INVESTIGATING THE BENEFITS AND IMPACTS OF TOURISM DEVELOPMENT FOR THE TL'AZT'EN FIRST NATION IN NORTHERN BRITISH COLUMBIA

by

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Abstract

This thesis is the result of the research that was completed with Tl'azt'en Nation. Tl'azt'en Nation partnered with the University of Northern British Columbia to form a Community University Research Alliance (CURA). This CURA project funded by the Social Science and Humanities Research Council of Canada (SSHRCC) allowed me to look at the benefits (positive) and impacts (negative) of tourism development for Tl'azt'en Nation and the issues surrounding the development of tourism in traditional Tl'azt'en territory.

The research for this project was developed with the assistance of the Tl'azt'en community, and various social science techniques were employed to gather data with these community members. Techniques included: tourism presentations, workshops and semi-structured interviews. Data gathered from the community members led to the discovery of new themes and community feelings that were unexpected at the outset of the research. The research showed that Tl'azt'en Nation is in favor of tourism development, yet additional elements also emerged throughout the community members' information sharing sessions. These alternate, unexpected elements showed that Tl'azt'en Nation community members are concerned about their culture, youth and elders. The work done in the community revealed that Tl'azt'en Nation is willing to develop tourism, but with the wish to protect and enhance their culture, youth and elders while doing so.

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Chapter One. Introduction

Indigenous tourism refers to tourism activities in which Indigenous peoples are directly involved either through direct control of the business (e.g., ownership and management) and/or by having their culture serve as the essence of the attraction (Butler and Hinch, 2007). Indigenous tourism is as worldwide phenomenon that has provided many positive benefits for Aboriginal people[1] including economic development, cultural revitalization, social exchange, and self-determination (Aboriginal Tourism Association of British Columbia, 2005). Increasingly, international tourists are looking to Canada for authentic cultural tourism experiences.

Although tourism may provide many benefits to Aboriginal people, it is not without its challenges or impacts (Butler & Hinch, 2007). Like any other industry there are costs in developing and operating a tourism business. Aboriginal communities examining the potential of tourism should consider that it may not be right for every community.

1.1 Aboriginal Tourism Industry

The Aboriginal tourism industry has enormous breadth from multi-million dollar casinos, wineries, and golf courses to single operator adventure tours. These tourism sites and developments provide economic, social, environmental and cultural benefits to the hosts and communities that are supporting those businesses (e.g., Cooke, 1982; Kreag, 2001; Mbaiwa; 2003, Ritchie & Inkari, 2006; Okazaki, 2008). However, Aboriginal tourism businesses can also result in significant negative impacts to communities, cultures and the environment (e.g., Allen et al., 1988; Faulkner & Tideswell, 1997; Kreag, 2001; Mbaiwa, 2003).

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[1] The Government of Canada states that persons with an Aboriginal identity includes those who reported being an Aboriginal person, that is, First Nations (North American Indian), Métis or Inuit and/or those who reported Registered or Treaty Indian status, that is registered under the Indian Act of Canada, and/or those who reported membership in a First Nation or Indian band (Statistics Canada, 2009). In this thesis, I use the term Aboriginal people/group or Indigenous people/group as the more common terms used internationally. The term First Nation is used when referring to specific identified First Nations within the study area e.g., Tl'azt'en Nation.

The World Tourism Organization has identified cultural tourism as one of the fastest growing sectors in the tourism industry (World Tourism Organization, 2001); Aboriginal tourism is a significant part of this growth. This upward trend is reflected in Canadian statistics more broadly, as well as within BC as there are many cultural tourism products offered across the country. In British Columbia, the Aboriginal tourism sector has been growing significantly with a 77% increase in overnight tourist visits with an Aboriginal tourism component in the last decade; a doubling of expenditures on Aboriginal related trip purchases and approximately 200 Aboriginal tourism businesses operating in the province (Williams and O'Neil, 2012).

In northern British Columbia, Aboriginal tourism offers various well-recognized and established attractions, including businesses that are owned, managed and focused specifically on Aboriginal culture such as the K'san Historical Village near Hazelton and the Kitselas Canyon National Historic Site in Terrace. Other tourism attractions such as Fort St James National Historic Park and the Hubble Homestead are prime examples of tourism products with a significant Aboriginal component, although neither site is directly managed or owned by Aboriginal people. There are also other smaller, more specialized Aboriginal tourism locations that are not as well established, such as the sporadically operated gift store at the Bednesti Lake Resort which is currently defunct. A number of other communities are in various stages of exploration and development of Aboriginal tourism, and there is widespread interest for new opportunities throughout British Columbia.

Not surprisingly, the growth in the development or interest in developing Aboriginal tourism attractions parallels the upward trend in demand. National and provincial demand studies have found that Aboriginal tourism is also one of the fastest growing sectors of the tourism industry (Aboriginal Tourism Association of British Columbia, 2005; Williams & O'Neil, 2012). Within Northern BC, studies of the broader visiting public have also found significant, untapped interest in Aboriginal culture, demonstrating that there is room for growth in the Aboriginal tourism market in the north (Kutzner, 2009).

1.2 Challenges

As with any kind of business development, there are a number of potential challenges that may impede business develop and sustainability. Lack of human capital, lack of tourism infrastructure, underdeveloped tourism sites, financial shortfalls, restricted access to tourism sites, and market volatility are just some of the issues that can hinder tourism development.

One of the key realities of the tourism industry is that tourism is "competitive and demanding, and can take years to get off the ground, and even people with considerable experience can fail to make a profit" (Kiss, 2005, p. 5). Tourism development of any kind is a difficult proposition. If the community wishing to develop tourism is small and isolated away from rubber tire traffic or transportation sources, the tourism development hill will be much harder to climb. If these same communities are facing limitations in resources such as financial capital and human capital, the tourism development hill becomes much steeper. Aboriginal communities often struggle with these issues along with additional issues of control, governance, limited alternative options and a host of social challenges.

Although there are potential economic gains from tourism-related development (Roget & Gonzalez, 2006; Stynes, 1998), tourism is not necessarily an economic panacea, particularly in rural and remote locations (Henrici, 1999). However, the potential economic benefits of tourism are often promoted in a non-critical way (Altman & Finlayson, 2003), such that communities may naively jump to this as the solution to their economic issues. So while tourism may provide economic opportunities for rural and resource-based communities (Roget & Gonzalez, 2006), communities should first undertake an in-depth look at their tourism options and community member interest in tourism.

1.3 Tl'azt'en Nation, UNBC and the CURA Project

One northern BC Aboriginal community exploring the potential for tourism development is Tl'azt'en Nation. Tl'azt'en Nation is located in the central interior of British Columbia approximately 140 kilometers north west of Prince George on the north shore of Stuart

Lake. Tl'azt'en Nation has a registered population of 1,552 people (Statistics Canada, 2009).

Tl'azt'en Nation community members are facing the same suite of community problems touched on earlier, but to their benefit, they have a long standing partnership with the University of Northern British Columbia (UNBC). Together they manage the John Prince Research Forest (JPRF) as a research and educational facility. Tied closely to the JPRF was the Tl'azt'en Nation-UNBC Community University Research Alliance (CURA) that ran from 2004 to 2009. The CURA partnership was established to:

> enhance the capacity of Tl'azt'en Nation to effectively engage in culturally and ecologically sustainable natural resource management, and to enhance the capacity of UNBC researchers and their students to effectively contribute to First Nation community needs through collaborative research.   (CURA, 2007)

CURA researchers from UNBC worked together with Tl'azt'enne in four areas (referred to as streams) to help the community facilitate sustainable natural resource management in their traditional lands: improved partnerships, traditional ecological knowledge, education, and ecotourism.

The purpose of the ecotourism stream was to explore the potential for development of tourism within the Tl'azt'en territory through exploring market potential (see Kutzner, 2009) and community perspectives on tourism (this thesis). Additional information was also being gathered by other researchers in the CURA project including work on traditional plant gathering sites (Shaw, 2009) and environmental monitoring practices (Yim, 2009) that could provide information useful to tourism planning

1.4 Research Purpose and Questions

As an Aboriginal person from the neighboring Nak'azdli First Nation I am interested in understanding and contributing to the study of Aboriginal tourism development in northern British Columbia. My research project focuses on exploring Tl'azt'en Nation

community interests and perspectives relating to the benefits and impacts of tourism development. More specifically, I explored:

- What benefits are Tl'azt'en Nation community members seeking from tourism and what impacts/costs do they want to avoid or are they willing to accept?

- What level, type and nature of involvement and type of interaction with tourism are Tl'azt'en Nation community members interested in pursuing? And how intensive is this interaction?

- How does the community want to approach issues of control as they relate to benefits/impacts of tourism?

1.5 Thesis Structure

This thesis is constructed of six chapters. Chapter Two, the literature review, provides an overview of benefits and impacts of tourism and other aspects relevant to community perspectives on tourism. Chapter Three provides a brief overview of the Tl'azt'en Nation community, the regional tourism context and current experience and opportunities with tourism. Methods are described in Chapter Four, specifically the use of qualitative techniques of in-depth interviews and community workshops. Chapter Five provides a description of research findings and interpretation of potential meanings associated with these findings, and Chapter Six summarizes the broad themes of the research and provides broad recommendations for future research and next steps for Tl'azt'en Nation regarding tourism development.

Chapter Two. Literature Review

Setting the stage for research into indigenous tourism I first review the benefits and impacts of tourism generally, and indigenous tourism specifically. The growing of indigenous tourism across the globe may offer lessons that may be relevant to Tl'azt'en Nation. Following this I provide an overview of issues related to the level, type, and nature of involvement in tourism. Finally, I examine issues related to control and management of the tourism development.

2.1 Benefits and Impacts of Tourism

The tourism industry has been identified as the largest industry on a global scale (Easterling, 2005). In 2010, international visitors made 15.9 million overnight trips to Canada, contributing $29.7 billion, or 2% of the Canadian Gross Domestic Product (CTC, 2010). The potential for economic returns (Altman & Finlayson, 2003; Smith, 2005) seems to make the development of a tourism economy worth considering. Although the positives of tourism are readily apparent (Morris, 1997; Tooman, 1997) the negative impacts of tourism may not be as easily seen (Korovkin, 1998; Kreag, 1997; Tovar & Lockwood, 2008). There are numerous types of benefits and impacts (see Table 1) that could affect communities engaged in tourism (Altman & Finlayson; 2003; Faulkner & Tideswell, 1997; Grunewald, 2002; Johnston, 2006; Kreag, 2001; Mbaiwa, 2003; Smith, 2005). Any community developing tourism will need to look at specific benefits and impacts that could affect them.

Overview of benefits

The benefits of tourism can be felt on multiple levels, including the national, community and individual level. Benefits can include more income, improved infrastructure, and higher standards of living. On a national scale tourism can contribute a substantial amount to the economy of a country. In Australia the income from selling arts, crafts, and souvenir products has generated $200 million on an annual basis (Zeppel, 1998).

On a community level, the benefits of tourism such as jobs, improved infrastructure, and community pride are well documented (Altman & Finlayson, 2003; Ap & Crompton; 1998; Beeton, 1998; Dowling & Fennell, 2003; Faulkner & Tideswell, 1997; Kreag; 2001). Moving from a community level to an individual level, these benefits can range from acquiring the accoutrements of modern living, such as televisions, cars and the like to the reclaiming of identity and culture (Medina, 2003). Some of the key benefits are the issues of increased income and standard of living, the revitalization of culture and art forms, the creation of new business opportunities and employment, and the reconnection with one's culture.

Employment and income

Tourism has the ability to provide jobs, and in many areas, it has become the leading source of income and development (Berghe & Ocha, 2000). The income gained from tourism can increase the overall standard of living, and even elevate the social standing of Aboriginal community members. One example is the Pataxo of Brazil. The Pataxo indigenous peoples are highly regarded for their ability to bring tourists to the area, and because of this, the Pataxo enjoy distinctive status in the region and enjoy a higher standard of living (Grunewald, 2002). On an indivdual level, residents on the Cradle Coast region in northwest Australia feel that tourism leads to better shopping, and public facilities, and provides more recreational opportunities for community members (Tovar & Lockwood, 2008).

Table 1. List of Aboriginal Tourism Benefits & Impacts; *Italicized Points* are discussed in further detail.

Benefits	Impacts
Quality of life • *Contributes to income and standard of living* • *Rebuilds communities* • Upward mobility, raised social (and political) status • Fosters social well-being and social stability • Better standard of service by shops, restaurants and other services • Improve area appearance **Community** • *Preservation and revitalization of local culture, heritage and traditional art forms* • Preservation of natural environments • Preservation of historic buildings • Authenticity **Economic** • *Creates new business opportunities* • *Increases local employment* • Builds partnerships • Allows new partnerships with neighbors and businesses **Culture** • *Reconnecting with culture* • Cultural revival • Sharing culture and heritage • Preservation of culture • Promotion of cross-cultural understanding **Intrinsic** • Satisfaction of psychological needs • Sense of pride • Preservation of family ties • Assistance in purging stereotypical image of Aboriginal people Appreciation of ethnic identity • Greater tolerance of social differences	**Quality of life** • *Abandonment of traditional occupations to participate in tourist activity* • Marginalization of indigenous participation in tourism industry • Increase in cost of living • Seasonal low-wage jobs • Feeling of loss of control over community future **Culture** • *Commodification and commercialization of culture* • Displacement of local cultures by tourism development • *Cultural drift (acculturation)* • Tourist opposition to aspects of culture (e.g. hunting, slash-burn agriculture) **Physical** • *Loss of natural landscape* • *Exclusion of locals from natural resources* • Site deterioration • Pollution • Disruption of wildlife patterns • Increased pressure on infrastructure **Intrinsic** • *Community animosity towards each other* • Intra-generational and gender conflicts • Exploitation • Selling marginality • Increased crime, prostitution Cultural voyeurism

Sources: Altman &Finalayson, 2003; Faulkner & Tideswell, 1997; Grunewald, 2002; Johnston, 2006; Kreag, 2001; Mbaiwa, 2003; Smith, 2005

Reconstruction of community capital and capacity

Tourism can serve as a tool to improve community communication and information capacity. In the case of the Otavalo Indians in Northern Ecuador, development of a tourism industry helped to improve and rebuild the community. The increased interest in the wares produced for tourists led the community into action to improve their infrastructure. The overall condition of the roads in the community were the most significant change, but a new running water system and schools were also built (Korovkin, 1998).

Goodwin & Santilli (2009) looked at 15 various community based tourism ventures and found that 14 of the 15 "resulted in an improvement in community assets, ranging from road improvements to classical music lessons" (Goodwin & Santilli, 2009, p. 28). In addition to the physical infrastructure that can be built to meet the needs of tourists and locals, tourism can help to rebuild the human capacity and skills within the local population by encouraging "specialized education in such fields as communications, catering, hospitality, transportation and management skills" (Lee & Chang, 2008, p 2).

Preservation and revitalization of local culture, heritage and traditional art forms

Tourism benefits are more far reaching than simple dollars and cents. Tourists calling for a specific type or brand of art or culture can help a community identify a need. The community can then work to strengthen that aspect and rejuvenate a portion of the culture that may have been disappearing (Carter & Beeton, 2004). For example, Berghe & Ocha (2000) showed how tourist demand for homespun fabric has stimulated traditional weaving and Kneafsey (2001) showed that tourism aids in the restoration and construction of buildings and streetscapes.

Goodwin & Santilli (2009) looked at the 100% community-owned Bum Hill Community Campsite in Namibia, Africa. They found that "the lodge project has catalyzed the creation of new cultural skills and institutions in these indigenous communities" (Goodwin & Santilli, 2009, p. 33). In their example, local workers earned a respected salary in their community with the work they completed in tourism.

Cultural revitalization is perhaps best epitomized by the work of Grunewald (2002), who documented the experience of the Pataxo program of cultural revival, showing how "their dance and music are constantly updated...to revive their old traditions" (p. 1007) as well as "songs sung in a new version of their language under an updating process" (p. 1009). The Pataxo have shown clearly that tourism can have an uplifting effect on the culture of a society.

Creation of new business opportunities

New business opportunities abound in tourism, from Aboriginal groups developing their own brand of ecotourism such as the aforementioned Pataxo (Grunewald, 2002) to new ventures being developed in rural areas. An example of this includes a jet boat business which is operated by an Aboriginal owner. The Cariboo Chilcotin Jetboat Adventures (Personal Communication, 2007) offers tours of the Fraser River with interpretative guides who showcase the local Aboriginal culture and tell stories of the local peoples.

In the rural areas in Panama, ecotourism development is growing and new tourism developments are helping to combat Indigenous poverty rates which are "twice as high as in non-indigenous rural areas and rising" (Klytchnikova & Dorosh, 2009, p. 1). They further note the ripple effect of tourism dollars and how this influx helps to alleviate some of the financial pressures of Panamanian residents, and how the creation of new business has helped increase the employment rate for the area.

Increased local employment

Tourism development can also serve to increase employment for local community members. For example, tourism employment in Cuzco, Peru includes "hundreds of craftsmen-probably thousands including their spouses and children-produce artifacts" (Berghe & Ocha, 2000, p. 22). This example of small business development and self-employment is only one area of employment for those involved in tourism. Government and tourism agencies are other potential employers. In Australia the Multi-Function Polis Development Corporation "employs an Aboriginal person to help develop Aboriginal tourism ventures in the state" (Zeppel, 1998, p. 25). These examples show tourism provides jobs with both a small-scale and in large corporations.

Preservation and revitalization of local culture

The experience of colonialization for many Aboriginal peoples has resulted in a loss of or disconnection from, traditional culture (Johnston, 2006). Tourism can be a mechanism to allow a community to develop a "growing pride in Aboriginal heritage and identity" (Zeppel, 1998, p. 23), as well as to "revitalize those elements of Aboriginal culture [especially art, music and dance forms] which have tourist appeal" (Zeppel, 1998, p. 23). Tourism can also allow community members to rediscover their indigenous roots. Berghe & Ochoa (2000) showed that tourist presence gives value to the *incanismo,* which they define as the "reverence for the Inca past and for all aspects of indigenous culture" in a tangible (and) commercial way, and validates and reinforces the ideology itself (p. 1).

In the Central Interior of British Columbia near Williams Lake, the development of the Xat'sull Heritage Village has led to community members reconnecting with their culture. The site offers guided tours, crafts and workshops and sweats. Portions of the site such as teepees imported from Alberta have been developed for marketing purposes and are not an accurate historical representation of the Aboriginal dwellings of the area, but the teepees help the site attract tourists which keep the site operational. This in turn helps the local community members learn more about their past. Mike Stinson, a guide at the site stated: "In the long run, this site became a way for us to learn about our culture and rebuild it for ourselves and our children... Some of us grew up with this site, and our young people have learned so much" (Haynes, 2011, retrieved from website, March, 2012). The advantages of reconnecting with lost cultural practices may indeed be one of the best paybacks of tourism.

Overview of impacts

However positive the benefits of tourism may be, the negative impacts must also be looked at, even though these impacts may not be as easy to see or accept. A number of studies have been conducted on the impacts of tourism and the corresponding effects on Aboriginal communities that are developing or have developed tourism in their traditional territories (Boo, 1990; Chanchani, 2009; 2002; Nepal, 2002; Verner, 2009). While impacts vary for each individual community, they can include commodification, community animosity, cultural drift, and degradation of the natural landscape. Negative

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cultural impacts range from the shifting of personal views on identity, to the erosion of local social and economic traditions and the rituals of the community (Medina, 2003). Along with socio-cultural impacts there are frequently ecological impacts from tourism. Impacts are felt more by indigenous people due to their innate ties to the earth. They are affected by adverse changes to vegetation, wildlife, water and air quality (Silva & McDill, 2004). This innate tie to the earth makes the job of indigenous tourism development more difficult, as the impacts from tourism development not only affect the land, but the culture of the people. The negative impacts associated with ecotourism development are often under-estimated by the host community (Caldicott & Fuller, 2005). This in part, may be the result of a lack of research on the negative impacts of tourism (Tovar & Lockwood, 2008).

Abandonment of traditional occupations to participate in tourism

Abandonment of traditional occupations has occurred in many indigenous cultures. In the case of the Otavalo peoples of Ecuador, the indigenous people transitioned from producing traditional goods for their own use to manufacturing items for tourist consumption. The traditional ways of the Otavalo slowly developed into new ways that were developed to suit the needs of the tourists (Korovkin, 1998). Due to this, the Otavalo are now struggling to reconnect with their culture.

On the Greek island of Ios, the local population has moved away from fishing and traditional food consumption and preparation to tourism based jobs (Dana, 1999), and this has left visitors and locals wondering where the traditional culture of the island has gone. Similarly, tourism development in India has progressed at a rampant pace, and many people living in rural areas have "lost their land, as well as the traditional occupations, access to resources and cultural identity" (Chanchani, 2009, p. 4). A rapid increase in tourism development can either entice or force locals to change, but as they move to new occupations, their culture may suffer.

Commodification and commercialization of culture

Commodification can be defined as the process by which things are either treated as, or made in a commodity that is "to be bought and sold or to be used in selling something

else" (Webster, 2000 p. 127). More specifically, touristic commodization is the offering of cultural products and practices for money such that the economic exchange modifies the original form, use or value of the product or practice (Medina, 2003). Tourists "can work as catalysts to speed up cultural changes, or act as inhibitors attempting" to fossilize culture (Holden, 2005 p. 152). The role of the tourist in a host society is always in a state of flux and, therefore, adds more complexity to tourism commodification.

In Peru, the Cuzco peoples face the challenge of commodization. Criticized for becoming too commercial, tourist demand for cultural products has been accused of promoting the decay of local crafts to the level of airport art (Berghe & Ocha, 2000). The Cuzco community is caught in a commodization web, answering to the call of the tourist. "The choice for the Cuzco has become a Hobson's choice, as for the most part, tourists discourage other forms of art by choosing to buy cheap souvenirs. Thus, commercialization of those items became fundamental" (Grunewald, 2002, p. 1014).

