

CHAPTER 2

Traditional ecological
knowledge and
indigenous tourism

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Introduction

Knowledge and values are the cornerstones for decision making in tourism development whether the decisions that must be made are as fundamental as whether or not to pursue tourism as a development option, or more of an operational nature such as how to implement tourism in an optimal and desired manner. Knowledge in this context is not only knowledge of indigenous peoples, as many non-indigenous groups are also involved in decisions about tourism. In the light of this, it is of critical importance for public sector agencies at all levels, as well as private sector operators and intermediaries, to be knowledgeable of the needs, preferences, and priorities of indigenous peoples. As well, it is equally important for indigenous peoples to be informed about tourism, as this is often a new experience for many, and the whole concept of tourism and travelling for pleasure may be strange to them (Berno, 1996). This section contains four chapters that examine cross-cultural perspectives of indigenous knowledge, research, and education as they relate to tourism. In the first chapter Butler and Menzies define traditional ecological knowledge and then go on to address the challenges and processes of incorporating this into tourism development. They use the example of First Nations in British Columbia and illustrate the ways in which such knowledge could be utilized in both the use and conservation of traditional resources and how traditional knowledge can itself serve as an attraction for tourists, while preserving the traditional values of the people involved. The second chapter by Berno builds on her chapter in the first volume and describes the issues involved in presenting tourism programmes in education and training to indigenous populations in the context of the South Pacific, an area where tourism pressure has been growing rapidly in the past decade. These first two chapters are followed by two chapters which deal with the problem of identifying research needs and development options for the public sector in terms of becoming involved in indigenous tourism. A key issue in this regard is how to successfully incorporate indigenous voices into tourism research upon which to build policy and planning for indigenous tourism, which is addressed by Williams and O'Neil in the context of British Columbia. The final chapter by Schmeichen and Boyle examines a similar problem in Australia, and reviews the progress made in this area over recent years in producing an appropriate and acceptable research programme to serve the needs of Aboriginal tourism. Both programmes are also concerned with the problems relating to developing culturally appropriate education and training programmes that disseminate this knowledge in appropriate and meaningful ways. Incorporating the indigenous voice and knowledge into these research programmes has been an essential feature in both examples.

The dominance of Western knowledge in general, and modern science in particular, has come under increasing scrutiny and pressure during the last two decades. There is growing recognition that Western ways of knowing are socially constructed and influenced (Latour, 1999) and thus claims of greater objectivity and empiricism fail to support Western knowledge's continuing eclipse of alternative epistemologies. At the same time, there has been significant dissatisfaction regarding Western ways of understanding and managing the environment, accentuated by environmental crises and resource declines (see Rogers, 1995; Neis et al., 1999). The cultural and political rights of indigenous peoples have also been increasingly recognized both legally and in the public consciousness. These shifts have been influencing academic thought, the politics of knowledge and resource governance, and the practicalities of resource management. While scholars have long been interested in indigenous relationships with the environment, during the last two decades these practices and understandings have been studied more formally as traditional ecological knowledge (TEK), and explored as a source of alternative management and conservation approaches. This chapter will discuss the political and practical links between TEK and indigenous communities' participation in tourism.

Johnston asserts that 'many institutional barriers exist for indigenous communities innovating tourism products which *incorporate and/or support* the continued application of indigenous knowledge and technologies' (2000, p. 95, emphasis added). For tourism to be sustainable and amenable to indigenous priorities, its relationship to and incorporation of TEK is a critical issue. As ecotourism and indigenous cultural tourism gain increasing popularity in both alternative and mainstream tourism markets, questions of sovereignty and of environmental responsibility become increasingly pertinent. The unique relationship between an indigenous group and their territory, and the intimate knowledge the community has developed about their lands and resources, should serve as the basis for any environmentally sustainable and culturally appropriate tourism development.

To explore these issues and relationships, we will discuss the TEK and traditional management systems of the Gitxaala, a coastal Tsimshian nation in northern British Columbia, Canada. Menzies is a member of the Tsimshian nation and both authors have been working with the Gitxaala community since 2001. Five collaborative research projects have documented the ecological knowledge, and conservation and management practices of the Gitxaala people, in the prehistorical, historical, and contemporary eras. The Gitxaala, like other First Nations in British Columbia currently negotiating land claims, are exploring their economic development options, including tourism opportunities. We will argue that there are critical ways that Gitxaala TEK can and should provide a foundation for tourism development in the north coast of British Columbia.

