‘This Sacred Land is Our Home. Respectful Visitors Welcome’: An Indigenized code of conduct for visitors to the traditional lands of the Lutsel K’e Dene First Nation

by

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AUTHOR'S DECLARATION

I hereby declare that I am the sole author of this thesis. This is a true copy of the thesis, including any required final revisions, as accepted by my examiners.

I understand that my thesis may be made electronically available to the public.
Abstract

The purpose of this narrative study is to explore stories told by Lutsel K’e Denesoline that convey their experiences of, and expectations for, respectful visitor behaviour in their vast ancestral territory. Following a participatory inquiry paradigm that engages with community-based participatory research principles and Indigenist research principles, this study is guided by three primary objectives: (1) to document the range of negative and positive experiences that the participants (i.e. youth, adults, elders in Lutsel K’e; land users, land managers) have had with visitors to their traditional lands; (2) to explore how the Lutsel K’e Denesoline expect visitors to behave on their land, and why those expectations exist; and (3) to develop a tangible document in the form of a code of conduct for visitors to the area, which can function as a mechanism for land governance and management. Interview participants in Lutsel K’e (n=12) shared stories about visitation on Denesoline territory, which were synthesized with additional narratives and community analysis shared during the Wildlife, Lands, and Environment Committee workshop (n=5). This created a community narrative that tells a story about respect for Denesoline peoples and territory, as well as the complex dynamic between visitors, respect, safety, and development. From this narrative, a teleological, interpretation-based code of conduct for visitors that outlines Denesoline expectations for respect was formed. The process and outcome of this thesis makes three major social and scholarly contributions: (1) methodological, through an Indigenous-driven approach that seeks to decolonize research and Indigenous tourism; (2) practical, in the form of a community-developed code of conduct that communicates Denesoline presence and facilitates self-determination from the legacy of colonialism; and (3) theoretical, addressing visitor behaviour by looking at the moral question of how visitors should behave on vast, Indigenous traditional territory. After all, Denesoline territory may be vast, but it is their ancestral home. The code of conduct demonstrates that ultimately, visitors are welcome to Denesoline lands as long as they are informed and respectful.
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Dedication

For my Grandma, Willa Holmes – thank you for your love, laughter, and support. Knowing that you were proud of me made even the most difficult parts of this journey worthwhile.
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Chapter 1
Introduction

You are travelling in Canada’s Northwest Territories. Perhaps you love adventure, nature, and the opportunity to explore the ‘pristine’ environment that Arctic Canada has to offer. Perhaps you are travelling along the Thelon River. You are boating, canoeing, hiking, camping – this place is so beautiful and so different from the hectic and developed cities in the South that you are used to. You are alone in your travels, with no one else in sight except your companions from back home. You revel in the open landscape that seems untouched by civilization. It feels like you are the only person in the world, and that this space exists for you at this moment. You do not realize that this land is, in fact, inhabited. Unbeknownst to you, you are travelling on ancestral Indigenous territory, land that has sustained Denesoline livelihoods for generations.

As MacCannell (2012) explained, “tourism [is an] effort and organization based on human desire to connect with or experience something or someone ‘other’ as represented by or embodied in an attraction” (p. 184). It is a spatial experience that gives travellers the opportunity to explore different people, places, and cultures in search of leisure, personal growth, and an experience of the ‘other’ (Minca, 2000). The ‘other’ can apply to people, cultures, and physical environments; for example, as illustrated in the story above, visitors may or may not directly interact with the host community during their travels but they can still experience the land and the cultural experience of that land as the ‘other’ (MacCannell, 2012). This is relevant for any ancestral territory, even those now changed by built environments; however, for this study, it applies to travel in vast ancestral Indigenous territory that may not facilitate direct, interpersonal interaction with the Denesoline who take ownership of that place.

Because the nature of tourism is so focused on the exploration of different people, places, and cultures, the practice of tourism has inherent moral implications, some of which are explicitly addressed through responsible tourism concepts like ecotourism and pro-poor tourism, and others that need to be more fully examined, such as travelling on Indigenous ancestral territory (Mostafanezhad & Hannam, 2014). Moral implications exist largely because tourism and visitation are active colonial processes, often perpetuating colonial ideals of suppression and exploitation of the ‘other’ by commodifying and appropriating people and places for the privileged to ‘consume’ (Grimwood, in press a; Kabbani, 1986).
Much like the tourism encounter, research also has moral implications that are associated with Western-dominated, colonial attitudes and tendencies. Thus, it is important to minimize the moral implications that are related to the research encounter and impacts of research on a community through a culturally sensitive, collaborative, and Indigenized approach to research (Chambers & Buzinde, 2015). As she gazed upon the ‘other’ in her research, d’Hauteserre (2014) asked “how to negotiate moral cross-cultural relations?” (p.81). I ask a similar question for both tourism and research, not just pertaining to the ‘other’ as a person, but also to the ‘other’ as a cultural landscape – ancestral territory where Indigenous presence has the potential to be silenced by tourism discourses (e.g. Grimwood, Yudina, Muldoon & Qiu, 2015). This silencing arguably condones, and even indicates approval of, oppressive practices that carry on colonial legacies (d’Hauteserre, 2014).