Loss of natural landscape
The negative ecological impacts of tourism such as overcrowding, overdevelopment, noise pollution, litter, and overcrowded roads can be extensive (Andereck et al., 2005; Chanchani, 2009; Tovar & Lockwood, 2008; World Tourism Organization, 2001). Negative impacts on the natural landscape have pronounced consequences that are easily seen by locals and tourists alike. While community members may become accustomed to tourism development and even accept the loss of landscape as a cost of doing business (Faulkner & Tideswell, 1997), tourists to the area might not be as inclined to accept the altered landscape. Berghe and Ocha (2000) reported that tourists felt that Cuzco looks 'touristy' and many tourists would prefer to be in a more pristine area.

Chanchani (2009) listed many examples of tourism in India that have had a negative effect on the ecological systems of the country. These effects included the disappearance of sand dunes and beaches and the erosion of traditional tribal areas. Once the current traditional areas are lost, they may never be regained.

Exclusion of locals from natural resources

Tourism development can, in places, result in the exclusion of local peoples from specific areas. This exclusion can be direct (e.g., with gated communities or resorts) or indirect (e.g., creating economic barriers or transport barriers to access areas). In Goa, India, tourism development has slowly evolved since the 1960's in the coastal area, and resorts in the area have "restricted public access to the beach" (Chanchani, 2009, p. 3). Local community members have begun public interest litigation against the resorts. Displacement or exclusion from natural resources is likely to cause animosity within the community.

Development of animosity among Community Members

As a community becomes negatively impacted by tourism development, conflict from the stress of community change can arise (Carter & Beeton 2004). Host areas may feel that tourism development is not worth the effort and conflicts between community members can develop (Robinson, 1999). These cultural conflicts, while being offset by the ability of tourism to bring economic welfare to the people, may come at too high a cost. Animosity within the community coupled with the loss or degradation of environmental capital can causes rifts and tension within the host community. The "failure to see that environment and culture mean something more than a manageable, tradable resource is a major stumbling block for the tourism industry" (Robinson, 1999, p. 15).

Cultural drift

Cultural drift refers to the shift in cultural products or practices. In contrast to a mere evolution of these products and practices, cultural drift is often viewed negatively resulting from a shift in tourist demand for specific aspect of a cultural product. One example is mask carving (Carter & Beeton, 2004). As tourists buy more masks, other aspects of cultural expression may decline. More time is spent making masks, and less time may be given to activities such as hunting and fishing. The hunting or fishing aspect of their culture may become neglected as the focus shifts to carving. Aspects of the culture are then defined by what is most desirable to the tourist, and not by community direction; thus the culture of the community drifts solely based on outsider input. The members of the Tl'azt'en Nation have experienced cultural drift firsthand; however, it

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was not the tourism industry that moved them away from their traditional fishing practices. As the community members moved to work in the logging industry, the knowledge of how to set fish weirs and fish under the ice slowly disappeared (Personal Communication 11, 2006). Community members need to consider situations like this as they consider the option of developing tourism.

2.2 Level, Type, and Nature of Involvement in Tourism Development for Community Members

Community members looking to be involved in tourism development should consider the level, type and nature of involvement they will want to deal with in developing tourism. Community members have the discretion to be involved in these areas on their own terms, depending on such things as time, energy and passion for the tourism development process.

Hinch (2001, p. 354) notes that:

> If ecotourism activities are occurring within indigenous territories then indigenous people should be involved. Although the level and nature of their involvement may be negotiated between stakeholders the ultimate decision as to whether to proceed with the ecotourism initiative should remain with the hosts.

The level of involvement for community members can range from not being involved to being involved in every aspect of development and delivery of the product.

The type of involvement can also vary for community members. They can be financial backers and be actively involved in the day to day dealings of the development or they can be silent partners, only expecting a percentage of the financial success. They can be backstage suppliers to the tourism venture, electing to opt out from interaction with tourists, or they can also work behind the scenes as bookkeepers, accountants, suppliers, or craftspeople creating goods to be sold to tourists.

Obviously, community members who have experience within the tourism industry would most likely play a larger role. They may even be called upon by other community members to act as town champions or spokespeople. It would make sense that these

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people who have this capacity lead or advise the progression of tourism development. Regardless of how community members are involved in the development of tourism, their involvement must be related to the benefits and impacts that they will see as tourism develops in their traditional territory.

2.3 Control

Many Aboriginal tourism definitions include the word 'control' or refer to it as an activity that at least is partially 'owned' by Aboriginal people. An example is given by Butler and Hinch, two experienced tourism researchers, who defined Aboriginal tourism as: a tourism activity in which Indigenous people are directly involved either through control and/or by having their culture serve as the essence of the attraction (2007).

Control in indigenous tourism, however, refers not just to the issue of who owns/manages the tourism business but the broader issues of controlling and managing all of the various elements that go into developing and offering a tourism business. This includes aspects such as:

- Land: who owns, who is recognized as owning, who controls use?
- Decision makers: who decides whether or not to have tourism? Does the 'community' have other options?
- Regulations: beyond land per se, who governs who uses resources or businesses, who permits (formal and through social contract)?
- Finance: who has it, who can access it, what strings are attached, how must it be accounted for?
- Broader tourism context: who regulates or has the mechanisms for how to get folks to the product?

Control of tourism development will allow Tl'azt'en Nation to determine how to make the venture sustainable and it will also allow them to determine what their payback from tourism will be. As stated by Colton (2005):

> Tourism development, like other development strategies, has been perceived by Indigenous peoples, like the Woodland Cree First Nation, as having the ability to provide both economic benefits in addition to the much sought after benefits associated with cultural continuity and autonomy over traditional resources (Colton, 2005).

If Tl'azt'en Nation wants the benefits of tourism development, the community should set the control parameters so they know what to expect in return for tourism development. They should look at how they will gain and/or maintain community control while establishing tourism in their traditional territory and preserving their closeness to the earth.

Policies and procedures can be implemented for governance of the tourism development on a macro level and can also be the guiding principles for the tourism development. These levels of controls should relate to the goals of the community and assist the members in attaining their goals (Backman et al., 2004). An example of macro policy and procedures helping an indigenous tourism venture exists in Australia. The Camp Coorang Race Relations and Cultural Education Center is a tourism business that has set a macro level control policy that aims to "put education and love and understanding first...We're not doing this to get rich – we're doing it to solve a problem" (Higgins-Desbiolles, 2006, p. 9). This large overarching policy sets the direction and control of how the center is to rebuild indigenous-white relations in Australia by offering cultural tours and indigenous education.

Micro level controls can also be established with individual owners and operators that are working in the tourism business. Micro level controls can include such things as hiring a percentage of indigenous employees or electing to exclude sacred or traditional areas from tours (Higgins-Desbiolles, 2006). The Pataxo indigenous people are controlling their involvement with tourists by developing ecotourism trails and setting specific areas for thatched huts to sell wares to the tourists (Grunewald, 2002).

Colton (2005), when researching the Woodland Cree First Nation in Alberta, noted another method that Aboriginal communities could use to install control over tourism development in their traditional lands. The Woodland Cree First Nation purchased the existing lodges and controls other commercial ventures (air charters) in the area. The control over the commercial ventures puts the Woodland Cree First Nation "in a better

position to gain even greater control over their land, especially if at some point they make the decisions to make a land claim" (Colton, 2005, p. 199).

The communities micro and macro controls can be tied to the level of involvement, which in turn can be based on how comfortable the community feels with being involved in tourism and how much of the community will be accessible to tourists. Communities may wish to develop a staged Aboriginal culture show like the event at the Polynesian Cultural Center, or they may choose to allow tourists full access to their reserves and traditional lands or they may want to restrict access. Community members will also need to be aware that their level of involvement will also evolve as the tourism venture progresses through the tourism life cycle[2] (Butler, 1980). Their decision on this front stage/back stage choice is an issue that will need to be determined before the tourism development is undertaken, so they can determine if allowing access equals community member involvement.

Some communities may have the advantage of choosing their level of involvement, but this is not the case with all Aboriginal groups. The Otavalo Indians of Northern Ecuador were forced by the growing numbers of tourists to adapt to the growing commodization and mechanization of their indigenous weaving industry. The Otavalo community did not have a choice in controlling their tourism role, but they have worked to mitigate the effects and take back some control with community groups and co-ops (Korovkin, 1998). While the benefits and impacts of the change have affected their community, they have begun to assert control over their current and future investments in tourism.

This literature review provided a background on work that has been completed by other scholar and indigenous peoples in tourism development. It also gave me insight about my research questions. The literature points out the benefits and impacts of tourism, as well as the level, type and nature of involvement in tourism development. The last portion of the literature review investigated various potential research and data gathering methods

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[2] The Tourism Area Life Cycle (TALC) proposed by Richard Butler in 1980, is that a destination follows a progression of stages: exploration, involvement, development, consolidation, stagnation, and finally continued stagnation, rejuvenation or decline.

that may be considered. In the case study that follows, we will look more closely at the Tl'azt'en Nation territory, their economic situation and the tourism picture.

Chapter Three. Case Study: Tourism Opportunities for Tl'azt'en Nation

Members of the Tl'azt'en Nation are known as the "people of the edge of the bay" (Coull, 1996, p. 45). They are members of the Dakelh or Carrier First Nations located in the central interior of British Columbia (see Figure 1). The Dakelh people and their traditional territory are located predominately around Prince George. As Europeans came into the area and the reserve system of land holdings was established the Dakelh people, Tl'azt'en Nation members included, moved from a semi nomadic lifestyle to a more sedentary one. The economic base of the Dakelh also changed, moving from hunting, fishing, and trapping to more resource-based endeavors such as logging as their mobility decreased and their need for cash increased. With the current downturn in worldwide economic conditions as well as the infestation of the Mountain Pine Beetle, Tl'azt'en Nation members are looking for ways to diversify their economic base. Tourism within their traditional territory is one of the considerations for this diversification, and Tl'azt'en Nation members have taken steps to begin to explore the potential for tourism.

3.1 Tl'azt'en Nation Territory Overview

Jenness, in his writings about the Sekani[3] people, described the seasonal movements of the Dakelh people:

> The seasonal character of the food supply and the habits of the fish and animals greatly affected the daily life of the Indians. They compelled the various bands to move from one fishing or hunting ground to another as soon as the first began to slacken in its yield. (Jenness, 1977, p. 378)

As European settlers came into the area, they labeled the Dakelh "Carriers" for their habit of carrying the bones of the dead with them as they traveled:

> The widow of a deceased warrior used to pick up from among the ashes of the funeral pyre the few charred bones which would escape the ravages of fire and carry them on her back in a leathern satchel-hence the name of the tribe. (Morice, 1978, p. 34)

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[3] Sekani is the European word used to describe the area north of the Da'kelh people. It is quite common for Da'kelh people to say they are Carrier Sekani people.

Figure 1. Map of the Central Interior of British Columbia showing the Dakelh Territory.
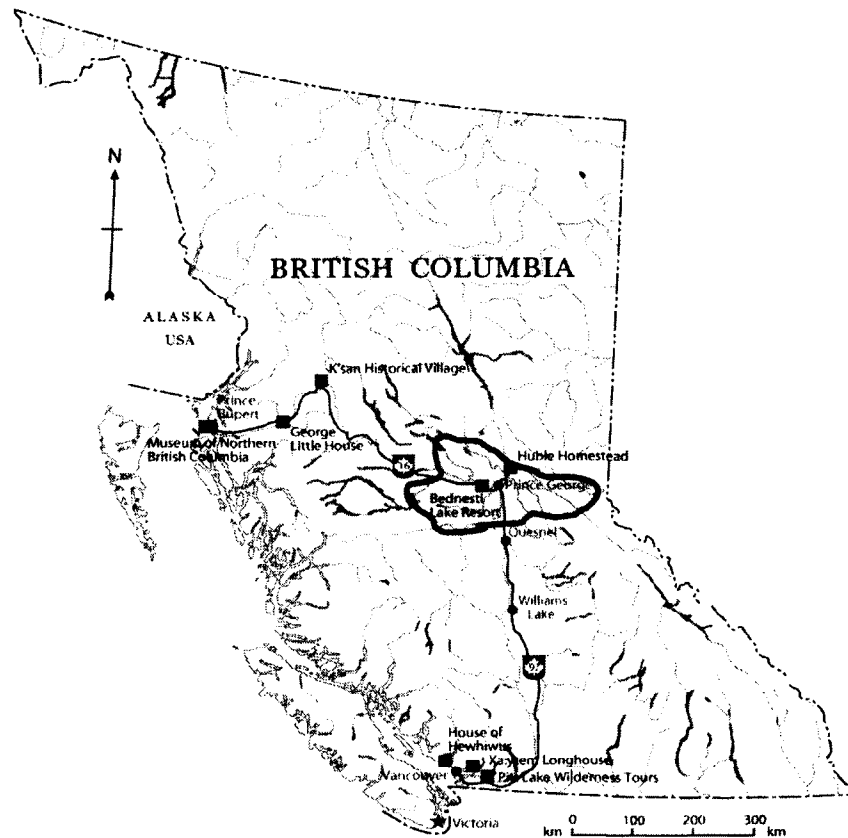
(CURA, 2007)

Tl'azt'en Nation (see Figure 2) is located in the central interior of British Columbia near the community of Fort St. James. The traditional territory of the Tl'azt'en Nation is typical of the central interior of BC. The vegetation is a mix of Lodgepole pine, Douglas fir and aspen forests which lie within the Nechako Plateau. The climate of Fort St. James consists of long, cold winters with short, cool summers. The average temperature is 2.5 °C, with a range of -26 °C to +28 °C. Average annual precipitation is equal to 275 cm yr., with 200 cm falling as snow. On average, 10 cm of precipitation falls between June and August (Environment Canada, 2004).

The reserves of Tache and Binche are the two main settlements for the Tl'azt'en Nation. Although the Middle River reserve is also included in the Tl'azt'en traditional territory, it

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is mostly a seasonal reserve. Currently, Tache is listed by Indian and Northern Affairs Canada at 817.4 hectares, and Binche is listed at 373 hectares. In 2009, the Tl'azt'en Nation had a registered population of 1,552 people (Statistics Canada, 2009), while

Figure 2. Map of Tl'azt'en Nation Territory near Fort St James in the Central Interior of British Columbia.
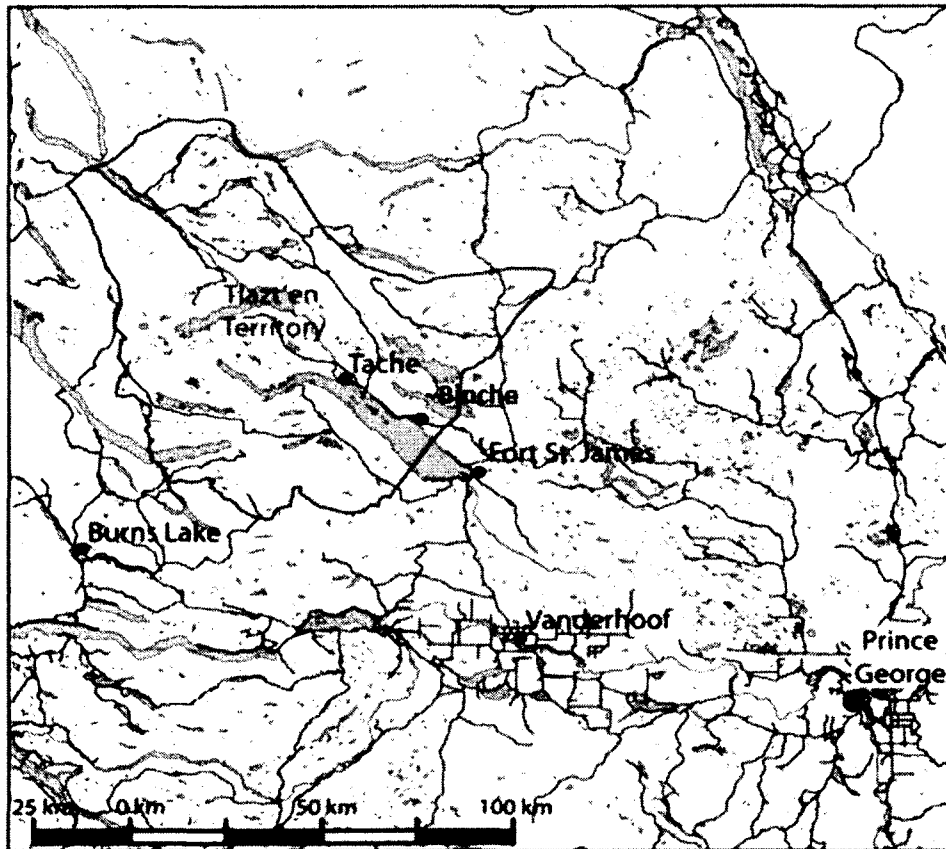
(CURA, 2007)

Statistics Canada states that 375 people lived on the Tache reserve (Statistics Canada, 2009) and 110 people lived on the Binche reserve (Statistics Canada, 2009), with the remaining people living off-reserve.

3.2 Tl'azt'en Nation Past and Current Experiences with Tourism

The traditional economic base for indigenous people was hunting, fishing and trapping (Union of BC Indian Chiefs, 2005). In the past, the area now within the Binche Indian

Reserve served as a docking point on Stuart Lake for hunters and trappers en route down the lake to Fort St. James. The creek delta located in the south end of the reserve used to host a hotel and small trading post (Tl'azt'en Community member, Personal Communication 12, 2006).

"[T]here was a lodge on the island and my father use to work there and he would bring some of the tourists home to look at the crafts and stuff [sic]" (Tl'azt'en Community Member, Personal Communication 17, 2006). In the more recent past, a number of community members worked in the tourism industry in the area. Prior to 2000, community members also worked within the reserve boundaries running craft shops. Other community members have worked selling beadwork and crafts outside of the Tl'azt'en Nation territory (Tl'azt'en Community Member, Personal Communication 7, 2006). Some community members have been employed in the neighboring town of Fort St. James at the National Historic Park as well as at hotels and motels in the area. Within the last few years, a few community members who work with the youth of Tl'azt'en Nation have led youth on outdoor trips. The community member responsible for the youth camping trips has expressed interest in running the same type of outings and tours for tourists.

Other potential tourism facilities and services operated by Tl'azt'en community members include a small convenience store operating on the Binche Reserve, an Elders centre, a smoke house and a canoe building project on the Tache Reserve. On an annual basis, the community of Tache hosts cultural days which include traditional smokehouses, canoe carvings, and drum making. The cultural days are well-attended by community members, and the celebrations provide an excellent opportunity for Tache community members to showcase their talents.

Within the surrounding co-managed John Prince Research Forest (JPRF), there are a number of developed tourism attractions or potential attractions. The small, rustic Cinnabar resort that serves primarily as a home for researchers also caters to a small clientele of anglers and hunters as well as hosting Tl'azt'en Nation youth camps and retreats. Recent upgrades to the facilities include the establishment of a water and sewage

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system, a new cookhouse and shower facility and a combination solar and wind power system. However, financial constraints in operating the JPRF due to current timber prices mean that the resort has not always been actively open in the last few years. In the recent past, however, Tl'azt'en community members, through the JPRF, have engaged in a number of capacity building projects including the development of a trail system, and the construction of a modern day interpretation of a traditional pithouse. Although these attractions are in need of maintenance, the infrastructure is in place.

Individually, some community members have undertaken their own tourism development initiatives. For example, community member Paul Williams has developed a trail and several small cabins on his Keyoh[4] to the north of the JPRF near Trembleur Lake. The trail links several small cabins along a route that leads to the peak of Tarnezell Mountain. Williams plans to upgrade the current trail system with improvements to the cabins and to the trail itself. He plans on offering tours and cabin rentals to hikers who wish to make the mountain ascent (Personal Communication, 2007). Unfortunately, bureaucratic red tape with the Ministry of Forests, a lack of business training, and vandalism to his cabins have hindered, but not halted, Williams's tourism development plans. As of July 2008, he was still working on completing the necessary Ministry of Forests paperwork for his trail system, and building new cabins in spite of the vandalism to his existing structures (Personal Communication, 2008).

Vince Prince from neighbouring Nak'azdli First Nation developed a successful tour company that operated in the neighboring Nak'azdli territory. He offered water and land-based tours throughout the area with a "hands-on" approach allowing tour members to participate in various First Nation food gathering practices. The success of his business was based on high quality customer service and the uniqueness of providing the only First Nation cultural tours in the area (Personal Communication, 2007). Mr. Prince has since ceased offering tours, citing a heavy workload, difficulties with purchasing insurance, and the associated stresses of operating a tourism business.

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[4] Keyoh is a traditional, clan based territory that parallels trap lines.

Another Nak'azdli member, Sharon Bird, opened and operated a handicraft store in the community of Fort St James. Tezzeron Resort, located immediately adjacent to the John Prince Research Forest Cinnabar Resort, offers camping and cabin rentals to tourists throughout the year. This resort was recently purchased by Tl'azt'en Nation, and at this time is not being actively marketed.

3.3 Regional Tourism Context

The surrounding area of the central interior of BC offers a number of tourism products such as downhill and Nordic skiing, wilderness tours, hiking and mountain biking trails, a national historic site, provincial parks, fishing and hunting lodges, and campgrounds:

> The main tourism potential lies in the vast range of outdoor opportunities possible on the relatively accessible Nechako Plateau with its almost 1,000 fish-bearing lakes and streams. In 2004, the forest recreation sites saw 22,000 user days and many locals have recreation properties or homes on nearby lakes. (stuartnechako.ca, 2008)

These abundant outdoor tourism opportunities also coincide with the area's "wealth of cultural and historical highlights" (hellobc.com, 2008). These rich outdoor and cultural assets could act as the draw for tourists, and set the foundation of visitors that Tl'azt'en Nation could market to in order to develop their smaller tourism businesses.