Understanding TEK

The recent scholarly engagement with epistemological hierarchies has resulted in literature exploring the concepts of indigenous knowledge (IK), TEK, local knowledge (LK), and other similar terms labelling knowledges that have a subaltern relationship with Western 'modern' scientific knowledge. It is important not to overstate the differences between Western science and other knowledges, or to reify Western science, and therefore it is critical to emphasize the role of power in defining these categories. As Agrawal argues, IK is less substantively than structurally different from Western knowledge, and its locality is 'primarily derived from its peripheral relations to power' (1995, p. 187). Thus, the environmental knowledge of local lay persons, small-scale fishers, indigenous peoples is studied and discussed similarly in terms of its opposition to Western (scientific) knowledge. We can therefore understand the multiple acronyms, IK, TEK, LK, as part of a larger body of work developing 'alternative knowledge theory' (Butler, 2005, p. 8).

The increasing specific interest in indigenous and LK of the environment is the result of both political change and resource crises. Nygren links the development of LK research to globalization and increasing distinction between local and global as categories of experience (1999, p. 268). Blaikie and Brookfield suggest that the interest in local-level environmental knowledge is connected to the rise of political ecology as a theoretical movement (1987, p. 17). In Canada, research on indigenous-environment relations is directly linked to the recognition of indigenous rights; most early TEK studies occurred in northern regions for use in land claim negotiations (see Nadasdy, 2003). Research with the James Bay Cree, during the 1970s in the context of a major hydroelectric development that would flood their territory, made important links between cosmology and management practices (see Tanner, 1979; Salisbury, 1986). Land use and occupancy studies in Canadian arctic established the persistence of indigenous practices in contemporary management contexts. The value of local environmental knowledge research was reinforced by the collapse of the east coast cod in the early 1990s, as it became clear that small-scale fishers had identified the problem before government stock assessments called for a fishing moratorium (Finlayson and McCay, 2000).

Berkes (1999) defines IK as the LK held by indigenous peoples, with TEK as the ecological subset of IK, the land-based, practical knowledge of resource and the beliefs regarding human interaction with the ecosystem. He suggests that 'local knowledge' is a useful referent for more recent (non-indigenous) knowledge (Berkes, 1999, p. 8), and LK is often used when discussing small-scale fisheries (i.e., Ruddle, 1994).

While the comparative opposition of TEK and Western science tends to oversimplify the differences between these two ways of understanding the world, a summary of the lists of contrasting characteristics that have been generated by scholars in the field can aid in understanding the general tendencies of each approach, and the ways in which they become opposed

politically in management settings. TEK is often characterized as qualitative, holistic, oral, intuitive, practical, and cyclical, whereas Western science is portrayed as quantitative, reductionist, textual, analytical, theoretical, and linear (see Wolf et al., 1991; Berkes, 1993; Berneshawi, 1997; Grenier, 1998). Such lists help us to grasp what differentiates TEK from the mainstream, dominant way of relating to the environment; however, it is important to note the more complicated aspects of these questions and to engage with emerging critiques of the early TEK literature.

While general traits of TEK can be identified, it is misleading to discuss it in this monolithic way. TEK is always embedded in a particular cultural and ecological context. Thus there are many traditional knowledges, and each one, while it may share traits with other traditions, reflects a unique way of understanding the world. Furthermore, Nadasdy (2003) argues that knowledge is a problematic term to use in the discussion of First Nations peoples' understandings of their world, constructing it as something that can be made separate from the social and cultural relations which shape it. One of the problems with research labelled as 'TEK' is that it constructs ecological knowledge as something discrete – which can be 'distilled' into a product that can be 'integrated' with Western science (see Nadasdy, 2003). Discussions of TEK and tourism must recognize the larger sociocultural and political context in which TEK is embedded – that knowledge is 'a way of life' (*op. cit.*, p. 63) and is based on both cosmology and experience. This is particularly important in the context of tourism planning and development with or by indigenous peoples.

Rather than focus on the 'traditional' nature of indigenous-environmental knowledge, a term that tends to relegate such knowledge to the past, it is important to emphasize that TEK is long term, cumulative, and contemporary. It is an ever-growing body of knowledge that develops over many generations and expands as new experiences are added to the community's tradition. TEK is dynamic: while its roots lie in a traditional lifestyle and practices, it adapts to changing circumstances and absorbs both new information and technology. Non-IK can be incorporated into TEK, expanding its scope (Ruddle, 1994), and each season of resource use increases the depth of this knowledge (Clayoquot Sound Scientific Panel, 1995).

