism negativt på valar? Har du upplevt/ sett något?

Vaikuttaako valasmatkailu negatiivisesti valaisiin? Oletko kokenut/nähnyt jotain tähän liittyen?

Prompt: Should whaling/ whale watching be banned? Why/ why not?

Borde valfångst/valturisme bli förbjudet? Varför/varför inte?

Pitäisikö valaanpyynti/-matkailu kieltä? Miksi/miksi ei?

4. Can the 2 industries exist side-by-side? Why/why not?

Kan dessa två industrier existera sida vid sida? Varför/varför inte?

Voivatko nämä 2 teollisuutta olla olemassa rinta rinnan? Miksi/miksi ei?

Prompt. Suggestions on how to improve the current situation?

Har du ideer om hur den nuvarande situationen kunde förbättras?

Miten nykyistä tilannetta voisi parantaa?

Prompt. Which of these industries do you want to see continue, and why?

Vilken av industrierna skulle du vilja se fortsätta och varför?

Minkä teollisuuden toivoisit jatkavan ja miksi?

Information about the whaling industry (whalers only)

1. How many people work in the whaling industry in Norway?

Hur manga personer jobbar med valfångst I Norge?

2. Is whaling profitable work? Is it done only in the summer or all year round? Do you need to do other work besides it? (E.g. fishing)

Är valfångst lönsamt? Jobbar ni med det året runt? Måste du ha ett annat jobb på sidan om det också? (t.ex fiske)

3. Do you think whaling will continue in Norway?

Tror du att valfångst kommer att fortsätta I Norge?

4. Has attitudes towards whaling changed during the years? In which direction? What do you think the reasons are for this?

Har attityder mot valfångst ändrats under åren? Hur? Vad tror du att har orsakat detta?

5. Do you meet much negativity from people who know you are a whale hunter? Please tell me examples of what you have experienced.

Bemöter människor dig fientligt då de får veta att du jobbar med valfångst? Berätta vad du har upplevt.

Environmental values

1. Do you think about “green values”, e.g. is recycling or protecting the environment important to you?

Tänker du mycket på så kallade gröna värden, t.ex återvinning eller miljöskydd?

Ajattelko paljon niin sanottuja vihreitä arvoja, esimerkiksi kierrättämistä tai luonnonsuojelua?

2. Do you belong to any environmental organizations?

Hör du till någon miljöorganisation?

Kuulutko johonkin luontojärjestöön?

3. Do you vote for “green parties”?

Röstar du för “gröna partier”?

Äänestätkö “vihreitä puolueita”?

4. Do you think whales are intelligent, socially sophisticated animals with advanced capacities for communicating?

Tror du att valarna är intelligenta och socialt sofistikerade djur med avancerad kapacitet för kommunikation?

Uskotko että valaat ovat älykkäitä ja sosiaalisesti hienostuneita eläimiä joilla on erittäin kehittyneet kommunikointikyvyt?

5. Do you think that whale watching and whaling as industries should be controlled in order to maintain a healthy economy?

Tycker du att valturism och valfångst som industrier borde kontrolleras för att upprätthålla en hälsosam ekonomi?

Pitäisikö mielestäsi valasmatkailua ja valaapyyntiä teollisuudenaloina valvoa terveen talouden säilymiseksi?

6. Do you think the balance of nature is very delicate and easily upset?

Tror du att naturbalansen är delikat och upprörs lätt?

Uskotko että luonnon tasapaino on herkkä ja helposti järkkävä?

7. Is humankind severely abusing the environment/whales?

Missbrukar människorna svårt naturen/ valarnat?

Väärinkäyttävätkö ihmiset luontoa/ valaita?

8. Are plants and animals on Earth primarily to be used by humans? Were humans created to rule over the rest of nature, e.g. whales?

Är växter och djur på Jorden främst för att utnyttjas av människor? Blev människan skapad för att härska över resten av naturen, t.ex. valar?

Ovatko kasvit ja eläimet maan päällä ihmisten käytettäviksi? Onko ihmiset luotu johtamaan muuta luontoa, esim.valaita?

APPENDIX C

James Higham's NEPDSP questionnaire

Please indicate the extent to which you agree/disagree with each of the following statements, using the scale provided. Circle one number only.

	Strongly Disagree		Neutral		Strongly agree
a) The balance of nature is very delicate and easily upset.	1	2	3	4	5
b) We are approaching the limit of the number of people the earth can support.	1	2	3	4	5
c) To maintain a healthy economy, we will have to develop a 'steady state' economy where industrial growth is controlled.	1	2	3	4	5
d) Humans must live in harmony with nature in order to survive.	1	2	3	4	5
e) Humankind is severely abusing the environment.	1	2	3	4	5
f) When humans interfere with nature, it often produces disastrous results.	1	2	3	4	5
g) Plants and animals exist primarily to be used by humans.	1	2	3	4	5
h) Humans have the right to modify the natural environment to suit their needs.	1	2	3	4	5
i) Humans were created to rule over the rest of nature.	1	2	3	4	5
j) The earth has limited room and resources.	1	2	3	4	5
k) Humans need not adapt to the natural environment because they can remake it to suit their needs.	1	2	3	4	5
l) There are limits to growth beyond which our industrialised society cannot expand.	1	2	3	4	5

Please indicate your opinion about the following statements. Circle one number only.

	Never	Sometimes	Often	Always
I use aerosol sprays	1	2	3	4
I actively recycle household items and waste at home	1	2	3	4
I conserve energy at home (e.g.: energy efficient fridge)	1	2	3	4
I use sustainable energy sources (e.g.: solar power)	1	2	3	4
I collect and recycle used paper (e.g.: newspapers)	1	2	3	4
I use phosphate free cleaning products	1	2	3	4
I refuse excess packaging when I buy products	1	2	3	4
I purchase organic produce when available	1	2	3	4
I purchase liquids in glass bottles that can be recycled	1	2	3	4
I reuse/recycle plastic bags	1	2	3	4
I recycle aluminium cans	1	2	3	4
I use public transportation instead of a car	1	2	3	4
I cycle instead of using motorised transportation	1	2	3	4
I use biodegradable packaging to plastic packaging	1	2	3	4
I actively pursue nature based activities during leisure/holiday time	1	2	3	4
I participate in conservation projects in my home area	1	2	3	4
Environmental issues influence my vote in political elections	1	2	3	4

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