One of the dominant tourism sites in the summer months is the Fort St. James National Historic Park operated by Parks Canada. The Stuart Lake Post, as it was originally called, was established in 1806 as a fur trade post (Personal Communication, 2008). The National Historic Park is now a fully restored Hudson's Bay Company Post that offers tours of the wooden buildings with costumed interpreters working in the gardens and buildings. The National Historic Park attracts a range of guests with 6,125 independent visitors touring the park in 2005 (Personal Communication, 2008). This attraction reflects the potential mix of cultural and natural features that are of interest to tourists.

3.4 Challenges to Tourism Development

Although tourism is present within the local area, there are some aspects that limit the number of visitors to the area. The Fort St James/Nak'azdli district is located 54 km north of Highway 16 and has only one paved road, which decreases the amount of rubber tire

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traffic passing through the communities. The Tl'azt'en Nation reserves of Tache and Binche are located further north along Stuart Lake, which decreases again the amount of traffic that visits these areas. The Tache reserve is literally at the end of the road, as Tache Road which leads to the reserve terminates in what is known as Old Tache. The local area, while undeniably beautiful, is perhaps lacking in features or infrastructure that could serve as a major draw for tourists.

Chapter Four. Methodology

The purpose of the research project was to explore Tl'azt'en Nation community interests and perspectives relating to the benefits and impacts of tourism development, and was explored by using a mix of in-depth interviews and community meetings and discussions. Setting the stage for a discussion of the specific methods I utilized is a broader review of the applicability of various data gathering approaches in the cultural context of Aboriginal communities.

4.1 Data Gathering in Aboriginal Communities

The exploration of community benefits and impacts has challenges and issues associated with data gathering. Research in Aboriginal communities can be difficult and fraught with problems (Fondahl, *et al,* 2009). Social science research is based on human interaction and because of this data collection becomes inherently more difficult. Challenges faced in gathering data include community involvement, depth of data gathered, and knowledge levels of participants. These challenges are amplified in an aboriginal setting, and various techniques need to be employed to overcome the hurdles to gathering data.

The challenge of gathering data in aboriginal communities is difficult due to the fact that the community members may not be in the community on a full time basis. Community members spend time on the land, hunting and fishing to gather food. Community members may be difficult to reach, and it would seem that relaying information to the community members is more difficult than when working in urban areas. This in all probability stems from the fact that urban areas are more likely to include phone service and or internet service. The difficulty in meeting and interviewing community members for interviews seems to link to amount of data gathered. Additionally, the knowledge levels of the community members need to be adequate for rich data gathering and meaningful interactions between the researchers and subjects. These challenges were overcome by using a mixed method approach to data gathering.

Researchers studying the benefits and impacts of tourism have employed a range of different techniques. Nepal (2002) reported on issues in tourism development in the Tl'azt'en Nation. He used interviews seeking information on what tourism could bring to the community and the benefits gained from tourism. The interviews involved almost all community members, but data gathered was more of an overview of the issues than a detailed examination of them.

Bleasdale and Tapsell (1999) conducted work over a five year period that included surveys, fieldwork, interviews, and conversations with local residents, tourists, tourism employees, and government officials. In their work in Tozeur region in Southern Tunisia, they researched the feelings and attitudes of community members, and their research methods had a profound impact on the researchers. As well, they engaged all members of the research team with community members in two way dialogues and learning.

In Taylor, British Columbia, MacDonald and Vaugeois (2006) used focus groups and community meetings to gather information on issues, gather ideas and give data back to the community. Their methods helped foster new ideas for tourism development and provided an impetus to future community meetings.

Semi-structured Interviews

In completing my work with community members, the specific methods that were used included semi-structured interviews, questionnaires, and focus groups. The semi-structured interview is an effective tool for potential application in communities due to the fact that this type of interview is not as rigid or formal as a standard interview, yet offers more structure than open interviews. Components of the semi-structured interview include the following considerations:

- Interview tool may offer various levels of structure,
- Questions may be reordered during the interview,
- Wording of the questions is flexible,
- Level of language may be adjusted,

- Interviewer may answer questions posed by the interviewer and make clarifications,
- Interviewer may add or delete prose to interview between subsequent subjects

(Berg, 2004)

This flexibility provides a sound foundation for discussing the topics to be covered, and allows gaining insight into events, opinions, and views that are of concern to both the interviewer and interviewee (Hay, 2005). This flexibility may prove useful. I have found being an Aboriginal person myself, when speaking or working with other Aboriginal people, it is best to let the conversation flow and look for answers than to ask rigid, short to the point questions.

Questionnaires

Questionnaires are a useful tool for structured data gathering from a group of individuals that are presumed to be a sample of the broader population (McGuirk & O'Neill, 2005). As with all data gathering methods, questionnaires have strengths and weaknesses. They offer a cost-effective way to sample the population and can provide useful insights to the overall theme or feelings of the group. The disadvantages of questionnaires include a potential detachment from the interview subjects and the potential limiting of deeper or more intense thoughts from the subjects from being easily discussed.

Focus Groups

The focus group research technique is used to gather rich information in a somewhat social setting that allows participants to express their views while interacting with participants (Patton, 1990). This method also helps to facilitate quality control for information gathered, as it tends to provide balance throughout the group, and qwells extreme views (Patton, 1990). The checks and balances combined with "a more in-depth understanding of the target's perspectives or opinions" (Edmunds, 1999, p. 6) allows the focus group to provide the researcher with quality data.

Philosophy of Research.

The research philosophy for this project was based on an inductive Participatory Action Research (PAR) approach. Action research is "designed, carried out, and integrated by

the participants in partnership with the researchers" (Kuper, et al., 2008, p. 3). The research conducted with Tl'azt'en Nation members falls within the inductive PAR model because it was not designed to study the community members per se, but rather to work with community members. In conducting the research with Tl'azt'en, the community members assisted in all steps of the process including choosing the interviewees, interview topics, conducting the workshop, and analyzing the results. Additionally, knowledge of tourism development increased both in community members and myself as the research progressed.

This approach was designed to fit into the larger Tl'azt'en/UNBC CURA partnership. One of the key objectives of the partnership was to provide "a map to ecotourism development, informed by robust research and Tl'azt'en values" (CURA, 2011). Each step and task for this project was completed with the support and guidance of Amelia Stark, a Tl'azt'en Nation community member and the CURA Ecotourism stream co-leader. In addition to assistance from Stark, the community was also involved in this thesis. Community consultation and input included member recruitment and feedback. Feedback from the community was taken into consideration when the questions for the community member interviews were developed. Issues arising at the first community presentation were also included.

The community guided research approach and use of PAR worked well as Tl'azt'en Nation tourism capacity developed with the first presentation day and continued to grow throughout the project. A prime example of this was the work completed with the Tl'azt'en Nation research assistant, Jackie Basil. During the first community presentation day, the research team announced that there would be work for a part-time research assistant position for a member of Tl'azt'en Nation. This assistant was hired predominately to assist with interview arrangement and transcription, as well as with the tourism development workshop. The research assistant's capacity continually grew as she contributed to the project. Initially, she was quite shy regarding the research, but near the completion of the interviews, she became confident in her abilities and in her knowledge of the background of tourism development and the benefits and impacts associated with it.

The work completed with Tl'azt'en Nation was qualitative in nature. Semi-structured one-on-one interviews are a classic qualitative research method, as are community presentations and focus groups. The use of qualitative methods for the work completed with Tl'azt'en community members was a natural choice (Fondahl et al., 2009). The gathering of data from the community members included descriptive words, thoughts and ideas. This type of data collection falls squarely into the qualitative research realm:

> Qualitative methodology generally associated with interpretative epistemology, tends to be used to refer to forms of data collections analysis which rely on understanding, with an emphasis on meanings.
>
> (Scott & Marshall, 2005, p. 35)

4.2 Steps in the Research Process

For this research project, I was interested in exploring community perceptions and interests of Aboriginal tourism development through a case study with Tl'azt'en Nation. As Stake (1995, p. 9) states, the "case study is a study of the particularity and complexity of a single case, coming to understand its activity within important circumstances." A case study method is warranted with this research as it is being completed in partnership with specific techniques (focus groups, workshops and in-depth interviews) designed to understand a situation with depth. This depth is gained by spending time with community members completing these various techniques. This research project consisted of five main steps including not only in-depth interviews but also a number of tasks associated with sharing preliminary research results with the broad community and gathering public input (see Figure 3).

Figure 3. Flow Chart of Methods Used for Investigating the Benefits and Impacts of Tourism Development for Tl'azt'en Nation. Items flow in chronological progression, from top to bottom.

- **Background Preparation**
  •Newsletters with Summary of Information Discovery Tour distributed throughout Tl'azt'en

- **Community Presentation Day #1**
  •Community lunches and updates with poster sessions held within Tl'azt'en

- **Interviews**
  •Research updates and Newsletters presented to Tl'azt'en Community Members

- **Tourism Development Workshop**

- **Data Coding and Analysis**

- **Feedback from CURA committee members**

- **Findings shared with Tl'azt'en Nation**

Step One. Background preparation (Information Discovery Tour)

As part of my preparation for working with Tl'azt'en Nation, I not only began a literature review on community tourism development and specific issues related to Aboriginal tourism, but I sought to broaden my experience by learning first-hand from a broad spectrum of existing Aboriginal tourism businesses.

I began with a series of field trips to examine a range of different tourism sites with some form of Aboriginal involvement located throughout British Columbia (see Figure 4). I labeled these trips as the Information Discovery Tour (IDT) and used the information gathered on these trips to set the groundwork for a community presentation. The

community presentation was given to provide the community members with a broad foundation regarding tourism development. Discussions with Tl'azt'en Nation community members working as CURA stream leaders suggested that there may be limited experience within community members in regards to tourism, and particularly Aboriginal tourism. To help develop tourism capacity within the community, I initially intended to take a group of Tl'azt'en Nation members on the road to visit various Aboriginal tourism sites throughout BC. The logistics of trying to coordinate schedules, researchers, vehicles and community members were too complicated and too broad to approach in our limited time span. Alternatively, the IDT approach was used in order to bring the experiences of other Aboriginal tourism sites to Tl'azt'en Nation.

Figure 4. Map of Information Discovery Tour Sites Visited

(CURA, 2007)

Visit sites were selected to represent a range of sizes, products, management/ownership controls, and types of visitor experience or interactions (see Table 2). The IDT site characteristics were categorized by control (who owns and operates), type (front stage or back stage), and the nature of the product offered (prime focus on aboriginal culture or other aspect). The control criterion pertains to how each site was managed and or owned. Specifically, the sites were examined to see if they were owned and operated by Aboriginal people; or owned, but not operated by Aboriginal people; or not owned or operated by Aboriginal people. This could include band owned and managed sites, independently owned sites, or a site that offered Aboriginal tourism products but has no Aboriginal ownership or employees.

Table 2. Information Discovery Tour (IDT) sites.

	CONTROL			TYPE		NATURE of PRODUCT	
	Owned & operated by Aboriginal group	Owned but not operated by Aboriginal group	Not owned or operated by Aboriginal group	Front Stage	Back Stage	Prime Focus on Aboriginal Culture	Aboriginal Culture only an Aspect of Offer
Hubble Homestead			x	x			x
Bednesti Lake	x			x			x
K'san	x			x		x	
Fort St James NHP			x	x			x
Morice town Canyon	x			x			x
George Little House	x				x		x
House of Hewhiwus	x					x	
Xa:ytem Longhouse	x			x		x	
Pitt Lake Wilderness	x			x			x
Sasquatch Tours	x				x	x	

The next criterion was how the site presented its product. Front stage type tourism offers products such as traditional dances produced within a set performance area that is staged specifically for tourism. This could include such things as a traditional Hawaiian Luau with dance and cultural show. In contrast, a potential back stage product could include a visit to the home of the dancers that work in the production. Front stage and back stage tourism examples were examined to help Tl'azt'en community members determine how, and where, they might want to interact with tourists.

The third criteria was whether or not the site offered an experience that focused on Aboriginal culture, such as providing Aboriginal food, arts and crafts, and history, or an experience that merely touched the surface of Aboriginal culture and was more of an ambiguous Aboriginal experience. For example, Sasquatch Tours is owned and operated by an Aboriginal entrepreneur and provides in-depth, back stage boat tours to local historical and cultural landmarks that produce a comprehensive culturally focused educational experience.

The information gathered was shared with members of Tl'azt'en Nation in a community presentation. The presentation included a Power Point presentation as well as three posters (see Appendix 1). This information regarding different types and sizes of tourism ventures helped provide a foundation of knowledge regarding tourism that led to more in depth information to be collected during my interviews with community members.

Step Two: Community presentation day

The first community presentation was held with the objectives of:

   a) introducing the research topic and myself to the community;

   b) building a foundation of tourism knowledge within Tl'azt'en Nation; and

   c) recruiting for the subsequent semi-structured, one-on-one interviews.

The CURA Ecotourism team invited community members from different sectors of the community based on range of attributes including type of work, level of involvement in the community, level of expertise/experience with tourism, and interest. We felt that a diverse selection of community members would provide a breadth of knowledge that

would be more robust. With the assistance of the Tl'azt'en Nation ecotourism stream leaders Amelia Stark and Bev Leon, community members from the following groups were identified:

- Entrepreneurs
- Business leaders/owners
- Environmental activists
- Guides
- Potential entrepreneurs
- Arts and craftspersons
- Chief and Council members
- People with travel experience
- Keyoh holders

    (See Appendix 2 for a breakdown of the community members that contributed to research)

Potential participants were sent an invitation package (see Appendix 3) that included an overview of the research project, contact information, and an introduction to the Tl'azt'en Nation - UNBC CURA team. The package also included a Team Member Acceptance Form (see Appendix 4) that allowed me to gather pertinent contact information as well as to set the foundation for interviewing the community members, and present an informed consent form to the community members interested in participating in the interviews.

In total, 26 community members attended the workshop that began at 10:00 a.m. and continued until 2:00 p.m. with a lunch break at noon. Due to time constraints and prior commitments, not all of the community members initially approached were able to attend the session; in particular, individuals identified as environmental activists or people with travel experience were not represented.

The workshop was held in the board room of the Tache band office, and the presentation began with an opening prayer followed by community member and researcher introductions. Following the introductions, a 20 minute DVD providing an overview of Aboriginal tourism designed for community members was shown (George, 1994). Also

covered in the DVD were what Aboriginal people will need to do in order to develop tourism, the impacts from tourism development and the rules and people needed for decision making in tourism development. The intent of viewing the DVD was to develop a common foundation and understanding regarding Aboriginal tourism development.

Following the DVD, I gave a presentation summarizing some of the benefits and impacts of tourism illustrated with real-world examples of small, medium and large Aboriginal tourism sites from the Information Discovery Tour. In presenting the benefits and impacts of tourism, I made an effort not only to illustrate the potential positive benefits of tourism but also to show the potential negative impacts of tourism development. The benefits and impacts in the slide show were divided into economic, social, environmental and cultural areas, and examples were given in each area.

At the conclusion of the slide show the floor was open for a question-and-answer period. Upon returning from lunch, community members were encouraged to view and discuss the IDT posters that I had created and set up around the room. Each poster was staffed by a CURA researcher to answer any questions or address any comments that the community members had in regards to the information on the posters. This time was also used by the CURA researchers to talk with the community members in regards to their feelings towards tourism development and to plant the seeds of recruitment for the one-on-one interviews that I would conduct at a later date. The last session of the day was a general discussion and summary of the presentations. Community members were asked to write down their thoughts and those willing to be interviewed, were asked to fill out an acceptance form (see Appendix 4). The community presentation day was recorded with a digital voice recorder and the recording was subsequently summarized and analyzed.

Step Three: In-depth interviews

In order to gather more detailed information from community members and to explore their perspectives in depth, semi-structured one-on-one interviews were selected as "there are no predetermined responses, and in semi-structured interviews the interviewer is free to probe and explore within these predetermined inquiry areas" (Hoepfl, 1997, p. 11).

Potential members of the community who could be approached and fell in to the categories developed by the Ecotourism Stream team members, were then asked by Ecotourism Stream members about being possible interview participants. In addition, some Tl'azt'en Nation community members who attended the community presentation day volunteered to be interviewed. Additional community members who expressed an interest in the project to either of the Tl'azt'en researchers (Stark or Leon) were also interviewed.

In total, 18 Tl'azt'en Nation community members were interviewed from April 2008 – August 2008. The interviews averaged an hour in length and were conducted in various settings within the Tl'azt'en Nation territory, determined by where the community member could meet, and where she or he felt comfortable giving the interview. The interviews were digitally recorded and then transcribed. All community members who agreed to be interviewed were presented with an appreciation gift of an athletic jacket with a CURA custom logo after their interviews.

The interviews covered various areas of community development of tourism in the Tl'azt'en Nation territory. After conducting the first interview, the audio file was reviewed by myself and the CURA Ecotourism stream leaders Pamela Wright and Amelia Stark. This review noted that the first interview (see Appendix 5) was too structured and inhibited the flow of the conversation in the interview. Limited data was gathered, and the interviewee seemed uncomfortable with the process and simply repeated much of what I stated. As a result, the interview questions and format were revised, moving away from a structured set of interview questions to a broader set of points or a guide to be discussed:

> An interview guide or "schedule" is a list of questions or general topics that the interviewer wants to explore during each interview. Although it is prepared to insure that basically the same information is obtained from each person, there are no predetermined responses, and in semi-structured interviews the interviewer is free to probe and explore within these predetermined inquiry areas.   (Hoepfl, 1997, p. 8)

Revisions to the questions and guide (see Appendix 6) meant the remaining interviews had an improved conversational flow, and the subsequent interviewees were much more

relaxed and at ease with the interview process. The streamlining of the interview process also made more efficient use of both my time and the Tl'azt'en Nation community members time.

The interviews were transcribed by Tl'azt'en Nation research assistant Jackie Basil. The transcription was completed using a modified verbatim technique. Data on the recorder were transcribed as it was spoken in the interviews, except that inconsequential words that did not affect the direction or the quality of the conversation were deleted. These were mainly words such as "umm, ahh, and yeah." Upon transcription, I reviewed and formatted the transcripts and then prepared and printed the interviews. The completed transcripts were then delivered to the community members for verification and approval. In this stage, I asked the community members to read their transcriptions. I asked them to strike or black out the information that they did not want me to use. Once they edited the interviews, they could call or email me, and I would pick up their transcriptions and delete the content that they did not want used. If the transcriptions were to their liking, the participants did not need to do anything.

As the transcription and verification process progressed, the data from the interviews showed that while there was significant information provided, some of the research questions would benefit from additional probing. The result was a tourism development workshop with interested community members.

Tourism development workshop

On June 3rd 2008, the ecotourism research team conducted a tourism workshop session in the community of Tache. The day was hosted and facilitated by members of the CURA group including Pam Wright, Amelia Stark, Bev Leon, Diana Kutzner, Deanna Yim, Melanie Grubb, Jackie Basil and myself. The workshop was advertised throughout Tache and Binche with promotional flyers and print ads placed in the Elders centre and the Band office. Word-of-mouth and personal invitations were also utilized by CURA researchers when spending time in either Tache or Binche.

The day served multiple purposes: to provide feedback from the research team to Tl'azt'en Nation community members on ongoing research such as Diana Kutzner's research findings and to serve as an opportunity to probe my research questions in more detail. The Ecotourism team also felt that the day might encourage Tl'azt'en Nation members to think about beginning to plan potential tourism activities.

Specific areas for discussion and brainstorming were prioritized from the information collected in the interviews. These discussion areas were intended to provide an opportunity for participants to not just repeat information they had already provided but to: (a) hear and reflect on other community members ideas; and (b) expand on this information in new ways. Tl'azt'en Nation community members attending the workshop were comprised of those who had participated in interviews as well as community members who had expressed an interest in tourism but had not been interviewed. Of the total 14 members of the community who attended the workshop, six members who had previously been interviewed and eight members that had not been interviewed participated. The itinerary for the workshop was divided into the following sessions:

    a. The benefits and impacts of tourism
    b. Type and level of involvement/control of tourism
    c. What do tourists want?
    d. Product discussion
    e. Sharing session

As the first two sessions (a and b) were used to collect data to inform my thesis, I have included the detailed approach here. The latter sessions (c-e) were intended, primarily, to disseminate results from fellow CURA graduate student Diana Kutzner.

Session A: The benefits and impacts of tourism

This session was intended to provide Tl'azt'en Nation community members with a summary of ideas and data gathered in the community member interviews and to open lines of communication among community members. The session also allowed me to present preliminary results derived from the community member interviews in poster and handout format. Preliminary results presented were developed based on the occurrence of the themes or topics such as jobs, new trails, and newly-built lodges or cabins (see

Appendix 7). Following the presentation of the preliminary results, I asked participants for any last minute additions to the list. Community members were informed that while all items on the list may not be discussed due to time limitations, any item on the list would be recorded and not deleted.

To help identify priority benefits and impacts, community members were then given five self-adhesive green (for benefits) and red (for impacts or concerns) dots. Participants were asked to come forward and place dots on the key benefits they were looking for and the key impacts they were most concerned about. Participants were prompted to place dots beside the 'specific' item, not just the general category. CURA researchers also helped some participants in this exercise by removing and replacing dots for community members who were physically impaired. All benefits and impacts were open for discussion, but we wanted a priority for discussion of the issues that the members felt were the most pressing.

The rankings that came forward from the community members were then compared with the results that had been gathered from the interviews and presented for group discussion and feedback. The key benefits/impacts identified were then discussed with the community members to provide a comparison among, and insight into, the feelings and attitudes of community members in regards to tourism development.