TEK can adapt to new environmental, political, or economic circumstances and is thus 'an embodied practice directly rooted in everyday livelihood activities' (Menzies, 2006, p. 88). Furthermore, not only can IK provide the basis for tourism land use in a region, tourism can also impact that knowledge. Indigenous communities will develop and acquire new knowledge based on their experience of and the demands of the tourism industry.

The dynamic nature of TEK makes it historical; in a colonial setting like Canada it provides a historical understanding of the environmental changes that have resulted from industrial development during the last two to four centuries (see Butler, 2006). On the north coast of British Columbia, experience of a pre-European contact landscape is only three generations past – fairly recent in the deep oral history of the region. Pre-industrial levels of resource abundance and the impacts of changing technologies are part of the

TEK of this area. The difference between an 80-year-old person's fishing experience and a 20-year-old person's fishing experience can detail the significant environmental change wrought by the rapid expansion of the commercial fishery, for example.

This brings us to the issue of TEK differentiation. While scholars understand traditional knowledge to be the cumulative result of generations of local resource use, and thus having a communal nature, it is critical to recognize that knowledge is not homogeneous, even within the smallest indigenous communities. Social position, age, gender, personal history of resource use, area of harvesting, and other factors influence the particular knowledge held by an individual (see Butler, 2004, p. 38). Individuals thus draw upon the communal, cumulative knowledge of their people as transferred socially, the knowledge transferred to them directly by their family and community members, and the knowledge they develop through their own resource use practices. Thus, both elders and young people hold important but different TEK, as do men and women. It is important to address this knowledge differentiation when approaching TEK as a basis for tourism development, and as a resource for particular activities, such as guiding.

TEK is increasingly turned to for the improvement of resource management approaches as sustainability and conservation are inherent to traditional harvesting practices (Osherenko, 1988; Kuhn and Duerden, 1996). TEK's local specificity and detail can provide more successful and scale-appropriate management systems (Ruddle, 1994; Neis et al., 1999), as opposed to dominant structures which are externally imposed and rarely site specific. During the past decades TEK has become a mandatory information source for many government resource management structures in Canada, reflecting an increased recognition of indigenous sovereignty, despite the limits of these concessions (see Nadasdy, 2003; Butler, 2005). However, it is important to recognize that traditional knowledge systems have been impacted by the history of colonialism in all indigenous territories. In Canada and elsewhere, IK persists despite assimilationist government policies and the territorial dispossession of Aboriginal peoples, but such systems of belief and resource management have not been left unscathed by the changes brought by colonial settlement and governance. Felt, in his analysis of Newfoundland fishers' salmon knowledge, argues that researchers must pay close attention to the circumstances of knowledge production and the context of its use (1994). TEK cannot be approached as an apolitical issue. TEK research must recognize and explore the colonial impacts on indigenous territories and knowledge (Butler, 2006). The power relations between IK and Western science must be interrogated (Nadasdy, 2003). And finally, the investigation and utilization of TEK is a political act which recognizes indigenous sovereignty in land use and governance, and in education and research.

Thus, the inclusion of TEK in tourism planning and development can be decolonizing, supporting the expression of sovereignty and cultural revitalization in economic development. Engaging with indigenous environmental priorities, ecological knowledge and resource use practices can both improve

tourism products and enhance the benefits to the community. Ignoring TEK and local resource management priorities and practices continues the pattern of dispossession and displacement associated with external development, by tourism as well as other forms of economic activity. TEK should be accepted as a critical component of environmentally sustainable, culturally appropriate, and politically progressive tourism development.

Gitxaała TEK

The following discussion provides a brief case study illustrating the potential links between TEK research and tourism planning. We explore the historical and contemporary use of TEK in an Aboriginal community in northwestern Canada and its relevance to the regional tourism industry. The material is drawn from a series of linked research projects with the Gitxaała First Nation, in collaboration with community elders and active resource harvesters. The names of research participants have been changed to protect their privacy.