Session B: Type, level of involvement and control of tourism
The next section of the workshop focused on the type and level of involvement/control of tourism. The objective for this session was to help probe perspectives on the type, level and nature of involvement in tourism. I also wanted to give the participants of the workshop a tangible insight into the feelings of the community members who were interviewed. It was hoped that after the end of the session, the information gathered could serve as a road map for the community/planning group.

The session began with a short presentation of the highlights of the feedback that came from the interviews. The group was then asked to comment on where (geographically) tourism could occur (e.g., Tl'azt'en Nation Territory generally, Binche community, Leo

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Creek). The group was also asked where tourism should not occur and for locations of sensitive habitats; the community of Tache and the elementary school were some of the areas mentioned (see Appendix 8). Issues of timing and type of interaction and involvement were also discussed. The session was concluded with a group discussion regarding tourism organization and management.

4.3 Data Coding

Data analysis in qualitative research is a process of organizing and sorting data (coding) and looking for, listening to, and finding meaning (analysis) in the data. The sources for data analysis included interview transcriptions as well as information gathered at the tourism development workshops. As I moved through the data coding and analysis process, I worked iteratively, moving from specific observations within the data to broader generalizations or groupings of data. These larger groupings of data were then looked at on the whole for themes that related to Tl'azt'en Nation. I would then circle back to ask new questions of the data as I progressed through analysis. This method of thinking about, noticing, collecting and then circling back to investigate is typical of qualitative research (Seidel, 2008).

Data was entered into the NVivo 8 software program. NVivo 8 provided me with tools to effectively manage, organize and code the data. The program allows the user to search "for meaning in text, audio or visual files... [and] provides a sophisticated workspace that lets you work through your material – discovering patterns, identifying themes, gleaning insight and ultimately, delivering informed robust findings" (NVivo 8 Brochure, 2008, p1). Data from the interviews and community workshops was imported into NVivo 8, and the coding of data began with the establishment of codes.

NVivo codes (or nodes as they are identified in the program) can be categorized in two distinct ways. The first category is a free node: "A free node has no clear logical connection with other nodes—it does not easily fit into a hierarchical structure, it is a 'stand-alone' node" (NVivo 8 Fundamentals, 2008, p. 2). The second type of node category is tree nodes where "tree nodes are organized in a hierarchical structure—moving from a general category at the top (the parent node) to more specific categories

(child nodes)" (NVivo 8 Fundamentals, 2008, p. 12). The type of research data utilized helps determine how the nodes will be developed within the software. Due to the nature of the research questions and the cohesiveness of the responses from research participants, all nodes developed for this research project were tree nodes. I developed the initial set of nodes and presented them to CURA researchers for their input on the node categories. Subsequently, I met with CURA researchers (Wright, Stark and Kutzner) to discuss and determine the procedure for transcript coding within this research project. The original set of nodes (Table 3) centering on the research questions were presented at the meeting and served as the foundation for the development of additional nodes.

Table 3. List of Original Nodes Developed for Coding. Items that were Discussed and Modified are Listed in *italics*.

Benefits
    Economic Benefits
    Social Benefits
    Environmental Benefits
    Cultural Benefits

Tourism Impacts
    Economic Impacts
    Social Impacts
    Environmental Impacts
    Cultural Impacts

Tourism Ventures
    Past Tourism Ventures
    Current Tourism Ventures
    Future Tourism Ventures

Non Tourism Type Ventures
Criteria for Successful Tourism Development

Location of Tourism development
    • *Tl'azt'en Traditional Territory*
        ▪ *Cultural, Natural, Built*
      o *Others Non traditional*

Possible Partners
Markets
Barriers to Tourism Development
Community Member Concerns
Markets/Audience

Once the initial nodes were determined, a blind coding test was completed by the two ecotourism stream leaders (Wright and Stark) and me. For the blind coding test, I selected a random interview transcript from a pile of all the printed interview transcripts and then I removed any text that would provide the identity of the community member. I imported the anonymous transcript into the NVivo 8 software, as well as adding the initial codes in the selection menu. We then coded the transcript independently, and once we had completed our coding, the coded interview was processed for final node development.

Although NVivo offers an automated inter-rater reliability test, as I had not yet learned the intricacies of the program or how to read the results, a more hands-on approach was needed.

I. Nodes were exported to Microsoft Word and printed on three different colors of paper with one color for each coder.

II. Coding selections were cut into separate strips; each strip contained interview text from community member interviews.

III. Coding node titles and subtitles were written on the back of each strip of paper.

IV. The strips of paper were then matched to any other researchers' strips that contained the same text

Coding nodes were matched to determine inter-rater reliability ratings. Inter-rater or inter-coder reliability is "the degree to which two or more individuals agree about the *coding* of an item" (Bryman & Teevan, 2005, p. 9). Inter-rater reliability was examined to determine if the stream leaders and I were on the same page in regards to coding the transcripts.

If three out of three researchers coded the same text with the same node, it was considered 100% inter-coder reliability. If two out of three researchers agreed, it was considered a 66% inter-rater reliability. There were also instances where the text was selected but placed in different node classifications that were classified as a 0% inter-rater reliability (see Table 4 for breakdown). Any nodes that contained 100% or 66% inter-rater reliability were kept and used in the coding of the interviews.

Table 4. Breakdown of Coding Percentages and Number of Unified Codes in Each Percentage Category. These percentages are based on the text coded.

19 Selections coded with 100% inter-coder reliability
25 Selections coded with 66% inter-coder reliability
44 Selections coded with 0% inter-coder reliability
20 Selections coded that had the same text coded, but the nodes they were placed in were not the same.

Any nodes that were classified as 0% reliability were investigated and discussed to determine the reason. For the most part, the single coded nodes were my selections; this could be expected as I have a more intimate knowledge of the interview and often picked up on the smaller details that a single read through a transcript didn't allow. After discussing and resolving differences in coding methods, I then recoded the original interview and progressed through coding the remaining interviews, making minor amendments to the nodes as coding progressed.

4.4 Data Analysis

Following data organization and coding, I used a multi-stage process to notice and find meaning in the data. The analysis was not linear in fashion, and the use of different methods and approaches was a process of iterative experimentation.

Manifest theme identification

Using the original tree nodes for data coding based on the research questions, the tree nodes were organized into 19 larger topics or thematic areas best described as manifest themes.

- Barriers to tourism development
  - Community members do not support each other; community members do not set tourism potential.
- Control
  - Band and council are not effective; Co-Op and partnerships needed.

- Criteria for tourism development
  - o Authentic product needed; build community capacity to help regulate tourism.
- Opportunities
  - o Abundant natural resources; unused camping spots exist
- Benefits of tourism
  - o Tourism will help create ancillary jobs; tourism could help with positive community change.
- Cultural
  - o Cultural capacity still exists in the community; culture could attract tourists.
- Capacity
  - o Local craft capacity already exists in the community; entrepreneurs exist in the community.
- Problems
  - o Addiction problems may affect tourism development
- Impacts

  Community members only partially grasp the impacts of tourism development; tourism jobs could take a physical toll on community members.
- Resources
  - o Elders have past tourism/guiding experience; community members have worked in resort lodges in the past.
- Training
  - o Business training needed for tourism development success; safety training and capacity exists in the community.
- Youth
  - o Youth need to be given a chance; educated youth exist in the community.
- Business
  - o Ancillary tourism businesses needed.
- Past experience
  - o Successful lodges operated in the past; tourism has been attempted in the community.
- Members looking for specifically
  - o Youth programs; tourism to create community pride.
- Seasons
  - o Operate on a seasonal basis; summer time only.
- Community

    o   Passion already exists in the community; know what the community is capable of.
- Actual product suggestions

    o   Camp tours with hands on tourist activities, boat tours with rock painting tours.

Latent theme identification

The codes were then examined in more detail, and the 19 manifest themes were sub-grouped into larger thematic groupings. The coded interviews were again reviewed to see how they related to each other and to the overall research questions. As I worked through the data, I began to notice background or latent themes emerging. Berg (2004) talks about manifest and latent themes, saying that manifest content is "comparable to the surface structure present in the message" and latent themes are "the deeper underlying themes that are not readily seen on the surface" (Berg, 2004, p. 11). Three key latent themes came to light relating to: youth, culture and elders. I then searched the data again for information relating to these three thematic areas. These latent themes and their relationships to the data will be discussed in more detail later.

Overarching themes: Revealing the stories

After identifying manifest and latent themes I re-read and replayed the interviews to reveal the underlying stories or meaning that emerged. To help do this, I made what I called a "Coles Notes" package for each interview, a summary of what I heard in the interview in my own words. Once all 18 summaries were completed, I read through and looked for stories that flowed throughout all the interviews.

The initial set of stories that flowed out of the interviews were:
- Outdoor work may be the answer in tourism development
- Need for an authentic product
- Community capacity needs to be developed
- Community member communication
- Keyoh problems
- Lack of motivation in community members
- Chief and council shouldn't lead

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- The value of partnerships
- Use cultural tradition as a product

Mapping the stories

In the next stage, I developed a conceptual data map (See Figure 5) of the stories to help show the relationship of the data gathered. I developed this data map by rearranging post-it notes containing each piece of information such that related elements were grouped together. The resultant story 'ovals' are not stagnant in their position but are in constant movement and interaction with each other, and each different view tells a slightly different story. To clarify, I see the ovals and the stories much the same as a balance sheet in accounting terms. It is just snap shot in time of where the company is at that current moment. If the snap shot was taken at an earlier or later time, the image in the snap shot would be much different. If we were to look at Figure 5 eighteen or twenty four months down the road, the stories and interactions would be much different.

Looking for meaning: The interconnected stories

In the final stage of analysis, I revisited the original research questions to look for parallels to the stories. Although there were links between the research questions and the stories, they were not always direct. In fact, it appears that what community members shared with me was less a direct answer to the research questions (not surprising since these were semi-structured interviews in which participants jointly determined the direction the conversation took) than a conversation about their perspectives on tourism development. In initially trying to write the results, I found that forcing the main messages, themes and stories into the rigid organization of the original research questions led to a significant loss of meaning and relevance.

Figure 5. Conceptual Data Map Showing Linkages in Data to Themes Found in the Interviews.
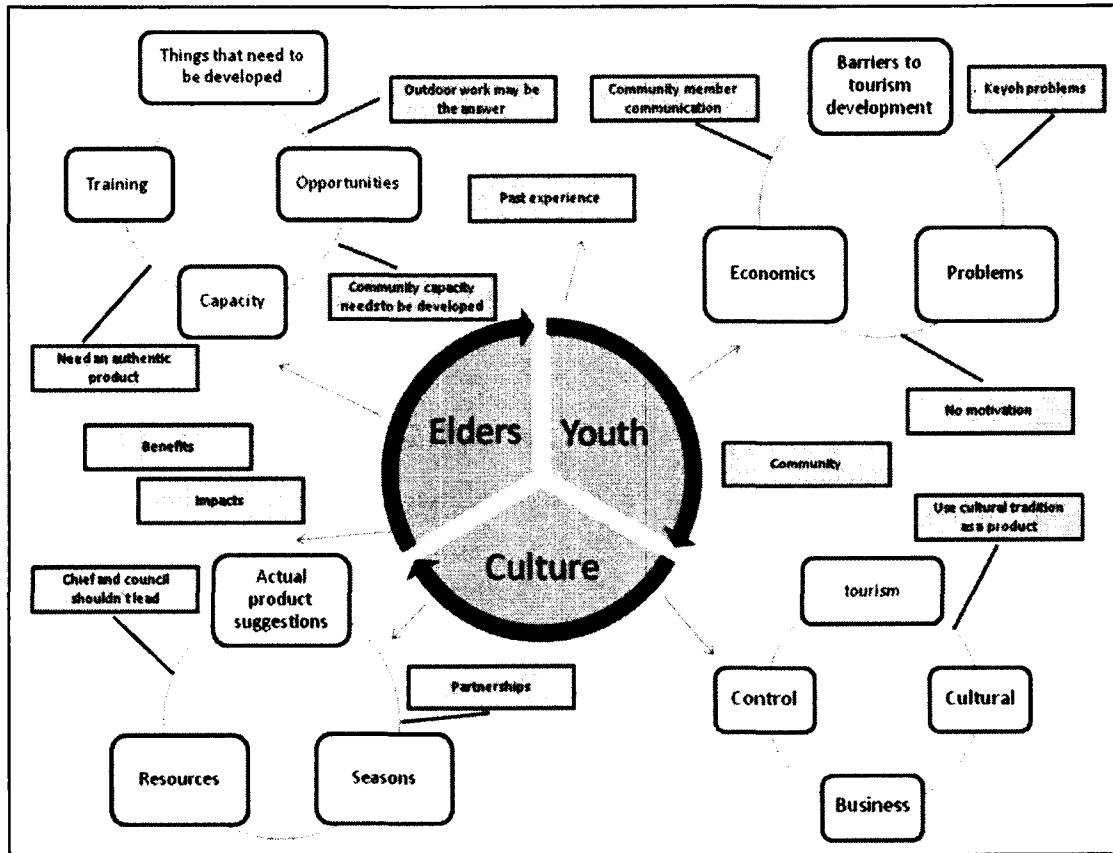
After discussion and review with my supervisor, we revisited the conceptual map and main stories and developed a method of viewing the data that represents a mix of some elements of the research questions and some elements of a more organic nature. Recognizing that there are many ways of organizing and finding meaning in the data, I settled on the final process as one that framed the stories about community perspectives in tourism in a way that I found the most meaningful.

The result is best described using a tree as a metaphor (see Figure 6). The roots and trunk represent elements that flow through and support all of the stories (latent themes), and the branches contain the detailed elements (manifest themes) embedded in each of the stories (the overarching themes). Setting the stage for the stories is a broad overview of community perspectives on the potential benefits and impacts of tourism. The story titles or main messages themselves are worded where possible in a hopeful or positive light.

Figure 6. Conceptual Method Tree
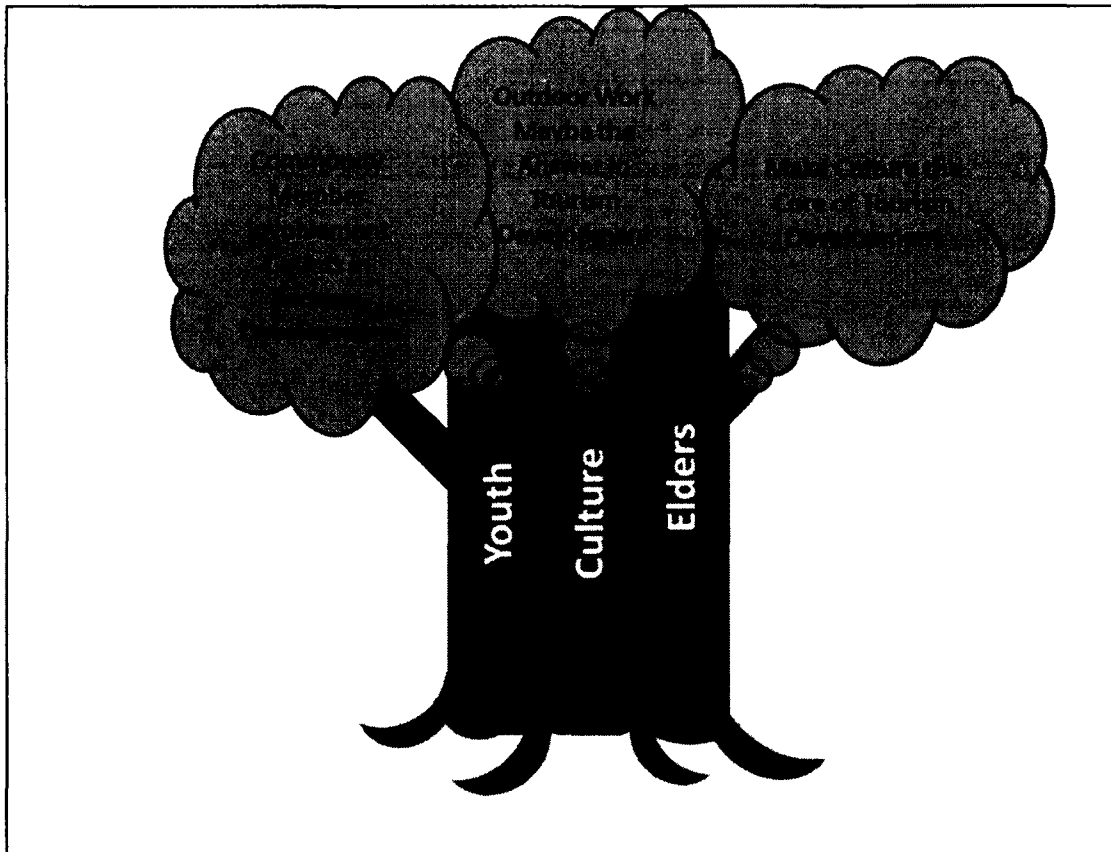
This format is consistent with Tl'azt'en Nation perspectives on looking for opportunities where possible. In effect, the latent themes represented by the roots (culture, youth, and elders) not only support and feed the stories but they are also at the core of the opportunity for potential tourism growth. The first detailed story I relate regards barriers and challenges to tourism development, and focuses on the elements that need to be overcome before, during, and through tourism planning. The other branches, roots and trunk are solutions, at least in part, to those challenges.

Within each section or story, I was informed by input from both the community workshops and the interviews. I used quotes (from interviews) and ranking lists (from workshops) to illustrate the main points of the story. I tried to listen for, and include, the range of perspectives on any particular issue using a negative case analysis type approach. After describing what I heard from community members, I then reflected (interpreted) on potential reasons or elements that might stem from these comments. To provide some additional perspective and insight, I tried to ground these potential ideas

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vwith similar findings from research from aboriginal tourism businesses I have visited or read about, and from my experience as a member of the Nak'azdli First Nation.

4.5 Issues of Identity and Anonymity

In qualitative research, the interplay between acknowledging or crediting individuals with their contributions versus maintaining anonymity and confidentiality is a complex topic. During the informed consent process I engaged in with participants, I discussed whether or not individuals wanted their specific contributions to be identified by name. Providing the community members with anonymity allows them to speak more freely and not worry about repercussions from their fellow community members. Thus contributions from interviews are reflected only by an interview number which provided anonymity while simultaneously providing access to individual quotes. As contributions from the community workshops were collective, and not individual, these are identified only as coming from the group as a whole. In keeping with the practice of thick description, quotes from the data are presented largely in the original words of participants with only minor editing done to improve readability.

4.6 Trustworthiness

Reliability and validity are terms most often associated with quantitative research; in quantitative research, these notions often relate to the ability of other researchers to replicate the experiment and gather the same results. While this precise definition does not apply to qualitative research, the notion of testing reliability flows through all types of research, qualitative included. Reliability was established by asking each interviewee the same questions; in theory, if the same set of questions were asked to other community members, the answers to the questions would be the same, thus insuring reliability. Reliability and validity are usually referred to as trustworthiness in qualitative fields, and trustworthiness needs to be established to ensure the quality and merit of the study.

One method of instilling trustworthiness in a quantitative or qualitative study is the use of triangulation: "Triangulation is typically a strategy (test) for improving the validity and reliability of research or evaluation of findings" (Golafshani, 2003). While it is not possible to test the qualitative data gathered for this research, the transparency of the

work done with Tl'azt'en Nation gives the work trustworthiness. Triangulation of perspective was established in all the data gathered by using graduate student, university professor, and community member input on all aspects of the research and data gathering. Triangulation in data collection was achieved through the multiple methods of interviews, workshops and community presentations.

One method used to add trustworthiness was member checking. Once the interviews were transcribed, they were printed and presented back to the community members for their approval. The community members were free to strike or edit any portion of the transcription that they did not want used in the thesis.

In addition to these methods of trustworthiness, another method of building trust within the community is to establish the authority of the researcher. My authority as a researcher was established by my relation to the neighboring community. I am an Aboriginal person from the neighboring Nak'azdli First Nation, and the community members were aware of my family that live in Nak'azdli, therefore, the period of "getting to know me" was very short. This family linkage was a definite asset for me in establishing my credibility as a researcher and provided me with the opportunity to begin research almost immediately after meeting community members.

4.7 Limitations

Even though a mixed methods approach and the employment of measures to improve trustworthiness were used, there were still limitations to qualitative research methods generally and to my research specifically. Specific limitations included interviewee numbers, interviewee tourism awareness capacity, researcher capacity, and the choice of data gathering methods. Although the number of Tl'azt'en Nation community members interviewed provided me with much data, the research may have benefited from conducting additional interviews. Some individuals such as elders, those with travel experience, and those active in environmental causes are voices that I did not fully

capture. And while in the interviews I conducted, I feel I reached theoretical saturation[5], it was within the context of the specific point in time in which interviews were conducted. The information provided in the interviews may have been limited by the interviewee's prior experience with tourism and the state of tourism development (or non-development). Had I been able to conduct interviews with participants after they had more experience (either directly or indirectly) with the tourism industry or if more specific plans or options for tourism development had been presented to them (e.g., a specific product or business), I feel that I might have obtained additional information. For example, I originally framed research questions focusing on issues of control, level and type of interaction with tourists but found that my respondents had limited contributions to make in that regard.

While individual community members did have some prior experience with tourism, it was still limited. Thus if they had been able to see other Aboriginal tourism sites in operation, their contributions would have perhaps been different. Although conducting site tours with community members was discussed early in the process, the logistics of community member and researchers traveling throughout the province proved to be too challenging and expensive to organize. The choice to conduct the Information Discovery Tour by myself and bring information from the sites to the community members of Tl'azt'en Nation was deemed as the best alternative by Ecotourism Stream team leaders and myself.

Time spent gathering information from Tl'azt'en Nation community members was indeed effective, but as a researcher, I would have liked to spend more time with the community members to provide a more robust data set and to further assist in exploring and developing tourism capacity. Had time permitted, I would have conducted more workshops with community members and followed those workshops with more interviews. As qualitative research is set in the real world with real people, the difficult

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[5] "Theoretical saturation signals the point in grounded theory studies at which theorizing the events under investigation is considered to have come to a sufficiently comprehensive end. At this point, researchers are comfortable that the properties and dimensions of the concepts and conceptual relationships selected to render the target event are fully described and that they have captured its complexity and variation." (Sandelowski, 2008, p 876)

part of this research is determining when to stop working with community members and when to begin analysis of the data.

Chapter Five. Description & Interpretation of Research

This chapter contains a description and interpretation of my research findings. I use the terms 'description' and 'interpretation' to reflect the qualitative nature of the research. Traditional quantitative research presents the research findings first as results. Results are most typically data represented as numbers and statistics, and they tend to be described by words such as "fixed," "precise," "objective" and "unambiguous" (Miles and Huberman, 1999). In quantitative research, any interpretation of the findings is usually separated from the presentation of the data in a separate chapter (typically labeled as a discussion). In qualitative research, the subjective and multiple meanings contained within the findings are recognized; thus I use the term "description" to convey how I present my findings (Miles and Huberman, 1999). As meaning flows from thinking about and viewing the findings in multiple contexts, I have included elements of "interpretation" of the data alongside the description. Additional reflection on the findings and their meanings, particularly of larger, more over-riding concepts, is contained within the final chapter of this thesis.

As outlined in Chapter 4, there are multiple ways to both organize and give meaning to the information I collected through interviews and community workshops. Each method provides different insights and gives a different picture. I worked towards an approach that would identify the larger themes or stories from the data instead of focusing on just the small component parts. There is clear overlap between these stories that at times makes some elements of storytelling somewhat redundant but in reality reflects the inter-relationships between the stories. In the end, I relay the main messages that I heard from my participants instead of a more linear presentation of findings that pertains only to the research questions.

The result is three related stories supported by the roots and trunk of the importance of culture, elders and youth. To set the context, I start first with community members overall perspectives on the benefits and impacts of tourism and then examine the overarching themes or stories. These stories include looking at how Tl'azt'en Nation members should

base their tourism development on their culture, how the tourism they develop should be based outdoors, and how members of Tl'azt'en Nation will need to work together as a community to address leadership and control and community issues that will roadblock tourism development.

I use thick description including quotes from interviewees and information from the community workshops and try to include the full range of perspectives I heard. I also reflect on what these stories might mean and relate this to existing research, other tourism practices and my own experiences. In keeping with the practice of qualitative analysis, I avoid using numbers or statistics to represent my results e.g., 25% of my respondents said this. At times however, one or another interviewee will have been particularly dominant in the discussion. Where this is the case I have tried to indicate wheter that perspective was widely held or represent only the perspectives of a few.

5.1 Summary of Potential Benefits of Tourism

The potential benefits of tourism are traditionally organized into social, economic, environmental, and cultural areas. At the outset of this research project, I felt that this would be the case for Tl'azt'en Nation as well, however, the list of benefits identified by community members was relatively focused. During the tourism development workshop, these benefits were summarized by the group in order of importance as:

- New trails developed could spur tourism in Tl'azt'en Nation;
- Mechanisms to get the youth involved in tourism development;
- Reviving old ways of culture thru tourism;
- Sharing culture with community and tourists; and
- Encouraging communication between elders and youth.

A unique idea that emerged in the interviews that did not surface in the tourism development workshop was that community members felt that employment would be one of the key benefits of tourism development:

> Can you imagine how people would be working... in a vegetable garden... working at the lodge... working in the community? And the numbers will just be... unemployment wouldn't be that high anymore.
>
> (Tl'azt'en Community Member #11, 2008)

> Or even seasonal, there are people that would be able to work half a year; they could get EI for next half and then they hire somebody else that you know the income would still be coming in, you won't have to depend on that social assistance.   (Tl'azt'en Community Member #14, 2008)

Potential for economic benefits to motivate the community was also mentioned: "Once they see the initial benefit of the dollars coming in I think they will work a little harder towards in getting somebody/something going" (Tl'azt'en Community Member #2).

One area of concern that was touched on in the Tourism Development Workshop and emerged in the interviews was getting the youth of Tl'azt'en Nation more involved and motivated to work:

> It's really frustrating to see... the amount of people here just walking around aimlessly. I see them walking around there doing nothing and they're all young, 16, 17, 18, they are all around in this pack, nothing to do. I don't like to see that.   (Tl'azt'en Community Member #16, 2008)

> The youth, like I said, that's who we need to work with. Cause they're floating around; they just want something to do; they're tired of drinking; tired of hitchhiking into town and getting nothing done; looking for work, eh? There are no jobs.   (Tl'azt'en Community Member #2, 2008)

The community members indicated they would also benefit from cultural revival if tourism is developed:

> Oh yeah it will... especially in regards to our culture, the values system, with how the traditional system that we have... There is a lot of benefit to the community.   (Tl'azt'en Community Member #12, 2008)

In addition to cultural practices and traditions, Tl'azt'en Nation also has various physical sites that could be developed such as the pictographs located on Stuart Lake, and the John Prince Research Forest located between Tezzeron lake and Pinchi lake. Tl'azt'en also has

human capital such as community members with tourism experience as well as artists and craft persons:

> We were just traveling in and around Vanderhoof, we saw this big house boat sitting out the in the meadow there and he was saying, 'Dad if we had that in Tache, we could have made a lot of cruising money just showing the people the pictographs around the lake.'
>
> (Tl'azt'en Community Member #2, 2008)

> Yeah, see that's where I mean everybody should work together for it in order to work. You know we got the beautiful Stuart Lake; we got the native paintings down there on the rocks by Binche.
>
> (Tl'azt'en Community Member #16. 2008)

The John Prince Research Forest was also mentioned by community members in the interviews as an untapped resource:

> Yeah, if we could get, if we could get them interested in doing things there. For example, I was saying, trails, campsites, backpacking, cause there are lots of people that backpack and they haven't been to certain places. We don't have no trails except up there at the Chuzghun or John Prince Research Forest.
>
> (Tl'azt'en Community Member #6, 2008)

> We've got the Cinnabar, Tezzeron, I guess that's all one, eh? The John Prince Research Forest... they did their trail thing, that's what we've got to go back to, opening these traditional trails.
>
> (Tl'azt'en Community Member #13, 2008)

5.2 Summary of Potential Impacts of Tourism

When asked about potential impacts of tourism, community members did not touch on or speak to as many impacts as I had expected, but they did mention:

- Potential environmental and wildlife impacts

  "I think there's a real potential for impacts in environmentally...
  particularly with sort of vegetation, but particularly a wildlife disturbance"
  (Tl'azt'en Community Member #9, 2008).

- Rising noise levels and more disturbance in the community

"You know noise, if they bring real loud Harley Davidson and rumble down the street" (Tl'azt'en Community Member #14, 2008).

- Trash in the community

"All the trash and nobody wants to pack them out. So that might be a big impact. This mess happened because of tourism, hunters, and guiders and that we have to make sure we mitigate other impacts, I think contamination to the system, maybe, or stuff like that" (Tl'azt'en Community Member #5, 2008).

- Potential for crime in Tl'azt'en Nation

"You can expect crime to rise" (Tl'azt'en Community Member #3, 2008).

Although there were relatively few negative impacts of tourism identified by community members, the interviews were dominated by discussions of potential challenges and barriers to tourism development.

5.3 Challenges and Barriers to Tourism Development

The challenges and barriers that were discussed in the interviews were predominately social/cultural in nature. In this section I will discuss these challenges, however, potential solutions, many of which were also offered up in these same interviews, will be discussed in the next sections.

Jealousy and infighting

One of the most pressing challenges to tourism development mentioned was animosity and jealousy within the community. "I think they know what the problem is… just rapid jealousy. They are bad for that" (Tl'azt'en Community Member #11, 2008).

> People, they are too negative with each other, like one family member is fighting with that family member so you don't get no input from either because they are negative, they are too negative.
> (Tl'azt'en Community Member #12, 2008)

The phenomena of jealousy and infighting are common in many small communities, not just aboriginal communities. Some of the reasons for this phenomenon may be attributed

to competition for scarce jobs, limited opportunities and other resources, remoteness and isolation; small numbers of families with complex interrelationships and histories of nepotism in resource distribution within band councils. As Notzke (2004) noted in an examination of tourism development potential in southern Alberta, "social pathologies, petty jealousy, nepotism, lack of leadership and the mixing of politics with business combine to create a very unsupportive environment for tourism business" (Notzke, 2004, p. 36).

Motivation

A lack of motivation was also mentioned by Tl'azt'en Nation community members with a specific focus on youth:

> That is a lost generation, right there man... I see kids down town bumming around, they are only eighteen years old, they are bumming around for money to drink and shit like that, you know.
> (Tl'azt'en Community Member #11, 2008)

> I call them walking dead because there are perfectly good young guys... they are not doing anything; they are not going to school or not working.
> (Tl'azt'en Community Member #11, 2008)

Yet, the youth are not the only ones who seem to be unmotivated, at least in one community members eyes: "But if [adults] are not motivated or inspired by anyone, then they are just going to stay the same" (Tl'azt'en Community Member #11, 2008). Community members commented that even when opportunities present themselves many do not take advantage of them: "They were supposed to have this Aboriginal Tourism program going but they cancelled because there was not enough participation or participants" (Tl'azt'en Community Member #1, 2008).

This lack of motivation in Tl'azt'en Nation could be attributed to lack of available jobs, community member disinterest in training, or a lack of tourism infrastructure. Deeper cultural issues could also be the problem for community members. Fan (2007), while looking at barriers to counseling for Aboriginals in Australia; found that deeper issues

such as drug and alcohol abuse, domestic violence, and child abuse, prevented Aboriginals from continuing with counseling.

Keyoh holder issues

The problem with the lack of motivation in community members is also exacerbated by Tl'azt'en Nation members having to deal with Keyoh holders and the issues that they present. Keyoh holders or trap line holders are the traditional stewards of sections of land (Keyohs) which are designated to various family clans in Tl'azt'en Nation. In Tl'azt'en Nation territory, Keyoh holders are seen by some community members as one of the key barriers in trying to develop tourism. Some community members have experienced problems that have halted the momentum of tourism development:

> And when everything was getting set up, I got a phone call from Fort St. John and they tell me to get the hell out of there. This is not your trap line, I don't care what's there, that's ours. So, that went down the drain.
> (Tl'azt'en Community Member #9, 2008)

The halting of momentum by Keyoh holders is also coupled with misinformation or miscommunication between Keyoh holders and other community members:

> I don't know because with the trap line holders, like they said that we can't cross their boundaries, and like, if we want to go to our trap line we have to go through these guys, but we have to get their permission first before we go and most of them don't want to give it, so, cause they think that we're gonna steal from their trap line, and that's not the case.
> (Tl'azt'en Community Member #9, 2008)

Adding more fuel to the fire are Keyoh holders who expect compensation for access to their Keyohs:

> No. It's hard cause that's what I mean like when we were down there that day I was saying that we wanted to make trails and that, but people aren't letting us through and there was a guy, who was saying, Oh you can't go into my territory unless you pay me, or that's the kind of people. Pay or if you can't go in their territory at all.
> (Tl'azt'en Community Member #9, 2008)

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This expectation can result in conflict between community members:

> So you would have to be really careful during the trapping season, if you are out having...you know trappers and keyoh holders will get very excited if they go out and there's a bunch of people walking around their traps...very quickly.   (Tl'azt'en Community Member #3, 2008)

These issues between the development of tourism and the Keyoh holders may be attributed to the Keyoh holders worrying about the loss of control over the Keyoh, the loss of resources such as animals for trapping on their Keyoh, or the unwillingness to suffer environmental damage from tourism in their Keyoh. The conflict may also stem from the reserve system that Canada uses. In the Canadian reserve system Aboriginal persons living on reserve are not able to purchase land in the reserve, thereby ensuring the government has control of the reserve. This inability to own land that could be passed on to future generations may be the cause of the reluctance of Keyoh holders to give up or relinquish control or power over their Keyoh to another party. If there were a method for creating equal or fair opportunities in the Keyoh holder's eyes, they might be more willing to share their land. Stevenson (1996) looked at traditional ecological knowledge of Aboriginal people in the Northwest Territories, and how this Traditional Ecological Knowledge should be addressed for diamond mine development. Stevenson (p. 290) states: "Only through the formation of true power-sharing relationships, in which both parties provide equal contributions of knowledge and expertise to apply this knowledge, will aboriginal people and industry mutually benefit from northern development." If the community members looking to develop tourism find a way to give equal power sharing to the Keyoh holders or additional compensation to the Keyoh holders for allowing tourists to access their land, they may be able to develop tourism with the Keyoh holders. The possibility of a fair and equal opportunity for the community members may be linked to communication.

Communication

In the Tourism Development Workshop participants noted that they would like improved communication between elders and youth. In an interview one community member, stated that "the families don't communicate with each other they don't visit with each

other as much as they did in the old days" (Tl'azt'en Community Member, #6). The improved communication between all community groups could assist Tl'azt'en Nation in tourism development, as other community members have touched on the need for improved communication:

> I think it's got to be a group effort. I mean, there are people who can provide a lot leadership. Who've been involved with different ventures that have worked? But I think they need to be pulled together. I think there are a lot of people, talking about this independently, really without knowing how to move forward.   (Tl'azt'en Community Member, #9)

Tl'azt'en Nation may need improved communication within their community to develop tourism, but they are not the only Aboriginal community struggling with communication issues in developing tourism. Notzke (1999) explored tourism development in Canada's western Artic region. In doing so, she looked at Grekin & Milne's (1996) work at Pond Inlet and surmised that there were "missed economic opportunities for communities due to a lack of local communication and coordination between various community actors" (Notzke, 1999, p. 25). This lack of local communication may ring true for Tl'azt'en Nation as well.

Lack of training and capacity

In the Tourism Development Workshop, participants were concerned about the lack of capacity within Tl'azt'en Nation, and noted that there is a "lack of manpower, training and funding." In the interviews, it also came out that management capacity is needed in the community:

> We're helping them build that information up so that they have the best information at hand when they want to develop a tourism business, so that's starting now. But they still need to build a capacity on the management side of it.   (Tl'azt'en Community Member #11, 2008)

It would be false to say there is no capacity at all in the community; some members felt that other community members could lead in the training of youth in certain areas: "I think the younger people need to be trained, there is enough capacity as trainers to do that, even myself I do beadwork" (Tl'azt'en Community Member #3, 2008). There were

members that also felt the youth were the future of tourism development in Tl'azt'en Nation and that the existing capacity was sufficient:

> I think if we get the young people connected and make sure they continue this process, because if we want to attract tourism in the long haul then we have to continue doing this stuff... that's the sustainability we're going to need to look for. And yes, we need to train more people but as it is right now I think there's enough capacity already trained to help do that. I think if we start off small and to build up to a stage where we think that it might sustain us in a long haul that would work.
>
> (Tl'azt'en Community Member #5, 2008)

Conversely, there were community members that felt outside trainers should be brought into Tl'azt'en Nation for training, even if only temporarily, until Tl'azt'en Nation members were able to take over the reins:

> We want to utilize it, someone else is benefiting and prospering off the resources instead of us and we should be the ones doing that. I think that we don't have enough educated people to do those things, but we could get consultants and teach our people how to do that stuff so that we don't have to have outsiders doing that stuff for us. We could bring consultants in and train Tl'azt'en people to do it, so our people would be doing it.
>
> (Tl'azt'en Community Member #11, 2008)

Some community members feel that there is enough developed capacity in Tl'azt'en Nation, others do not. Regardless of the amount of capacity that exists in Tl'azt'en Nation, it has been shown that capacity building before and after the development of the venture is positive for the Aboriginal people involved (Eggleston, 2002). Tl'azt'en Nation may want to continue their capacity building as tourism is developed, or they may want to turn their energy to developing the physical areas of their territory (such as roads and trails) that have been noted as needing assistance by other community members.

Physical infrastructure weaknesses and isolated geographical location

Tl'azt'en Nation community members touched on their weakness in infrastructure for developing tourism: "I think we got some bottlenecks like infrastructure" (Tl'azt'en Community Member #13, 2008). "We don't have nothing going for us, expect our gas station" (Tl'azt'en Community Member #1, 2008). This lack of amenities is exacerbated

by the remote location: "We're at the end of the line" (Tl'azt'en Community Member #3, 2008). Their geographical location may make tourism development more of a challenge for Tl'azt'en Nation members.

While these community members see Tl'azt'en Nation's location as a weakness, at least one community member sees it as a benefit:

> What would I like to see? For one, a resort, because during fishing and hunting seasons like a lodge, right? To where hunters can come and actually lodge. 'Cause I think this is the perfect location. A lot of people go to Takla or between here and Takla or up the river, right?
>
> (Tl'azt'en Community Member #7, 2008)

Other community members have also touched on the connection with Takla when they were looking at developing some small cabins for Takla members to stop and rest at on their way home:

> We talked to Takla... some of the community members, and they were all gung-ho for that. They wanted these cabins because they wanted somewhere to rest instead of stopping in Fort and then getting back on the road because its three hours, three hours up that way, too.
>
> (Tl'azt'en Community Member #7, 2008)

Community members seem to find the remoteness and undeveloped nature of Tl'azt'en Nation both positive and negative. In looking at the economic future of Aboriginal communities, Altman (1990) stated that "at remote communities there is often no formal labour market and very few private sector economic opportunities."

Lack of assistance

Overcoming scarce facilities and a remote location may not be an impossible task for Tl'azt'en Nation if the community can come together. This may be difficult; at least one member has attempted operating small cabins on his land and has received no community support:

> I brought everything down with a skidoo. I borrowed the money from my father-in-law to buy the material. Tin roofs and plywood and all that, to bring it down and I'm still paying them back. I asked the band to help me but, nobody helps me I am just doing everything on my own. This is all on my own. (Tl'azt'en Community Member #7, 2008)

Other community members have found difficulties in getting community members out to town meetings to make community decisions:

> I mean, it's pretty hard to get the community out instead of just 15, 16, 17 band members at the meeting. I know that's not right. I know that's not right to pass motions, and stuff like that, and make decisions for all the band members instead of everybody collectively. (Tl'azt'en Community Member #9, 2008)

This same member feels the community members do not want to get involved unless there is compensation for their time:

> They don't get involved unless you got something, like money or your invited to this or you're invited to that. Other than that they just prefer not to get involved because there is nothing in it for them. (Tl'azt'en Community Member #9, 2008)

If the community members are not willing to assist their fellow community members or make decisions for the community, the development of tourism by Tl'azt'en Nation may be difficult. The lack of involvement by other Aboriginals was one of the reasons, but not the only reason, for a spread of invasive weed in the Northern end of Australia, (Storrs et al., 1996). While there are no weeds spreading through the Tl'azt'en Nation territory, the involvement of community members could help the community, much the same as how Aboriginal involvement could have helped stop the spread of weeds in the Australia.

5.4 Latent Themes: The Importance of Culture, Youth and Elders

As touched on earlier, latent themes are "the deeper underlying themes that are not readily seen on the surface" (Berg, 2004). The following sections discuss the latent themes that emerged from the interviews. As I worked with the data, I noticed that the community members talked about or touched on three key latent themes in the majority of the interviews. When first working with the data, I did not expect to find these themes

throughout the interviews. I expected the community members to be concerned with jobs and income much more than culture, youth and elders.

Culture

The theme of culture appeared in various interviews with the community members. Perhaps this may be due to the rich cultural history that most Aboriginal communities possess, or it may be from the work that Tl'azt'en Nation has done within its own members to revitalize cultural traditions. Tl'azt'en Nation hosted culture awareness and building days for community members, and interview participants talked about the culture days at Tache and how that would relate well to presenting their culture to tourists: "And then last week we had our culture week and you could see the people were excited about scraping skin and stuff like that" (Tl'azt'en Community Member #11, 2008).

While the community cultural week could be viewed as building cultural capacity in Tl'azt'en Nation, the building of cultural capacity among the community members was still a concern:

> I think that, the many years that the non-natives have been working in band and culture... I think band members should be doing that, they should be teaching our band members how to do that stuff.
>
> (Tl'azt'en Community Member #7, 2008)

The community members also felt that presenting a cultural product based on traditional Tl'azt'en Nation ways would help with tourism development. The development and building of culture in Tl'azt'en Nation may open potential tourism markets: "I think Europeans would still be coming over for vacations and what not; like especially the Germans, they like the native culture and what not, eh" (Tl'azt'en Community Member #10, 2008).

But if the cultural capacity is to be built within the community and new markets are to be explored, there were members who felt that the culture and traditions must be built and sustained during this growth period:

I think it's a one of the most vital roles that would help us sustain the culture and traditions that seem to be just being lost due to time. And it's hard, I feel it's hard to keep those culture and traditions up.

(Tl'azt'en Community Member #5, 2008)

The difficulty of keeping culture and traditions at the forefront was also touched on by other community members who felt that the modern world is making sustaining Tl'azt'en Nation culture more difficult:

You know even in my household... there's very little culture in our house, very little language. Because we're so distracted with all modern technologies and the games and the fun things that go along with it, you know, computer games, computer, and television.

(Tl'azt'en Community Member #8, 2008)

Yet even though the culture of Tl'azt'en Nation may be difficult to maintain and will face challenges, this does not mean there is a lack of cultural opportunities for the community members:

But, right when you walk out the door you can walk out into the field part. It's right out your back door...quick culture across the lake, down the lake, to that island, to that island.