The territories of the Tsimshian peoples stretch along the northern third of the coast of British Columbia, an inland approximately 150 kilometres. Tsimshian people live in the seven contemporary reserve communities of Lax Kw'Alaams, Metlakatla, Kitsumkalum, Kitasoo, Kitselas, Gitga'at, and Gitxaała; many also reside off-reserve in the northern towns of Prince Rupert and Terrace, and throughout British Columbia. Members of these communities share the common language of Sm'algayax. Each community manages its relationship with the state through an elected chief and council, but a traditional hereditary system of governance still thrives. The four matrilineal tribes, *Laxgibuu* (Wolf), *Gispudwada* (Killer Whale), *Laxsgiik* (Eagle), and *Ganhada* (Raven), are further divided into house groups or *wilp*, corporate units that own and manage the interlocking territories which tend to coincide with the watersheds surrounding salmon-bearing streams. The system of clan and house group ownership provides a structure for resource management based on hereditary rights.

Gitxaała territories stretch across a coastal archipelago, south of the town of Prince Rupert. Gitxaała people continue to use both the marine and terrestrial resources for commercial, trade, and subsistence uses. Their resource use is premised upon a conservative, need-based level of exploitation, which is supported by an intimate understanding of the local ecosystem. Harvest controls and intra- and inter-community distribution networks, combined with active habitat management and enhancement, have resulted in long-term sustainable relationships between human populations and local species and ecosystems. The Gitxaała people describe the social basis of sustainability through the concept of '*syt guulm goot*', being of one heart. This type of social connection and interdependence is mirrored by an equivalent environmental ethic:

Certain fish camps caught certain fish [species of salmon] – some pinks, some dogs (chum), etc. Back in the village they would barter with each other so their diet was balanced. So they just took so much out of each creek.

Sam Campbell, 50 years of age

Before I leave, I find out who I want to help, who I want to give to. That tells me how much I need . . . you don't shoot animals you have no use for.

Jake Kinson, 28 years of age

Current tourism developments within Gitxaała territory are emerging out of the context of the diminishing local economic relevance and social transformation of the natural resource extraction industry. Developing in ways antagonistic towards Gitxaała approaches, British Columbia's industrial fishing and forestry industries of the past century and a half focused upon maximizing the rate of financial return at the expense of ecological sustainability. Recent economic and political changes have resulted in a significant decline in employment in these sectors that, coupled with rising 'green' sentiments globally, has created a favourable context for tourism development in the Gitxaała territories. The resulting tourism developments in the Gitxaała territories can be grouped into three basic forms: wilderness-based tourism (including sport fishing and ecotourism), heritage tourism (a focus upon indigenous and industrial history), and mass tourism (cruise ships).

Gitxaała TEK, which emphasizes social and environmental interdependence, and which promotes sustainable community-based resource use through the governance and management of small ecological units, can provide the basis for the development of positive tourism experiences in their territory. We have identified three key aspects of Gitxaała TEK which can shape and maintain sustainable tourism development: conservation, observation, and holistic resource use. These components of Gitxaała TEK can be linked to three forms of tourism in Gitxaała territory identified above.

Conservation

Gitxaała TEK, embedded in the social structure of property ownership and community cooperation, provides the basis for local conservation and sustainable resource use.

During the salmon fishing season, the number of fish harvested has always been tuned to the amount of spawners arriving at the mouth of the stream. The salmon-bearing streams were closely managed by the *smoogyit* (house leader, often translated as chief), who cleared debris from the streams before each season to improve the passage and spawning habitat. These practices continued well into the twentieth century, despite significant disruption from the imposition of colonial fishing regulations. Fish were traditionally harvested through the use of tidal traps at the mouth of creeks which allowed selective harvest by species and size, and according to abundance:

At the west coast of Banks Island they put a gate across a creek. They waited until the fish pooled and then let them up. Then they fished, and then they closed it again. They monitored – they counted the fish so they were taking a specific percentage of the run. At Lowe Inlet they walked up to the spawning beds to check constantly.

Leo Galbraith, 55 years old

Similarly, deer are targeted or left to increase, based on the community's reading of the population dynamics and rate of harvest. Wolves are culled if they are overly impacting the deer population, and deer have been transplanted to a predator-free island to create a population for future harvest:

I take does if I think there are too many for one area. I'll take some out. That's a deadly thing – too many does. It causes disease. I keep track of the number of bucks and does. How wide the valley is – is it big enough for all those does to survive?