(Tl'azt'en Community Member #9, 2008)

Cultural connection for community members could be developed further, which may allow Tl'azt'en Nation to build their tourism base. As mentioned by the community members, the resurgence of cultural tradition may be difficult, but it has also been mentioned as a tool that could be used to involve the youth of Tl'azt'en Nation.

Youth

The youth theme also emerged throughout all spectrums of interviews. The community members showed a great concern for the youth of Tl'azt'en Nation. A top concern of community members was to have more of the youth involved, to have activities for them to do. There are activities that are taking place in Tl'azt'en Nation that are targeted

towards the youth such as camping or trapping trips, trapline tours, trap setting, and pithouse tours:

> So I had 11 of them up in my area and the youth group. The young guys really liked trapping, we have, about 14 of them and our traps.
>
>   (Tl'azt'en Community Member #7, 2008)

> I've been to the pithouses, too, and I brought some of the youth there, so. They liked it too. Crawled into the pithouses.
>
>   (Tl'azt'en Community Member #10, 2008)

> Interviewer: Is it the same youth that come back each year? Or each time? Is it the same group of kids or is it new kids every time or?
> Tl'azt'en Community Member: We get, well some of the youth are older so they don't come out no more. So then we get new ones, the younger ones but we do a certain age, yeah? Because it's too hard to bring the little guys, too, it's too rough. So, so some of them move on to other things and some of the younger come back so.
>
>   (Tl'azt'en Community Member #5 ,2008)

> Yeah, they ask us what we are doing there, some, some of them stop us and then, but there are some pretty good guys, like we have been using one guy's trap line for over maybe six years now, he just lets us go into his trap line, into his cabins, let the youth stay in his cabins and that, so it's pretty good.   (Tl'azt'en Community Member #4, 2008)

> With our youth, like when I go camping with summer to winter…last year I had 11 youth come with me and we had all traps and we went into my territory and we set traps in there.
>
>   (Tl'azt'en Community Member #5, 2008)

Even with the various projects and trips that the youth take part in, which could be viewed as future tourism products and as a tool for building tourism capacity, some community members feel there is still more to be done because the youth are searching for something to do:

> The youth, like I said, that's the ones we need to work with. 'Cause they're floating around; they just want something to do; they're tired of drinking; tired of hitchhiking into town and getting nothing done; looking for work, eh?   (Tl'azt'en Community Member #11, 2008)

Some community members even touched on involving the youth in tourism and stating that tourism may provide the youth with activities that they could get into:

> If we can just get this big picture; culture, tourism and youth involved and then we have to we have to look and see how we can get funding for tourism.   (Tl'azt'en Community Member #11, 2008)

> Our language is dying out, our balhats system is dying out slowly, all our youth are dropping out of school, and they are floating around, nothing to do. Maybe tourism is something that they can get into now, they are young and out of school.   (Tl'azt'en Community Member #12 ,2008)

The community members also felt that the elders who showed a concern for the youth should work together more, and the relationship gaps between the elder and youth could be filled to better assist the youth and, therefore, the community. The benefits of the youth working with the elders would include such things as community pride, and the youth learning traditional cultural ways: "The elders got up and start working with their youth; tell them we are once a proud nation we can still be a proud nation" (Tl'azt'en Community Member #4, 2008). Youth working with elders could also learn about thinking about long term plans and the future:

> Even that the elders like to think of the future and stuff, they're always mentioning youth. So that's why I say, the elders are right and they're always thinking about the young people and stuff like that.
> (Tl'azt'en Community Member #6, 2008)

> But from a broader picture there were other things, components that our people held potlatch for, it wasn't just for death. Like I am saying, this will be new and it will be welcomed I think. Especially with the youth.
> (Tl'azt'en Community Member #5, 2008)

Community pride and youth involvement may be some of the key benefits for the community if tourism is developed. One benefit that may have been overlooked by most of the community members is that youth are excited to participate in tours and to assist when taking tour groups out for camping trips: "The youth they're really enthusiastic, I couldn't believe it" (Tl'azt'en Community Member #2, 2008), although this comment stemmed from a member of the community who is not a youth, he still believes in the enthusiasm of youth. This youthful enthusiasm may be needed for all community

members as they progress in tourism development. If Tl'azt'en Nation combines youthful enthusiasm with elder wisdom, tourism will stand a better chance of success. The wisdom and leadership of the elders is an asset the community will have to maximize for tourism development success.

Elders

The final latent theme to emerge from the interviews was about the Tl'azt'en Nation elders. Community members talked about or showed concern for their elders on various levels and throughout many interviews. It may be a positive sign for tourism development in Tl'azt'en Nation when multiple community members mention their elders, as elders can provide a source of wisdom for the community. Their traditional ecological knowledge (TEK) may assist Tl'azt'en Nation in tourism development. Stevenson (1996) noted that the impacts from mining and other developments are felt more by Aboriginal people and especially elders. The development of tourism in Tl'azt'en Nation should be done in a sustainable, environmentally friendly manner, and the wisdom and knowledge of the elders may be a definite asset:

> They (elders) may be in an especially favorable position to assess whether systemic changes in local environments are project-related or simply natural variation. Aboriginal elders with extensive local ecological knowledge may be especially cognizant of subtle, but significant, changes to ecosystem relationships. They may also know when environmental change may be more apparent rather than real.   (Stevenson, 1996, p. 284)

A key issue for Tl'azt'en Nation is not whether the elders can assist with developing a sustainable tourism product, but how to get the elders involved in the development process:

> How do we get back the youth and elders involved in tourism is going to be a big part of our discussion. Now that you're doing this, we'll have more dialog and that will make us engage with our youth, or elders, in that sense, too while we are doing this work.
> (Tl'azt'en Community Member #1, 2008)

> And in one year planning the work we're doing already, those things we're working at home visits; getting elders more involved at that top level and the youths, you know, right they're the fore front as is.
> (Tl'azt'en Community Member #10 ,2008)

With the involvement of the elders in the development of tourism in Tl'azt'en Nation, community members feel they could gain more support:

> Probably like again through co-op and get some of the clan leaders to head it. That would be the best way, that we get the elders and everybody else involved. And just by clan leaders, I mean everybody... will be supportive of it.   (Tl'azt'en Community Member #11, 2008)

As the community members gain support, this could also lead to deeper benefits for the Tl'azt'en Nation, such as community confidence: "So, the more this type of training the more confident the elders are, the middle aged, the youth are. More confident as a whole" (Tl'azt'en Community Member #4, 2008). If the confidence of the elders is utilized and their ability to lead and train the community members is harnessed, the development of tourism in Tl'azt'en Nation should have a better chance of success.

As mentioned earlier, the traditional knowledge of the elders could be an asset to the community. Tourism development success could also be assisted if the community calls on the experience of the elders:

> Tl'azt'en Community Member: Some of the elders have some really good knowledge of different stuff.   (Tl'azt'en Community Member #9, 2008)

> I know elders have a lot of knowledge, preparing the different traditional stuff. Like even at my age, I don't know how to prepare moose hide, that's one thing I'm not proud of; it just happened that way. I know a lot of our elders of our community have a lot of knowledge and that kind of stuff.
> (Tl'azt'en Community Member #2, 2008)

Some community members felt the experience of the elders may be put to better use if the hierarchy of the community was adjusted. They suggested possibly placing the elders in more of a leadership role:

We are looking at putting the elders above the Chief and Council as new leadership role because Chief and Council basically are like DIA programs and political stuff that are non-cultural stuff like that. But, if we have the elders on top of us and Chief and Council below staff and programs... then I think that's a better organizational chart we can work with and give the elders the feeling okay, now we are a place where we should be and we should always be. Because in history our elders at home, when doing fish or sitting in the smoke house, they talk about different culture things while they are doing these things.

(Tl'azt'en Community Member #7 2008)

Well I'm a firm believer in our elders, so I honestly think that anything that has to do with culture traditions needs to be passed through our elders first, they need to oversee those projects. Who they hire from there, wouldn't necessarily profit Tl'azt'en. But I think the elders Society would be the ones to handle or oversee that. To see what comes in and what goes out and see who's hired, and who's not hired right? Because they're all committee, they're all the elders of Tl'azt'en.

(Tl'azt'en Community Member #8 2008)

Elder experience could possibly lead to tourism being developed more quickly and effectively. Russell-Mudine (2007) found that in Australian Indigenous entrepreneurship:

"The community found it was important to ensure that each family group was represented, by an elder which encouraged greater participation and also allowed for better and quicker resolution of conflicts because each elder took responsibility for the action of their family" (p. 423).

Increased community member participation and speedy resolution to problems could be a benefit to Tl'azt'en Nation, as there will most likely be a need for community members to address impacts that arise with tourism development, and these impacts may be coupled with social problems that some community members feel already exist in the community. These existing social problems such as lack of communication between generations, and residential school impacts may need to be addressed: "But, the community right here now, we have very few elders that can inspire and teach this younger generation and stuff like that" (Tl'azt'en Community Member #5 2008). "I think residential schools and assimilation had such an impact on this area that it is really hard to break the elders of that train of thought" (Tl'azt'en Community Member #2 2008).

But even with the problems that exist in the community, members feel that the elders could serve as a calming force for animosity issues within the community: "Within the First Nations community, right? There's always conflict and rivalry and that doesn't happen with elders they they're just them... the elders" (Tl'azt'en Community Member #6 2008).

And community members also feel that the elders can help with tourism development in the area of authenticity:

> If our elders set up their regalia back to the way it was and they figure out
> the process and how they pay out in the potlatch, stuff like that will help a
> lot in tourism. Because that's authentic, what we believe in our processes
> of management.   (Tl'azt'en Community Member #8 2008)

Other cultural tourism operators have used the assistance of elders in tourism development. In Southern Alberta, Ken Eaglespeaker "offers his guests a cultural immersion experience with his family and friends. After much soul-searching and consultation with elders, he decided to incorporate spiritual elements in his hosting activities" (Notzke, 2004, p. 36).

The fact that Tl'azt'en Nation is enthusiastic about elder involvement could be a benefit to tourism development in the community. The community feels that their elders could be a positive influence on tourism development, but the community members should be wary of the impacts that may stem from successful tourism development. Tl'azt'en Nation may want to consider the impact of social disempowerment. Scheyvens (1999) noted in her framework for determining the impacts of ecotourism initiatives on local communities that a sign of disempowerment is when "many in the community take on outside values and lose respect for traditional culture and for elders" (p. 247). With so many people in Tl'azt'en Nation passionate about including the elders in tourism development, they should be wary that the successful development of tourism could lead to the community losing respect for the elders. However, if they include a strong cultural component to their tourism development, they may be more successful in protecting the elders, values and culture of the community.

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5.5 Overarching Story: Make Culture the Core of Tourism Development

Tl'azt'en Nation may want to consider basing their tourism development on their culture, as many community members feel their culture is one of their strengths. In order to develop a sustainable tourism product which will provide Tl'azt'en Nation with the benefits, their product ought to be of high quality and look towards the future. Bouchenaki (2006) states that for sustainable tourism development

> Objectives depend upon the quality of the design and implementation of
> tourism policies and activities – that is to say their understanding of
> culture and their sustainability – which involves the participation of
> communities in the preservation and enhancement of cultural heritage in
> the long term.   (Bouchenaki, 2006, p. 4)

With quality cultural tourism implemented and combined with community participation, the culture of Tl'azt'en Nation may be sustained or revived. A quality, authentic tourism product would seem to make the most sense to develop in Tl'azt'en Nation. In the interviews, community members stated: "It's got to be authentic" (Tl'azt'en Community Member #1, 2008). "If we are going to attract tourists than we have to have authenticity" (Tl'azt'en Community Member #12, 2008). "They are all about authenticity. They want to see the real thing; they don't want to see no fake moccasins made in China" (Tl'azt'en Community Member #9, 2008).

The development of an authentic product may aid Tl'azt'en Nation in reviving their culture. Community members touched on how tourism could reinvigorate their culture and how they feel tourists would like to see that as a product:

> I know communities say like in Vancouver and you know Ontario and
> Alberta or Manitoba that they have revived their cultural traditions to a
> certain extent and people go there just to see that because they want to see
> it.   (Tl'azt'en Community Member #16, 2008)

> There's not a lot on Carrier people, our teachings have always been oral
> history, oral teachings and so that oral teachings… has been lost through
> the many generations and so reviving all of that and bringing that back,
> that brings self-pride. You always want to tell somebody I made a song…
> I know how to sing a song more. You know, you want to share that, with
> whoever. So I think that will be a humongous part of tourism, people will
> be coming here just to see our culturally based community.
>   (Tl'azt'en Community Member #9, 2008)

Some community members are completing culturally based work already, although not specifically in tourism businesses. In the interviews, members mentioned the types of work that is being completed in the community by other members that could be developed into Tl'azt'en Nation tourism ventures. These included:

- Canoe carvers – Cottonwood canoes were carved by community members for the community cultural days that are hosted in Tache;

- Beadwork craftspeople – community members have created and sold beadwork in the past, but at the time of this research, there were no community members completing beadwork;

- Moose hide clothing makers – community members create clothing when moose hide is available; they typically sell more in the fall season to hunters in the area;

- Bannock sales – bannock was made and sold at special festivals and ad hoc events in the past.

This variety of cultural talent in the community could be a positive asset for the development of tourism in Tl'azt'en Nation. With so many community members feeling tourism development should be based on the traditional culture of the area, they take note that tourism has the ability to adversely affect their culture. One of the cultural barriers to tourism development is the "concern that in the process of customizing Indigenous culture to attract and entertain tourists that culture may be distorted, exploited and undermined." (Russell-Mundine, 2007, p. 419). Tl'azt'en Nation members should bear this in mind when they are planning for successful tourism development.

5.6 Overarching Story: Outdoor Work May be the Answer in Tourism Development

Working outdoors not only seems to stimulate and encourage the adults of the community, but education research has also shown that "education outdoors can provide important learning experience that enable young people to learn, through and about the natural heritage through first-hand experience" (Nicol, et al., 2007, p. 1). While Nicol's report focused on the benefits of teaching and learning for youth in an outdoor setting in' Scotland, these outdoor education benefits can easily be transferred to adults working outdoors in tourism. In the report, key finding 10 stated:

Young people value experiences that:

- Are fun or enjoyable, often involving doing something new and doing activities that engaged the senses;

- Leave them feeling uninhibited: being 'free', outdoors, setting their own agenda, not being rushed, being close to nature;

- Feel authentic and contingent, i.e. relating to the hands-on nature of practical activity, encounter with animals, being exposed to the effects of the weather and not always knowing what will happened next.

(Nicol et al., 2007, p. 1)

Community members have also stated they love being outdoors: "Yeah I think so because majority of all these natives, they love being outside, they love having a fire outside" (Tl'azt'en Community Member, #4). The feeling of being "free" and doing new activities for youth and adults would seem to explain why outdoor work may be the answer for successful tourism development in Tl'azt'en Nation. The possibility of working and learning outdoors seems fitting as community members have stated a passion for learning outdoors, "wilderness awareness schools, tracking schools, survival schools, wildlife tracking schools, oh man... that would be grand" (Tl'azt'en Community Member #8, 2008).

Tourism development in Tl'azt'en Nation would seem to be a natural fit as community members have expressed the types of outdoor jobs that they would enjoy: "a hunting guide, fishing guide, even a trail guide, wildlife guide" (Tl'azt'en Community Member #11, 2008), as well as touching on these same types of jobs that community members used to hold in the past: "Majority of our men use to be working in the tourism industry, guiding outfitters, hunters, professional guides, all that stuff. They were away for months at a time" (Tl'azt'en Community Member #16, 2008).

Comments from the interviews even show that there are currently community members who have the ability to work in and possibly even lead others in outdoor work:

> Peter there, he's a real genuine hunter and he loves being out on the land. We need people like him to get involved into what you're doing, because he's out there doing stuff all the time, eh.
>
> (Tl'azt'en Community Member #4, 2008)

There are community members who stated firsthand that they would like to work outdoors:

> I'm ready to commit myself like if you want to start right now. I'll start right now, go out there and bring kids out or tourist or whatever you want.
>
> (Tl'azt'en Community Member #6, 2008)

With the benefits of outdoor work clearly presented in other research and a willingness and existing capacity for outdoor work present in Tl'azt'en Nation, the community may want to pursue developing outdoor tourism. The development of an outdoor tourism product may give the product the best chance for success and may stimulate the greatest amount of community involvement. For the development of tourism to be successful in Tl'azt'en Nation, they need as much community involvement as possible.

5.7 Overarching Story: Community Member Involvement Counts in Tourism Development

Various concerns and issues came to light in the interviews, and the points that were presented by the community members show they are mindful about tourism development. Their concerns also show that community member involvement may be one of the key factors in developing their tourism product and community members possibly will need to work together to address leadership and control. The issues that came forth in the interviews that relate to community member involvement pertained to:

- Chief and council – how they should or should not be involved in tourism development in the community
- Entrepreneurs – how they may need to be encouraged in the community
- Co-op management – this may be the best choice for involving the community
- Training and partnerships – what is the best choice for community
- Keyoh issues – successful community tourism development may hinge on the Keyoh holders.

Chief and council

The comments of the community members regarding the involvement of Chief and council in the development of tourism were both positive and negative. For the most part,

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community members felt the development of tourism in Tl'azt'en Nation should not be led by Chief and council. This could mean that the community members may need to take on a higher level of involvement if they want the development of tourism to be successful. Some community members did feel that Chief and council should be involved; one community member felt that "Chief and Council should be behind it 100%" (Tl'azt'en Community Member #4, 2008). Other community members didn't share this confidence in Chief and council: "Well first of all, Chief and Council, I don't believe is effective, an effective decision making tool right?" (Tl'azt'en Community Member #2, 2008). This community member felt animosity towards them: "Well you know what they say about chief and council it is all corrupt eh" (Tl'azt'en Community Member. #3, 2008). This member did not have faith in Chief and council:

> "Interviewer: So, we kind of talked about control before, so if we develop tourism in Tl'azt'en, how do you think it can be controlled? How do you think it would be best controlled it? So, entrepreneurs; a co-op type system, that and, of Council system, or other type of system?"
> "Tl'azt'en Community Member: Probably all go down to the band council level."
> "Interviewer: Do you think it's the best, the best way of doing that…the band council?"
> "Tl'azt'en Community Member: I don't think it's the best way; I don't have much faith in them…I shouldn't say that."
> "Interviewer: So, maybe you look at a co-op system type?"
> "Tl'azt'en Community Member: Yeah, a co-op type system, that's if they hired somebody, to oversee it, it would be better than going through the chief and council."
> "Interviewer: Yeah, They're probably pretty busy already? Right?"
> "Tl'azt'en Community Member: I don't have too much faith in them."
> (Tl'azt'en Community Member #5, 2008)

While these members felt animosity towards and a lack of faith in Chief and council, some community members feared what would happen if they tried to develop tourism without the assistance of Chief and council: "We didn't want the chief and council to come in and say well you guys are doing this and doing that and you can't do that and they just shut us down" (Tl'azt'en Community Member #6, 2008).

The community member concerns may be unfounded as a member of Chief and council noted that they do not want to be involved in the management of tourism within Tl'azt'en Nation:

> "Interviewer: So you think that would be the best for the management of tourism development, to start small, like that, support individual entrepreneurs, or say for doing it like community tourism, like a co-op or do you think Chief and Council should lead it?"
>
> "Tl'azt'en Community Member: Chief and Council would like to stay out of businesses. We would rather have a community or the communities do it. Or individual businesses, like we could if you want to do tourism and you have big spread of territory. What we're planning now is the council is planning to support some of the Keyoh holders in fixing their cabins, so they could utilize it as a tourist initiative. Stuff like that; throw a little bit money at them to make their cabin look a little better. The other thing we are doing is that we're engaging with the Keyoh holders, to give us ideas of what's out there. They know the land better than we do."
>
> (Tl'azt'en Community Member #6, 2008)

Community entrepreneurs

As touched on by this member of Chief and council, individual businesses or entrepreneurs may be an option for tourism development in Tl'azt'en Nation. Community member involvement in tourism may be best suited to individuals from the community operating small entrepreneurial type services and businesses. Tourism often is a seasonal business, and small tourism services and businesses could adapt quickly to the ebb and flow nature of tourism. One community member said:

> I think we have to get some sort of entrepreneurial system, because it's not an eight hour a day job. It's a lifestyle, and you get paid ok, maybe, but you know it's hard to think of getting paid by the hour. It's something you put in the effort and get out what you put in.
>
> (Tl'azt'en Community Member #8, 2008)

Other community members also spoke along those lines to the passion and the work ethic that would be needed to make the tourism venture successful:

> The people driving the venture are going to be entrepreneurs. That doesn't, you know, there's no shift limit on that. You got a do what you got do to make it work.   (Tl'azt'en Community Member #13, 2008)

But I think ultimately it has to be that sort of that entrepreneurial driven,
because if you don't really don't want to do it, if you're not passionate
about it, it's not really going to work in the long run.

(Tl'azt'en Community Member #13, 2008)

Community members also feel that the entrepreneurial spirit is alive and well in Tl'azt'en
Nation: "I think there's lots of potential for entrepreneurs here" (Tl'azt'en Community
Member #9, 2008). The potential for individual business has been shown in the past by a
community member that tried to operate his own tourism business in Tl'azt'en Nation:

I'm just doing it on my own. I'm just doing... teaching native kids how to
do stuff, but if there ever going to be tourism anything they want to do or
whatever there's a story here for them, there's things for them to look at.

(Tl'azt'en Community Member #7, 2008)

Ok, I picked this area cause the reason was 46 – 48 – 20 km off this road
right there, it goes down to Tache River and it goes to Grand Rapids and
that's where I was setting up. I got my picnic tables, I had that trailer there
and BCR they wanted $4000.00 just to put crossing in there for me. They
were so happy that I was going to build some kind of little lodge there and
everything; cabins and that, and they did it for me for free.

(Tl'azt'en Community Member #8, 2008)

While this tourism venture is currently stalled, the entrepreneurial spirit can be an
inspiration to other community members considering a tourism venture of their own.
Entrepreneurship is one option for a management system, but another system was also
mentioned by the members of Tl'azt'en Nation.

Co-op management

The co-op management system was mentioned by community members as a possible
method to include more community involvement in Tl'azt'en Nation tourism
development and management. Operating the tourism venture as a co-op may encourage
more members of the band to be involved, and one member even suggested an alternate
name for a co-op management system:

It should be called band-owned tourism, 'cause everybody has trap lines
and somehow we need to get them together. I think that will be one of the
ways to get them working together, is to have a co-op between them.

(Tl'azt'en Community Member #2, 2008)

This participant felt that getting more community members involved would require the assistance of Clan leaders and elders; "You have to get ready for the ones that want to co-op and there may be like the elders, maybe a co-op for them is better" (Tl'azt'en Community Member #10, 2008). And, if the clan leaders were involved, it may gain more support:

> Probably, like through co-op, and get some of the clan leaders to head it. That would be the best way, we get the elders and everybody else involved. And just by clan leaders, I mean everybody has like a, things like that will be. Everybody will be supportive of it.
> (Tl'azt'en Community Member #15, 2008)

This participant felt that the benefits of a co-op could help with the success of tourism development on a more regional scale:

> Even the co-op thing. I think that, even in Fort, the band in Fort could be part of this kind of thing. You can get just about any kind of Da'kelh organization to be a part of the co-op thing.
> (Tl'azt'en Community Member #16, 2008)

For the most part, community members felt that the co-op management system would be an acceptable option for Tl'azt'en Nation, but one member who spoke provided an interesting point about the co-op management type system:

> If you co-operative, they tend to push-pull, well you know, this part is more important, this piece is more important, you know? There's always a conflict arising.   (Tl'azt'en Community Member #17, 2008)

And once again, a community member touched on the aspect of Chief and council being involved in the management of a tourism venture: "A co-op type system, that's if they hired somebody, to oversee it, it would be better than going through the chief and council" (Tl'azt'en Community Member #12 2008). The notion of hiring someone to oversee or manage the venture was also touched on in building community capacity:

> Like I was saying, if you get them outsiders in here, maybe we get somebody to work with them, train along beside them, until they know everything. And after that you just let them know, ok you can go now.
>
> (Tl'azt'en Community Member #9, 2008)

While this community member was not necessarily speaking about the managing of a co-op type system, the community member's sentiments could easily apply.

Partnerships

Community entrepreneurs and co-op management systems were not the only management options that Tl'azt'en Nation members spoke about. Community members also talked about partnerships, and how a successful partnership with Tl'azt'en Nation may be a good choice for getting some community members successfully involved in a productive tourism venture. Some community members felt that a partnership for Tl'azt'en Nation would be a good idea: "Yeah I would definitely look into a partnership with two or three others" (Tl'azt'en Community Member, #12, 2008). But there were also concerns regarding certain types of partnerships: "Not within the... not within the band because partnerships don't usually work. And if they do work it's under unusual, extreme good conditions" (Tl'azt'en Community Member #17, 2008). Some members felt that the best option may not be a 50-50 power split between the partners:

> You know, that is why you'd have to have a partner, somebody in charge and this guy is basically worked for him. You know they're partners in a way, but he is working for him and this guy is in control.
>
> (Tl'azt'en Community Member #4, 2008)

Keyoh holders and traplines

Partnerships and management system types may not be the key issue for tourism development or community involvement in Tl'azt'en Nation. The largest issue facing tourism development in Tl'azt'en Nation could be the Keyoh holders and their traplines, and how to get them involved in the development of tourism in the community. The development of tourism in Tl'azt'en Nation will most likely have to advance with the involvement of the Keyoh holders. Keyoh holder territorial rights are dispersed amongst the community members, and their traditional Keyohs cover all of the traditional

territory. Community members are aware of the issues of tourism development and how it may be hindered by the Keyoh holders: "Interviewer: Do you think that's the probably the biggest obstacle right now is to get the Keyoh holders all talking to each other?" "Tl'azt'en Community Member: Probably, yeah." (Tl'azt'en Community Member #14, 2008)

The Keyoh holder problems and the obstacles they may present to tourism development in Tl'azt'en Nation are due simply to the sheer number of Keyoh holders and the logistics of trying get all the Keyoh holders talking, as well as the determination of how their Keyohs will be used if lines of communication are ever opened up. One community member commented on the problems of using all the Keyohs, and how community members view their Keyohs:

> And right now let's say we 30 territories, and if you start saying whose, what's most important right away? Oh, mine's most important, you got 30 hands in the air, mine's most important. How do we figure out what's most important? Because when we start, it is important for what? You know what I mean. 'Cause somebody's gravel pit to them could be just as important as somebody's Garden of Eden.
>
> (Tl'azt'en Community Member #8, 2008)

Community members feel that with the Keyoh holders, one of the biggest issues will be the ability to cross other Keyoh holders' traplines and the feelings the would result from other community members crossing their lines;

> I don't know because with the trap line holders, like they said that we can't cross their boundaries.
>
> (Tl'azt'en Community Member. #11, 2008)

> I mean if you take trapping for instance, each every one of these guys have a Keyoh holder or trap line. But if they don't work it, they still won't let you cross it with snowshoes like it is just, it's guarded eh.
>
> (Tl'azt'en Community Member. #4, 2008)

> If we could get trails, but the only thing is that were so broken down into trap lines, and people don't like you to, for other people to go on to your lines. And it's hard to ask them for permission. 'Cause all they do is say no. (Tl'azt'en Community Member. #16, 2008)

> So you would have to be really careful during the trapping season, if you are out having...you know trappers and Keyoh holders will get very excited if they go out and there's a bunch of people walking around their traps...very quickly.   (Tl'azt'en Community Member #13, 2008)

While there is trepidation within the community about working with the Keyoh holders, these fears may be overcome with appropriate compensation. Community members have touched on Keyoh holders being compensated for the use of their Keyoh and trap line, but they also feel that the compensation asked for by the Keyoh holders would be too high: "Would be just a matter of trying to convince the other trap line holders to let them use it. But then they would want to be paid for it, eh?" (Tl'azt'en Community Member #5, 2008).

> People say you're in my Keyoh. They want more money and they want bigger Keyoh and those kinds of things are out there too, but they need to understand they are not going to get their money any time soon.
> (Tl'azt'en Community Member #13, 2008)

The issues that Tl'azt'en Nation faces regarding tourism development and gaining community member involvement is extensive; Chief and council, entrepreneurs, management types, partnerships and Keyoh holder issue and trap line use are issues that may need to be explored in more detail if Tl'azt'en Nation wishes to develop a successful tourism venture.

The list may be extensive, but it should not be impossible. Tl'azt'en Nation members may need to communicate more and share what each member feels tourism development in the community should look like. Improved communication on part of all community members may allow Tl'azt'en Nation to develop a successful tourism product in which all community members are involved.

Chapter Six. Summary and Recommendations

This thesis explored Tl'azt'en Nation perspectives on tourism development through the use of in-depth interviews and community workshops. Throughout my interviews and discussions three main overarching themes, or stories emerged:

Story 1. Make culture the core of tourism development

Story 2. Tourism development should take place on the land

Story 3. Community member involvement counts in tourism development

The latent themes of culture, youth and elders flowed through all the interviews and were a concern to most of the community members that were interviewed.

The thesis was originally framed, however, by research questions intended to examine more specifically community perspectives on: the benefits and impacts of tourism; preferences for the nature, type and level of involvement with tourism; and preferences for control or management of tourism. In the following section I reflect back on findings from the interviews and community workshops to pull the more specific answers to these questions.

6.1 What Benefits are Tl'azt'en Nation Seeking From Tourism and What Impacts or Costs do they Want to Avoid or are they Willing to Accept?

The theoretical benefits and impacts of tourism have been well documented (Allen et al., 1988; Cooke, 1982; Faulkner & Tideswell, 1997; Kreag, 2001; Mbaiwa, 2003; Okazaki, 2008; Ritchie & Inkari, 2006), but understanding how these apply or how they are of interest and concern to Tl'azt'en Nation community members, were important questions to explore.

Employment and income are often cited as two of the main benefits of tourism development (Ap & Crompton; 1998; Beeton, 1998; Faulkner & Tideswell, 1997; Kreag; 2001) yet while community members identified jobs and income as key issues for Tl'azt'en Nation, they are more interested in other potential benefits of tourism. They felt tourism could contribute to cultural revitalization. Additionally, participants highlighted

the potential for tourism development to support their concerns and the opportunities related to culture, youth and elders. They felt that tourism development may be a way for the community to bridge the gap between youth and elders.

Participants spent time focusing on some of the key impacts such as increased crime, noise pollution and loss of natural fauna potentially due to visitors from outside Tl'azt'en Nation. Community members feel that the increase in crime would not be a large impact, but they are aware that with increased visitors to Tl'azt'en Nation, comes the potential for increased crime. Increased noise pollution was also a concern, but community members seemed more concerned with the noise of tourist vehicles operating in the late or wee hours of the day, than the increased number of vehicle noise overall. They seemed to accept the increase in noise levels, as long as the traffic was during the day. The final impact mentioned was the loss of local fauna to visitors from outside Tl'azt'en Nation. The primary concern was that local moose and fish would be depleted by tourists, and this would make it more difficult for community members to hunt or catch their own moose or fish which they use for survival. However, community members also noted that if limitations were placed on the number of moose or fish that tourists could take, there could be enough for both tourists and Tl'azt'en Nation members.

Although participants did not develop an extensive list of potential impacts, there were several challenges and barriers to tourism development identified. One challenge brought forth was jealousy and infighting. Community members feel that success of tourism development could be more difficult because other community members would not want success for other members and, therefore, would try and halt or impair the progress of the tourism development. The community members felt that progress would be slowed because other members would not support another member's business venture, as well as talking behind the business owner's back in order to discredit the work of the business owner.

Another challenge Tl'azt'en Nation faces is their geographical location. Tl'azt'en Nation is in a remote location of the province. Tourism development in their remote location is a barrier because any tourists visiting Tl'azt'en Nation would first have to pass through the

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neighboring Fort St. James. Fort St. James offers more amenities, services and has a more built up infrastructure in place, which would make it difficult for a tourism business in Tl'azt'en Nation to draw clients or customers to their community. Coupled on top of competing with Fort St. James for clients, Tl'azt'en communities are located on a small, road that terminates in the community.

These types of challenges are not unique to Tl'azt'en Nation but shared by a number of small communities (see for example, Caldicott & Fuller, 2005; Tovar & Lockwood, 2008) and represent significant barriers that must be overcome for Aboriginal tourism development to be successful on a global scale.

6.2 What Level, Type and Nature of Involvement and Type of Interaction with Tourism are Tl'azt'en Nation Community Members Interested in Pursuing?

Most aboriginal tourism ventures operate on multiple levels and within many circles in the community. Tourism that is developed in Tl'azt'en Nation will most likely have at least indirect effects on the entire community. The data gathered from the interviews shows that community members in Tl'azt'en Nation are aware, and even ready for the entire community to be involved with tourism, but I suspect that they are not completely aware of the wide-scale impact tourism will have on Tl'azt'en Nation.

The types of tourism ventures Tl'azt'en Nation community members are interested in are diverse. Types of ventures mentioned included hiking, snowmobiling and lake tours. Willingness to look at a variety of tourism products will be a benefit in the long run as long as the culture, youth and elders of the community are considered in the tourism development.

The nature of involvement for community members in tourism development in Tl'azt'en Nation also ranges from having community members working as partners with outside assistance, working for a tourism company, or working backstage. Once again, the community members are open to being involved in many different aspects of tourism, as long as the culture, youth and elders of Tl'azt'en Nation are considered in the tourism venture.

The intensiveness of tourism can be controlled in many ways, whether offering front stage only attractions, off site tourism, or other types of tourism control. The literature has shown communities need to determine how intensive the tourism venture is to help mitigate the potential impacts (Medina, 2003; Silva & McDill, 2004).

Tl'azt'en Nation community members viewed the development of tourism and its potential impacts as something that could be addressed as the tourism developed. I feel that the community members did not fully appreciate the scale of the impacts that tourism would have on the community. The type and nature of impacts discussed by the community members only skimmed the surface suggesting that more effort should be devoted to this discussion.

The literature showed that community members were not always willing and interested in having direct or even indirect contact with tourists (Drumm, 1998). It also showed that community members progressed on a scale of like to dislike based on how long they had been interacting with the tourists, and where their tourism product was in regards to the tourism development life cycle (Hinch, 2001).

Related to this, community members revealed that they were interested in having tourism in all seasons with one-on-one interactions and were quite willing to embrace tourism in their community. Before beginning the research project, I felt that Tl'azt'en Nation community members would be hesitant to meet and work in a front line capacity with tourists given the remoteness of Tl'azt'en Nation. But as the interviews and workshops showed, the community members were quite willing to work one on one with tourists, and would be happy to share their local culture. Caution is warranted here since based on reading about the tourism life cycle that this feeling would fade as tourism grows in the community.

6.3 How Does the Community Want to Approach Issues of Control as it Relates to Impacts/Benefits of Tourism?

Management control was shown in the literature review (Higgins-Desbiolles, 2006) to be one of the main concerns and hurdles for communities developing tourism. Various

models were used in the control of tourism ventures including co-op systems and community based management (Altman & Finlayson, 1993). Individual tourism operators also appeared in the literature. The individual operators of tourism ventures approached the issues of control by doing what was necessary for their business to survive. Since the individual operators were working on their own behalf, they were not as concerned about the issues of control on a community level in Equatdor (Drumm, 1998), and thus they worked to make their tourism business successful and sustainable regardless of what the community as a whole was doing.

The issue of controlling the benefits and impacts of tourism in Tl'azt'en Nation was deemed by community members to be best controlled by a co-op or partnership. Some community members felt that the tourism venture would have the best chance of success if the control of the venture was handled by an outside owner or agency, while others felt that any type of control would be sufficient, so long as the chief and council did not have a hand in the decision making for the tourism venture. Still other community members felt that the tourism venture should be run by individual operators, and controlled as the operators saw fit. The variance in responses from the community members in regards to what type of control shows that there may be no exact or correct control method, but, a co-op type system was talked about the most by the community members. This type of co-op system, with all community members contributing to the tourism venture and then all community members benefiting from the venture seems to be the best option in the eyes of community members interviewed. Whichever type of control system is decided on by the community, community members feel that the elders should be involved or consulted in the control of the venture, or at least in the decision making process for the tourism development.

6.4 Suggestions and Opportunities for Tl'azt'en Nation

Tourism development in Tl'azt'en Nation was examined on three fronts. The market demand was studied by Diana Kutzner, community interest was explored by myself, and Tl'azt'en Nation existing resources and inventory were touched on by all of us. Examining the relationship between market demand and community interests suggests some potential opportunities or synergies.

These opportunities include a tourism visitor that is looking for more personal Aboriginal tourism experience, and a community (Tl'azt'en Nation) that is open to meeting and sharing themselves and their community with tourists. This opportunity could be expanded on by the Tl'azt'en Nation by offering such things as personal small group tours to culturally significant areas such as the pictographs. Tours such as guided overnight trips along traditional grease trails in Tl'azt'en territory could also meet the demand for more personal tourism experience.

A second opportunity is a market demand for an authentic cultural product, this parallels community desire to revive their culture as well as share it with outsiders. With the success of the local cultural awareness days that take place on an annual basis in the community, it would seem to be a natural progression for community members to move from presenting to fellow community members for free, to presenting to tourists for a fee.

Clearly there may well be barriers to tourism development. Those identified as central concerns included communication issues, Keyoh holder issues, and lack of motivation within the community. Additional challenges such as building their capacity and training will also have to be overcome so they may begin to explore new opportunities. In looking at these new opportunities, they may want to centre their explorations around culturally oriented authentic products that occur in outdoor settings.

The centrality of culture, youth and elders to the success of any initiative was highlighted by community members.

6.5 Recommendations for Further Research

I found that the benefits and impacts questions I asked couldn't be answered with a lot of depth, as community members did not have a wealth of experience with tourism. I suggest additional work in action-research to develop community capacity in tourism and business planning before a more detailed exploration of this topic is conducted. A possible focus for this future research is to examine the efficacy of different approaches to building community capacity and understanding in this area. Workshops, business

training, guest speakers from other communities, and Aboriginal tourism site tours could be possible mechanisms to be further investigated.

Additionally, community members spoke about the needs and benefits of partnerships for successful tourism development and sustainability. Examining in more detail how to develop and maintain tourism partnerships is a second potential research topic. Exploring the types of partnerships employed in other locations and what other communities have experienced relative to the potential synergies and costs of these partnerships would be valuable.

Paralleling an examination of partnerships, a more detailed study of the complex aspects and options for control (both ownership and management) is merited. Further research could look at how other communities have wrestled with various versions of control and what has been the end result for these communities.

Finally, the work done by Kutzner showed that visitors want personal one-on-one back stage type interactions. How sustainable/attainable is this in Tl'azt'en Nation? Until Tl'azt'en Nation members build their capacity and then work in the tourism industry and gain firsthand experience, it may be difficult for them to answer this question.

6.6 Conclusion

The results of this research offer a picture of the community's feelings towards the benefits and impacts of tourism development in Tl'azt'en Nation. This research combined with market research (Kutzner, 2009) provides the community with a framework to begin tourism development in Tl'azt'en Nation. The community members have shown that they are ready and willing to participate in tourism, and they have also shown that tourism developed in Tl'azt'en Nation should have cultural considerations, embrace and empower the youth, and respect and utilize the wisdom of the elders. There are challenges that community members will face. Community tourism capacity will need to be developed, champions and business leaders will need to be found, and physical infrastructure will need to be improved. Once these steps have been addressed, the community will then have the challenge of determining what type of tourism venture to develop.

For small, remote Aboriginal communities like Tl'azt'en Nation, the opportunities and challenges associated with Aboriginal tourism are many. Indeed tourism may not be right for all communities. Taking the time to explore and discuss the issues at a community level carefully and entering into the idea with eyes wide open is critical.

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Appendix

Appendix 1
IDT Posters, showing small, medium and large scale tourism sites.

Factors to consider
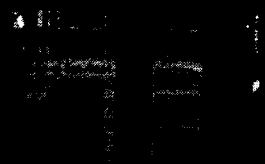
- Easy to develop
- Minimal Risk
- Low economic investment
- Site could be built local community members
- Not able to draw large numbers of visitors
- Minimal maintenance needed

Small Scale Benefits and Impacts

The development of a small scale tourism site with the Tl'azt'en traditional territory could be accomplished in a short time frame. The community must consider that the development of a small tourism site will not be enough to effectively build a sustainable tourism industry in Tl'azt'en.

Medium Scale Benefits and Impacts

Benefits

Impacts

Economic

Economic

Social

Social

Environmental

Environmental

Factors to consider

• Construction time may be over several seasons

• The community may not have all the resources

• There may be funding available for assistance with development

• The site may provide full time seasonal employment

Meeting for Sustainable Resource Management

Large Scale Benefits and Impacts

Benefits	Impacts
Economic	**Economic**
•Full time employment	Large initial outlay of funds to construct
•Money spent in community stays longer	•Building of this to may cost more than expected

| **Social** | **Social** |

| **Environmental** | **Environmental** |

Museum of Northern British Columbia, Prince Rupert
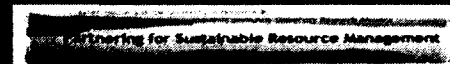
British Lake Resort

Factors to consider

•Large tourism sites will effect more then one generation of the community

•More in-depth training and capacity will be required on part of the community members

•Large developments should serve more then one duty

Gathering for Sustainable Resource Management

Appendix 2
Breakdown of the Community Members that Contributed to Research

Breakdown of the Community Members that Contributed to Research

Community Member Groups	Number of Participants that Contributed
Entrepreneurs	2
Business leaders/owners	4
Environmental activists	0
Guides	4
Potential entrepreneurs	4
Arts and craftspersons	6
Chief and Council members	2
People with travel experience	0
Keyoh holders	3

NOTE: Some community members fall into more than one category.

~Invitation Package~
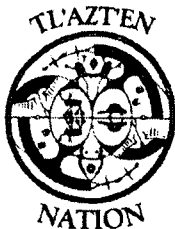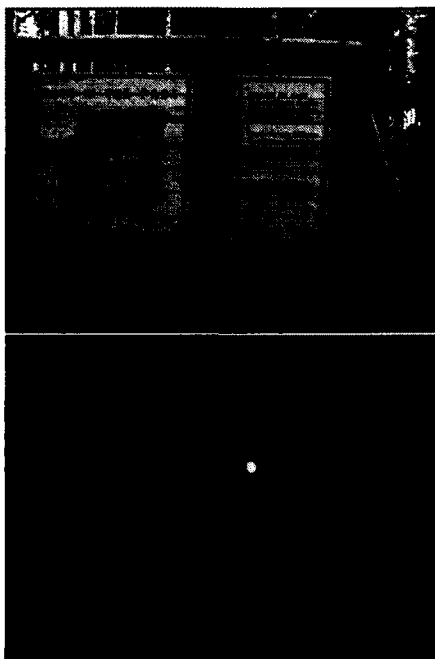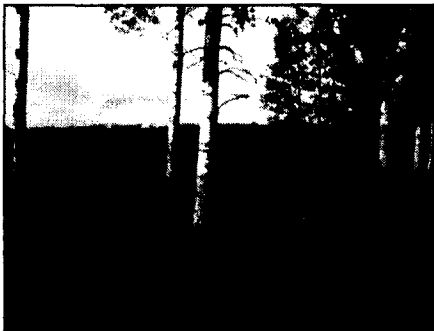
To participate in the project:
Identifying and Determining how Tl'azt'en Nation can engage in Tourism

If I am interested in participating as a member in this research project, what do I need to do?