Jake Kinson

My grandfather moved deer from Banks Island. We do that too. If we get small crabs in the trap, we put them in the lagoon there, trying to build it up. Me and my cousin have been doing that for a while. We throw the females over too.

Ben Smith, 35 years old

The tide line is used as a conservation boundary, and the harvest of many shellfish species is prohibited while they are under water to limit the percentage of the stock that is impacted by use. Spawning avoidance and other seasonal restrictions further reduce pressure on each resource.

Gitxaała TEK can provide the basis for the development of sustainable tourism in their territory. Specifically, consumptive tourist activities such as sports fishing and hunting that are part of wilderness-based tourism in the region can be informed by Gitxaała management practices and conservation priorities. There is a problem with the term 'wilderness' in that it presupposes a 'natural' landscape untouched by human hands. The term emerges from a European/Euro-American worldview that contrasts land that has been modified by direct human intervention with land that has not (or at least not apparently) been modified by human intervention. As our research in Gitxaała and that of others (see e.g., Deur and Turner, 2006; Langdon, 2006) has shown, the landscapes of Aboriginal North America were not 'pristine,' 'untouched' lands but rather were in large part the outcome of several millennia of human-environment interaction. The use of the term wilderness as untouched by human hands thus implies – for many non-indigenous people – the absence of any meaningful First Nations engagement with shaping the landscape. Despite these problems we have kept the term as it is one that non-indigenous people use to identify areas not obviously touched by European style developments. We would ask the reader to keep in mind that when we say wilderness we are fully aware that these lands were shaped and formed by several thousand years of indigenous practices.

Wilderness-based tourism in Gitxaała territories includes the commercial sport fishery, guided hunting, and ecotourism activities such as whale watching. For most of the twentieth century there has been some form of sport fishery in region; however, since the mid- to late 1980s this fishery has shifted from a family-oriented recreational fishery to a commercial charter fishery in which clients are recruited from across the USA and Europe. Within the sport fishing sector two primary modes of commercial sport fishery can be identified: luxury fishing lodges and charter boats operating from Prince Rupert.

Guided hunting, while not as prominent in the region as sport fishing, does play a modest role in the forms of tourism extant. Most hunting, however, remains an individual recreational practice and provides food for a range of households in the region (see Mattson et al., 2004). The primary trophy hunting enterprises tend to be based further in the interior of the province.

Ecotourism, the other major variant of wilderness-based tourism practiced in the region, has also been growing since the mid-late 1980s. Tours are primarily conducted by boat, with some kayaking expeditions, visiting wildlife sanctuaries to view grizzly bears, Kermode bears ('spirit bears' – the rare white variant of the common black bear), and orcas and humpback whales.

All of these tourist activities can benefit from the application of Gitxaała TEK. For consumptive activities, harvest limits can be set according to Gitxaała estimates of species abundance and vulnerability to predation. Extraction practices can be managed and regulated according to traditional structures, such as tideline conservation and in-season monitoring of harvest levels. Active management, such as creating or enhancing resource populations for harvest, can ensure sustainability of consumptive activities. The Gitxaała ethic of respect and non-interference can be applied to ecotourism and wildlife-viewing activities. Finally, the Gitxaała community members, particularly active food harvesters, are extremely knowledgeable regarding wildlife behaviour and movement patterns in their territories. They are well positioned to guide and advise the practice of all of these activities. Furthermore, participation in these activities can contribute to the ongoing accumulation and dissemination of TEK. Brody notes that for beaver (Dunne-Za) hunters in northeastern British Columbia, guiding 'requires and reinforces' many traditional skills (1988, p. 207).

Observation

A critical source of TEK and an aspect of its ongoing development and practice is the observation of the environment. Gitxaała people continue to closely monitor ecosystem health and resource abundance in their territories. They have observed cyclical changes of weather and climate, and the more dramatic changes resulting from industrial development in their territory during the last two centuries.

Gitxaała community members have worked with us to document environmental change resulting from both colonialism and climate change. Harvesters note that the seaweed season is beginning earlier in the year, due to warmer winters, and many suggest a similar pattern in the herring roe fishery. The length of the season for picking tidal resources has shortened, with cockles and clams spawning earlier. It has been observed that mussels have become more difficult to locate in Gitxaała territory in the last few years, and cockles have declined during the last two decades. In fact, most species harvested from the shore on a low tide have declined in abundance, and harvesters must travel further and further to supply their needs of clams, sea cucumbers, abalone, and octopus. Commercial harvesting of

some of the resources by scuba diving is identified by Gitxaała people as the major issue in abalone decline and is considered a threat to other resources.

Gitxaała environmental observation can provide crucial monitoring of the impact of tourism and other industries on the north coast. The ecological impacts of increased boat traffic, including cruise ships and whale-watching tours, of ever increasing harvests of fish by recreational fishers, and of the establishment of fishing lodges in local waters will be noticed by the resources users who travel within their territory throughout the year. Recent agreements between coastal First Nations, including the Gitxaała First Nation, and fish farming enterprises working within their territory include clauses which require the farm to be removed if the community observes any negative environmental impacts. Tourism developments could be made subject to similar restrictions, requiring activities to cease or be modified should the traditional owners of the territory identify any reductions in resource abundance.

The application of TEK to monitor the environmental impacts of tourism is particularly relevant to the consumptive activities discussed in the previous section and also to the mass tourism that is a growing part of the regional economy. The development of cruise ship-based tourism is a relatively recent phenomenon in northern British Columbia, with cruise ships beginning to stop in Prince Rupert in 2003. In addition to the environmental impacts of the large ships themselves, there is an increase in day tours, by bus on the mainland and by boat (sports fishing and whale-watching tours) which also merits careful monitoring.

Holistic resource use

The ability to harvest and process local marine and terrestrial resources has been a critical part of Gitxaała TEK. Gitxaała families moved between several harvesting sites throughout the course of the year. The seasonal round began with herring roe harvest in March. Kelp and tree branches were placed in the water for the herring to spawn on, and the product was later dried. At this time other species were harvested including tidal resources, sea birds, seals, and sea lions. A major relocation was made in May to the seaweed camps on the outer islands, where seaweed was picked and dried, and halibut fishing was done. In June, extended families moved to the salmon fishing camps located at particular creek mouths, focusing on both subsistence and commercial salmon harvesting. Fish were smoked and dried, and later canned; berries were harvested in abundance, native plants were gardened, and deer and mountain goat were hunted. The fall was spent at the traplines, trapping fur-bearing animals such as mink, marten, and beaver, and hunting large animals such as moose, deer, and bear. The winter months were spent in the village, feasting and managing social responsibilities. While impacted by colonialism and industrial development in the region, most of these harvesting activities persist.

The relationship between Gitxaała people and their environment can form the basis for cultural tourism to the area. The wide variety of traditional foods, the fascinating means of harvest, and unique processing technologies

will appeal to visitors with an interest in indigenous culture and to outdoor enthusiasts (see discussion of dual track tourism below). The contemporary diet of village residents includes significant amounts of food harvested from the neighbouring land and sea; this is TEK in practice, which can be observed, participated in, and indeed tasted, by visitors. A tour through an active smokehouse and sampling *woks* (dried halibut) or a nature tour exhibiting the deadfall technology used to trap marten can highlight Gitxaała traditional knowledge and practices, and their ongoing importance to contemporary community members.

Heritage tourism and particularly Aboriginal tourist products are an increasing focus of regional tourism enterprises. The North Pacific Cannery Museum is located on the site of a former salmon cannery in the mouth of the Skeena River, just outside of Prince Rupert. The museum, while facing chronic funding shortfalls, attempts to present the history of the cannery community and the industrial work process in a way that reflects historical accuracy and might appeal to the influx of summer tourists. There has been an increasing focus on Aboriginal material in the museum displays, recently including First Nations performances that portray indigenous connections to the river, rather than the participation of First Nations people in the canning industry. This First Nation programme interestingly reflects a shift towards TEK in the tourism product. As the museum plays to the interests of the increasing number of European and American tourists, including cruise boat passengers, indigenous histories and practices begin to eclipse the industrial history of salmon canning as a preferred attraction.

The Museum of Northern British Columbia has undergone a more complete transformation. Prior to the 1970s the museum was a classic curio cabinet museum with a combination of natural history and human history objects, later evolving through the introduction of dioramas of early European businesses and homes. The museum is now housed in a northwest coast style cedar plank and timber building in downtown Prince Rupert with a new focus on highlighting displays of local First Nations' history and culture.