- Review this invitation package
- Come to the Information Session in Tache at the Elders Center on February 6th, 2008 starting at 10:00 AM where you will:
  - meet the Lead Researcher, Shane Hartman and members of the Tl'azt'en Nation / UNBC Research Team
  - meet other potential participants
  - hear more about this project and what is involved
  - suggest community products you want developed from this project
  - have lunch
  - ask questions
  - decide whether you would like to accept our invitation to be interviewed for this project.

Who is supporting this research project?

- Tl'azt'en Nation
- University of Northern British Columbia (UNBC)
- Community-University Research Alliance (CURA)
- John Prince Research Forest (JPRF)

What is the timeline for this project?

- The specific timeline of this project will be jointly created between Shane and members who commit to participating in this project.
- The entire project is expected to be completed by September 2008.

Why was I selected to be a member of this research project?

Because your peers identified you as a member of Tl'azt'en Nation who:
- is **knowledgeable** about possible tourism activities: hunting, trapping, fishing, trail building, historic sites, guiding
- **interested** in discussing options for tourism in Tl'azt'en territory and/or concerned about tourism

What is asked of tourism development team members?

- Attend the Information Session on February 6th to hear more about the project. Snacks and lunch will be provided.
- Commit to a 1 - 1.5 hour interview with the Lead Researcher.
- Verify your transcripts
- Review research findings (optional)
- Attend a thank-you lunch at the completion of this project (optional)
- Consider participating in follow-up discussions and a tourism working group resulting from this project

Why should I participate as a Tourism development team member?

- I will share my knowledge to help develop a tourism plan for Tl'azt'en Nation
- Contribute to the development of feasibility for tourism in Tl'azt'en
- Contribute to helping to establish new opportunities for employment

Who can I talk to for more information?

Shane Hartman
Phone: (250) 960-5166
hartmanh@unbc.ca

Pam Wright
Phone: (250) 960-6235
pwright@unbc.ca

Amelia Stark
Phone: (250) 996-0028
amelia@johnprinceresearchforest.com

Beverly John
Phone: (250) 996-0028
bev@johnprinceresearchforest.com

Tl'azt'en Community Member
Tl'azt'en Nation, BC   January 30, 2008

Dear Community Member,

I would like to invite you to participate in the research project: "Identifying and Determining how Tl'azt'en Nation can engage in Tourism" started in 2007. We are exploring ways to improve the ability for Tl'azt'en Nation to engage in the development of tourism opportunity. We hope our research will provide useful guidance for Tl'azt'en Nation to develop economic opportunities in tourism for the communities of Tl'azt'en Nation.

This project is supported by CURA, Ecotourism Stream. Research is supervised by Dr. Pamela Wright, UNBC and Amelia Stark and Beverly John, John Prince Research Forest.

In conducting the research to assess the level of community involvement, I will seek to determine;
- □ who is interested in tourism in Tl'azt'en and how widespread those interests are,
- □ what types of interaction are community members willing and interested in having with tourists,
- □ what specific benefits and impacts are they interested in and concerned about.

The research conducted in seeking answers to these questions will be completed in three (3) stages; 1) an Information Discovery Tour (IDT) completed this past summer, 2) a community information session on February 6th and 3) semi structured one on one interviews.

To explore this topic, we are inviting you to the Information Session on February 6, 2008, at 10:00 AM in the Administration boardroom. It is impossible to compensate you for the full value of their time; however, individuals who agree to participate in the interviews will be recognized with a gift. Findings will be shared in the community, through the CURA newsletters and updates, as well as academic works. Results will help Tl'azt'en Nation to better understand the tourism opportunities that exist within their traditional territory.

I look forward to seeing you at the Information Session on February 6th. If you have any questions, comments or concerns, please feel free to contact me.

Sincerely yours,

Shane Hartman,
Graduate Student, University of Northern BC

Appendix 4
Team Member Acceptance Form

Team Member Acceptance Form

We are delighted that you have agreed to participate in the project: **Identifying and determining how Tl'azt'en Nation can engage in Tourism.** This form is designed to collect details that will make the project more efficient and open and respect the lines of communication you wish for the Research Team to use. Thank you for committing your time, experience and insight to this project. We look forward to working with you.

~~~~~~

Contact Information Please re-confirm your contact information
Name: _____

Address: _____

_____

Phone: _____

Email: _____

Preferred time of interview: _____

~~~~~~

In the event that we need to contact you or share information with you in the future, please let us know what would be the best way to do so:

> In Person
> Phone
> Email
> Mail
> I agree to share this information with other research project participants.

~~~~~~

Your Story

We would like to know more about you. We are asking you to share your story in order to give the research team a better understanding of the individuals that we will be working with. Please provide us with background information on your experiences relevant to Tourism. This could include information about your family, education, training, work, volunteer, and personal interests.

_____

_____

Please describe your reasons for participating and your expectations for the project.

_____

Notes: _____

_____

_____

Appendix 5
First interview

Benefits and impacts

Do you feel that tourism will provide a positive benefit to Tl'azt'en?

      Yes: what type of benefit_____

            JOBS: what specific type of jobs do you think it will bring? _____

            Who do you think could work at these jobs? _____

   NO_____

            Why do you think tourism would have a negative effect on Tl'azt'en? _____

            What potential impacts are you concerned about?_____

            How do you think we could lessen these negative effects? _____

What kinds of benefits would you like to see for Tl'azt'en? *Prompts: such things as*

*cultural renewal, cross cultural learning, pride, employment capacity building*_____

            For you?:_____

            For Tl'azt'en?_____

What types of impacts do you see tourism having on Tl'azt'en? *Prompt: Crime, litter,*

*noise, traffic*_____

            Do you think that these impacts are an acceptable cost for the benefits that

            tourism could bring?_____

               YES:_____

            NO: Do you think these impacts could be lessened?_____

               YES: How so?_____

               NO: What do you think that best alternative is instead of tourism?_____

Level Type & Nature of Control

Do you think that Tl'azt'en should try and develop tourism on its own, or would it be

better to partner with another community?_____

       PARTNER: What community would be best to partner with? _____

       Why?_____

       How could both communities profit from the partnership? _____

       ALONE: Why do you think that if Tl'azt'en developed tourism on its own?_____

Should tourism be the responsibility of entrepreneurs, or should the community as a

whole manage and operate tourism?_____

       ENTREPRENEURS: Why?_____

       COMMUNITY: Why?_____

How do you think tourism should be controlled in Tl'azt'en? _____

Do you think Tl'azt'en should control it using :

       Entrepreneurs?_____

       Co-op type system_____

       Band and council_____

       Other type of system?_____

Do you have any ideas of how the needs and concerns of community members affected

by tourism could be addressed? *Prompt: this could include Keyoh holders, persons living*

in the prime tourism development areas _____

How should tourism be initiated in Tl'azt'en at the community level?_____

How much tourism would you like to see in Tl'azt'en? *Prompt such as seasonal, special*

event, anytime, not during hinting season _____

     Special Event_____

     Seasonal _____

     Not during_____

     Anytime _____

What type of involvement with the tourists do think would be best? *Prompt: such as*

*personal, semi personal, or non-personal*_____

     Personal: *Prompt: one on one interaction such as homestays*_____

     Semi personal: *Prompt: such as guided tours*_____

     Community develops a separate or frontstage area: *Prompt: such as a store or*

     *cultural display*_____

Where would you prefer tourism to happen, would it be better to have people come into

your territory and you show them what you want, or would it be better to take your

territory to them, and show them what you want at a different location.

     INTO YOUR TERRITORY: Why?_____

     TAKE YOUR TERRITORY: Why?_____

What scale of involvement do you think would be best? *Prompt: In Tache, or Binche: In*

Tl'azt'en Territory: In the surrounding area

In Tache or Binche; Why do you think this is best _____

In Tl'azt'en Territory; Why do you think this is the best_____

In the surrounding area; Why do you think this is the best?_____

Product

Do you know of anybody that has an occupation or hobby that would make a good

tourism product? *Prompt: This could include such things as tanners, painters, guides,*

singers or dancers _____

      YES: Could you give us their contact information?_____

      NO: Do you have any ideas or have seen anything that you think could work for

Tl'azt'en?_____

      YES: What are they?_____

      NO:_____

Do you think there are any areas that Tl'azt'en could pursue in developing or what areas

would you like to see developed for tourism?? *Prompt: Any area such as somewhere that*

would make a good trail, educational experience, or somewhere with lots of

*history?*_____

      *YES*_____

      Do you think this area could be developed enough to attract and support

      tourists?_____

      YES_____

        How difficult would it be for Tl'azt'en to develop this area? _____

      NO_____

What do you think of these four fictional ideas for Tl'azt'en tourism products?

Tl'azt'enne Traditional Feast, Family Cultural Camp, Carrier Rock Paintings,

Tl'azt'en Territory Nature Hike *Prompt: read/present Diana's four ideas*

_____

Are there parts of these ideas that you like?_____

Are there parts of these ideas that you dislike?_____

Is this the type and level of involvement that you would like to see in Tl'azt'en?

Capacity

Do you think there are areas that Tl'azt'en needs to work on before pursuing tourism?

Prompt: areas such new buildings, roads, training, and community involvement

_____

YES: What areas specifically do you feel need to be improved, or what areas

should be improved first for tourism to be successful in Tl'azt'en?_____

NO: Do you think that these areas are capable of supporting the increased

pressure tourism use will bring? _____

YES:_____

NO: How much effort would it take to make this area suitable for the extra

traffic tourism would bring?_____

Do you know of anyone that would be willing to undertake tourism training? _____

YES: Can you give us their contact information?_____

NO: Is there a type of training that you would like to take?_____

Is there a specific type of training that you think would benefit members of

Tl'azt'en?

*Prompt: First host, serving it right, food safe, first aid*_____

Why do you think this type of training would be best for Tl'azt'en? _____

Leaders/Champion

How do you want to be involved in tourism development in Tl'azt'en?_____

Who do you think should lead the planning or development of tourism in Tl'azt'en?

Why do you think they would be a good leader?_____

Who do you think would be the best people to help them develop tourism in

Tl'azt'en?_____ Do

you know of any people that may be able to help in the day to day operation of tourism in

Tl'azt'en? _____

YES: Could you give us their contact information?_____

NO: Would you be willing to help in the day to day operation of tourism?

YES:_____

NO:_____ __

Do you think there is a way for entrepreneurs to give something back so that the

entire community may benefit from the tourism they develop? _____

Do you have any questions or additional comments you would like to make?_____

Appendix 6
The revised questions and guide

<u>**Points to discuss with interviewees**</u>
- ☐ tourism will provide a positive benefit to Tl'azt'en
    - o specific type
    - o potential impacts
    - o lessen these negative effects
- ☐ benefits would you like to see for Tl'azt'en
- ☐ types of impacts
- ☐ impacts are an acceptable
- ☐ alternative is instead of tourism
- ☐ alone or partner in development
- ☐ management of tourism
    - o type of mgmt system
- ☐ How much tourism
- ☐ type of involvement
- ☐ anybody that has an occupation or hobby
- ☐ Tl'azt'en areas developed for tourism
- ☐ type of training would be best for Tl'azt'en
- ☐ do you want to be involved in tourism
- ☐ additional comments

Appendix 7
Summary of Tourism Development Workshop (June 3rd)

Executive Summary

On June 3rd 2008, researchers with the CURA between Tl'azt'en Nation and the University of Northern British Columbia (UNBC) completed a tourism development workshop at the Tl'azt'en Education Center. The workshop was designed to help Tl'azt'en and UNBC researchers gain a deeper insight into tourism development within Tl'azt'en as well as allowing UNBC researchers to share some preliminary findings regarding tourism development.

The workshop followed these main topic areas or sections;
> Tourism benefits and impacts
> Type and level of involvement/control of tourism
> What do tourists want
> Product discussion

The following information emerged from the workshop and the community members that attended the day.

Note:
The data from the benefits and impacts and type level of control sections is a list of all data gathered at the workshop. The data presented in the tourism product section was completed in groups, and each bullet and indent in the formatting represents the data gathered from one specific group answer worksheet.

Benefits and Impacts

Top benefits as ranked by the community members

New Trails
Community could come together to build
Get youth involved
Encourage curiosity in their culture
Reviving old ways of culture
More community members involved in arts and crafts
Youth gain education into their culture
Sharing of culture with community and tourists
Develop pride in the past
Communication between elders and youth
Socially stronger community members

Top Concerns as ranked by the community members
Health
Pollution
Community training and skills

Items brought forth that were placed in the parking lot for further discussion
First Host training
Establishment of a tourism advisory committee
Development of a tourism info package
Development of tourism emergency plan
Development of a marina and RV park

Concerns regarding tourism development that were brought forth
Introduction of new diseases
Drugs and alcohol – may create a demand for
Litter
Environmental damage
Increased crime
Poaching of wildlife
More need for emergency planning and search and rescue
Safety concerns
Insurance costs may rise
Crowding on lakes, rivers, and campsites
Trespassing protocols need to be set
Organization of tours
Inter-racial relationships
Trophy hunting and over hunting
Lack of community support
Lack of funding
Language barriers

Maintenance and upkeep
Climate limits to infrastructure and tours
Man power
Changing landscape due to Mountain Pine Beetle
Wildfire hazards
Communication problems in the event of an emergency
Lack of transportation options for tourists
Lack of community skills and or capacity in:
>   Drivers licences
>   Search and rescue
>   Business – management and accounting
>   Computer/internet use
>   Marketing
>   Public speaking
>   Guides
>   Host training

Culture issue regarding sharing sensitive issues
Lack of infrastructure
>   Garages
>   Hotels

Pollution, carbon emissions, harm to the environment

Type and Level of Involvement in Tourism

Location
Where can tourism occur?
- o Tl'azt'en Territory
- o Reserves
- o Property in Fort St James
- o Personal Keyoh
- o Binche point (designated park)
- o Tl'azt'en territory
- o Cinnabar
- o Leo Creek
- o Binche
- o Lease land
- o Whitefish lake
- o Trembleur

Where shouldn't tourism activities happen?
- o Sensitive habitat
- o Elementary school
- o Leo Creek
- o On reserve-in town
- o Tache

Timing

When (what times or year/seasons/times of day...) do you think it's ok to have tourism around?

        Summer, fall, winter, daylight

        Summer and winter time, morning

        Year round, summer/winter

Are there times/seasons etc that should be avoided?

        Spring, disturbance of animal rebirthing

        Spring and fall

        Too dangerous in spring and fall

Type of interaction/involvement

What is the best way for your community to interact with tourists?

        Provide accommodation

        Adventure tourism, guided tours

        Restrictive access, information center, self-guided tours

        Scheduling

        Community members working with tourists – I.E. hosts

        Hunting trips and cultural tours-cultural exchange

        Week long (most efficient – advance booking)

        Scheduled stops/guided tours only

        RV park out of town

What types of involvement or interaction do you not want to have with tourists?

        Not home stays

        Drinking and drugging

        No driving through town at any time

        No trespassing on trap lines

        No self-guided – no unscheduled stops

        No stops – big in town

Types of Topics and Activities

What types of topics/activities – about Tl'azt'enne do you want people to learn about/experience?

        First Nation's arts and crafts, cultural practices, hunting, fishing, canoeing, medicine, gathering, hide preparation, survival skills, stories, Neyodzin-community fun days, potlatch ceremonies

        Potlaching

        Hunting/fishing – preparing

        Crafts – beadwork, moose hide

        Guiding through territory/reserve

        Games, dancing and drumming

        Stories

        Archeological

        History of the people

        Sharing of medicinal plant knowledge

What kinds of topics/issues/activities do you not want to share?
>Residential school topics, treaty
>Indian medicine
>Songs
>Homebrew recipes
>Burial sites

Tourism Organization and Management
Organizationally – what would you prefer for how tourism enterprises are operated/owned/controlled?
>Any option acceptable
>Co-op
>Community owned
>Partnered with other First Nation's nearby – Nak'azdli
>Co-op group with Keyoh holders and members at large
>Other communities with non-natives
>With Nak'azdli
>Working together is best idea

Potential Tourism Product

Name for Product:
Tl'azt'en Cultural Tour
>A'ge'by'yoh Interpretive Convention Center
>>Talo Tours
>>>Dry meat and Fish
>>>backpacking

Brief Description: *A brief description that you might use to put in a brochure or on a website – keywords are also fine*
Walk a mile in god's country on our Tl'azt'en Cultural Tour, where you will experience First Nation's cultural events such as pictographs, setting nets, and traditional games. Spend a warm July or August day with our guides and elders.
>An interpretive center to showcase artifacts, hands on learning to make tools, jewelry, clothing, models of pithouses.
>>Fishing-nets, cleaning, preparation, eating, smoke house, type of wood products for sale.
>>>Traditional foods, selling traditional foods to other First Nations
>>>Beautiful scenery
>>>Canoeing
>>>Hunting and trapping(show but no actual trapping)
>>>>Adventure mountain climbing
>>>>>Traditional, healthy, all natural dried meats and fish
>>>>>Mountain hiking, backpacking
>>>>>Guided adventure trips

Target Market: *Identify (as specifically as possible) who the product is designed for. E.g. independent travelers – mostly Canadian- who are touring the area (may also be visiting the Fort) who are older-generally traveling without kids- mostly traveling by RV.*
Young Canadian tree planters
  Families, school groups, tourists traveling to historic park (2nd stop)
    Middle aged-educated-generally traveling without kids of all nationalities
      Can't control the targeted, ic could be anyone, develop something
      for all variety of people
        20's and 30's, foreign people
          Local First Nation's
          Community members
          Other First Nation's communities
          General traveler population
            Potentially survival skills (fish and hunt)
            Mosquitoes
            Fauna identification
            Tracking
            Learning how to build shelter
            fishing

What kinds of activities, experiences, opportunities does the product include:
Smoke house tour, cultural museum, feast on the islands, boat tour to the rock paintings, church tour, singing, dancing and drumming
  Hands on activities, regalia photos, trapping techniques (deadfall), book tours for
  surrounding communities, restaurant
    Traditional net fishing, preparation of fish for canning or smoking, learn
    about types of wood and net floaters, breakfast – bannock and tea,
    products for sale after fishing
      Showing and teaching people how to trap and basic survival can be
      all of the above
        Their experience will be getting beat up by bees and
        mosquitoes. What type of food to eat. So survival skills
          Just selling

Where should this occur *(be specific e.g., Stuart Lake Park on the shoreline):*
Start at FSJ in the morning, travel by boat to see pictographs and church then finish in the afternoon with singing, dancing, and drumming at a salmon feast in Binche in the afternoon.
  Lake shore (Binche Point)
    On reserve – to pictographs, watch fishing, out to island
      Trapping lines, lakes, the whole land is used for all
        A mountain with some access
          In the community with a collaborative effort; build
          one big smoke house
            Shas mountain, mount Sidney Williams,
            White Fish

Safe roads accessible places

JPRF

Pirwent Peak

How long will the experience last *(e.g., 1 hour, ½ day...)*
1 day

3 hours during event. ½ -1 hour for regular visit

Full day 9am-4pm

Half day or a couple of days

2 – 3 days

2-3 days or 7 days

When should this product be offered: *(e.g., all year; only on June-August weekends...)*
July/August

Open all summer, special days during festivities in near communities

Summer/fall when salmon is running (char too), advance booking

Most trapping is done in the fall. But they can still experience some part of it

During the summer

May-December

Summer time, not fall (before hunting)

Who from the community should be involved: *(are there key folks for planning or delivering this product – if there are other outside of Tl'azt'en who should be partners identify them too)*
FSJ NHP, Nicole Roberts, Lillian Sam, elders, band members

Amelia, trained people(host/super), organizers, elders, secondary school students

Elders-tell stories – pictographs, middle age- guide, youth-labour

Anyone who's up to it

Local hunters and trappers

All community members

Local hunters, guides, outfitters

Benefits
Look back to the key benefits the team identified this morning. Think hard about your product and try and identify some key (be as specific as possible) benefits that this product may bring to your community. Indicate the key benefits it doesn't rank highly on.
Put Tl'azt'en "on the map", revenue, bring culture back to the youth, pride, jobs

Revenue, partnerships, training, sharing culture

Education – passing on tradition or living your traditions, sharing your traditions

Communication between elders and youth

Revenue

Employment

Some employment

Hands on experience

Cultural exchange

Jobs
Access to traditional lands
Locking out underground market
Training of traditional food harvest/processing
Employment
Experience of outdoors
Learning
Hands on experience
Social/cultural change

Concerns
Look back at the key concerns the team identified this morning. Think hard about your product and try and identify some key (be as specific as possible) concerns that might result from this product. Are there ways the product could be modified to address these concerns? Could something else be done?
Competition, equipment, licensing, training, weather
No one coming, lack of manpower/training, funding
Safety, health concerns, first aid
Too high of a demand for tour and not enough workers
Infrastructure
Losing a participant because of language barrier
Policies and regulations regarding the selling of meat
Depletion of fish stocks
Over hunting
Emergency/search and rescue
Safety of participants
Insurance
Liability

Questions and Areas for Further Investigation
Identify any questions that need to be answered or investigated so we can examine this product more thoroughly. Are there specific facility/capacity/partnership needs that the community would need in order to develop/deliver this product.
Talk to NHP, licensing, training, look at other experiences, 3rd party insurance, staffing, funding, our price point
Capital investment
Make connection with historic site
Website for tour/advertising (airports)
Spokesperson of host
Partner with them (building relationships)
Find out what are policies and regulations
Recruit people from tourism agencies
Posters/flyers