Finally, new First Nations heritage tours are being developed in conjunction with the Museum of Northern British Columbia. Visitors can choose from a Feasting and Storytelling tour in a longhouse building, an archaeological walking tour of nearby island, and a kayaking tour that leaves from the dock of the Metlakatla First Nation reserve community across the harbour from Prince Rupert. These tours highlight the importance and relevance of First Nations culture in the region, and the latter two in particular draw on the TEK of the Tsimshian peoples.

Here Gitxaała environmental observation will provide crucial monitoring of the impact of tourism and other industries on the north coast. The ecological impacts of increased boat traffic, including cruise ships, of ever increasing harvesting of salmon, halibut, and rockfish by recreational harvesters, the establishment of fishing lodges in local bays, and whale watching stand to have a significant impact on the environment and the capacity of Gitxaała people to continue harvesting their customary foods. As tourism continues to

expand and development it becomes ever more important that Gitxaała and other First Nations are directly involved in all aspects of the tourism trade.

Conclusion

There is an important opportunity for the people of the north coast of British Columbia to link tourism development with Gitxaała TEK. As we have documented in this chapter Gitxaała TEK contains values and principles of conservation, it involves processes of holistic resource use and relies upon an intimate observational relationship with the environment. This aspect of Gitxaała TEK creates an important pathway towards the economic development of unique tourism opportunities. By linking these values to the development of tourism, appropriate decisions can be made over the types of tourism to support that will employ Gitxaała people, support the continued use and development of their TEK, and result in ecologically sustainable economic development. The application of TEK in this location has obvious implications for indigenous tourism development in many other areas, with significant mutual benefits to both tourists and indigenous peoples. A report commissioned by Tourism British Columbia identifies a growing market for Aboriginal Cultural Tourism (Research Resolutions Consulting, 2004) (see also chapter by Williams and O'Neil, Editors' Note). The research indicates that 65% of such tourists desire experiences in remote settings, with wildlife viewing being the most popular outdoor activity for this market segment (*ibid*, p. 94). Other activities enjoyed by this group include hiking, whale watching, fishing, and wilderness camping (*ibid*, p. 97). Tourists with a focus on outdoor activities also show a desire to participate in Aboriginal Cultural Activities (*ibid*, p. 29). These trends have been identified as 'Dual Track' tourism, a market niche for Aboriginal tourism development in British Columbia (O'Neil Marketing and Consulting et al., 2005) and is an area where TEK can be easily utilized. Dual Track travellers seek both outdoors and cultural experiences (Research Resolutions Consulting, 2001, p. 2) and show an interest in natural wonders, historic sites, adventure activities, and other ways of life (O'Neil Marketing and Consulting et al., 2005, p. 11). This combination of interests and activities is ideally suited to the incorporation of TEK into tourism planning and the highlighting of TEK in the touristic experience.

The inclusion of TEK into tourism planning and development has both practical and political benefits. As suggested by the case study, on the north coast of British Columbia, Gitxaała environmental observation can provide crucial monitoring of the impact of tourism and other industries on the north coast. The ecological impacts of increased boat traffic, including cruise ships and whale-watching tours, of ever increasing harvesting of salmon, halibut, and rockfish by recreational harvesters, the establishment of fishing lodges in local bays, stand to have a significant impact on the environment and the capacity of Gitxaała people to continue harvesting their customary foods. As tourism continues to expand and develop it becomes ever more important

that Gitxaala and other First Nations are directly involved in all aspects of the tourism trade to ensure environmental sustainability. The intimate knowledge of their territories positions Gitxaala people as the ideal guides and interpreters for visitors to the area, especially those with an interest in wildlife viewing and/or harvesting, and in the ways in which indigenous peoples have coexisted with the resources for millennia.

Finally, the recognition of and incorporation of TEK into tourism planning and development is crucial to ensuring that such developments are culturally sustainable, respectful of indigenous rights, and supportive of indigenous ways of life. Tourism, like other forms of extractive industries, contains within it positive and negative potentials for First Nations and the region. We use the term 'extractive industries' to deliberately draw a parallel with the region's history of resource extraction industries. While tourism is not classically about extracting natural resources for industrial processing it is 'extracting' experiences from the environment, local history, and local cultures in ways that necessarily transform them. Using TEK and indigenous rights as a basis for tourism planning can ensure that the industry is a decolonizing rather than recolonizing force of change, by establishing tourism enterprises that are based on indigenous values, priorities, understandings, and which provide direct cultural and economic benefits to communities.

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