D’Hauteserre suggested that simply gazing upon or consuming the ‘other’ as a touristic experience, failing to truly engage with local culture or values, can be both disrespectful and enact a form of violence, similar to the exploitative nature of colonialism; however, such power-imbued relations can be better balanced by avoiding objectification of the ‘other’ and enabling an embodied subject-to-subject relationship with host communities (d’Hauteserre, 2014). While this might apply to situations of direct encounter between tourist and host or host community/place, forging this kind of relationship can be challenging when geographical distance factors in. For example, in subarctic Canada, wilderness tourists motivated to experience ‘pristine nature’ may not at any point in their travels interact with, let alone directly encounter, the peoples that inhabit this area and call it home. Lutsel K’ee Denesoline territory is a prime example.

Lutsel K’ee is a geographically remote Indigenous community with a population of approximately 300 (Bennett, Lemelin & Ellis, 2010). It is inhabited by the Lutsel K’ee Dene First Nation, who will be referred to throughout this paper as ‘Denesoline’ or ‘Lutsel K’ee Dene’. ‘Dene’ is also an appropriate term, though it generally refers to a broader population of peoples differentiated by language (e.g. Denesoline [Chipewyan], Tlicho [Dogrib], Gwich’in, and Slavey); however, this study collaborates with the Denesoline of Lutsel K’ee, traditionally known by the derogatory term of ‘Chipewyan’ (Kendrick, Lyver, & LKDFN, 2005). Although it is accessible only by air, or water in the summer and snowmobile in the winter, Lutsel K’ee still has visitors travelling through the community and within their vast Denesoline traditional territory (Bennett, Lemelin & Ellis, 2010). Furthermore, the number of visitors travelling on these lands has the potential to increase dramatically in the future if the Thaidene Nene National Park Reserve negotiations are successful (Bennett, Lemelin, Koster, & Budke, 2012). It is important to note that given the geographical vastness of
Denesoline territory, independent tourists may never visit the community itself or directly interact with Denesoline at any point to facilitate the embodied relation suggested by d’Hauteserre (2014). Similarly, non-tourist visitors (e.g. mining or government officials and researchers) may not be aware of their impact on the community or the fact the community still has expectations for their behaviour, even if they are not ‘tourists’ (as will be outlined in the narrative).

In response to these challenges, this thesis, a collaborative and participatory research project with Lutsel K’e community members, offers a potential solution: a code of conduct that shares cultural information about the Denesoline peoples and lands, and outlines expectations for respectful and moral behaviour for all visitors. The code of conduct can be a tool by which the Denesoline community can invite and encourage a meaningful and embodied relationship between host and visitor, and visitor and place. The process and outcome of this research project – an Indigenized code of conduct – is a response to Mostafanezhad and Hannam’s (2014) call for new tourism encounters that prioritize moral encounters. The code of conduct, produced alongside participating Lutsel K’e community members and their stories, ultimately supports visitation on ancestral territory, but encourages moral practice, not only when interacting with Denesoline people, but even if travelling independently and encountering the cultural Indigenous landscape.

1.1 Social and scholarly contexts

This thesis offers a narrative study that presents the stories shared by Lutsel K’e Denesoline community members. These stories are synthesized into a broader narrative that identifies the context of visitation; the conflict or problem, which is colonialism, visitation as a process of colonialism, and the ongoing struggle for land management and governance; and finally the resolution, which is the sharing of expectations for visitor behaviour through a community-developed code of conduct. This thesis strives to tell this story, highlighting Denesoline voices but shared from my perspective as a non-Denesoline researcher. Overall, the process and product of this research addresses and contributes to several major contemporary social and scholarly contexts.

First, colonialism and dispossession are processes that have had significant impact on Indigenous Peoples globally, and the Lutsel K’e Denesoline are no exception. As Barker (2015) explained, colonialism has played a major role in Canada, since it “is a settler colonial state whose sovereignty and political economy is premised on the dispossession of Indigenous peoples and exploitation of their land base” (p. 44). Whether it is the European settlers of the past, or mining
companies, government, visitors, and tourists of the present, colonialism is a continuing process that has contributed to the ongoing struggle for Denesoline management and governance of their own territory. As a means of resistance, Indigenous Peoples strive for self-determination: for their political institutions to be recognized and for the right to control their own territory, resources, and cultures (Berman, Lyons & Falk, 1993). This study not only addresses the broader issue of colonialism as it impacts the Lutsel K’e Denesoline, but it also strives to empower Denesoline in resistance against colonialism through its process and outcomes.

Second, this study engages with tourism ethics and morality, and addresses the broader issue of visitor behaviour and management. It considers how people ought to behave while travelling on traditional Indigenous lands, and how positive behaviour can be influenced or encouraged through an informative, ethics-based tool like a code of conduct. Ultimately, it considers the move towards Indigenous-driven management of visitation and visitor behaviour in traditional territory. This study was inspired by the emerging ‘critical turn’ in tourism studies, in which researchers engage more critically with how they know and what they know in tourism research (Nielsen & Wilson, 2012). More specifically, the ‘transformative perspective’ of hopeful tourism within critical tourism studies is foundational to this research (Pritchard, Morgan & Ateljevic, 2012). Pritchard et al. (2012) defined hopeful tourism as “a values-led, humanist perspective that strives for the transformation of our way of seeing, being, doing and relating in tourism worlds and for the creation of a less unequal, more sustainable planet through action-oriented, participant-driven learnings and acts” (p. 1). It is a response to calls for a new perspective on tourism research that not only imagines a better future, but also actively pursues it (Pritchard et al., 2012). Hopeful tourism is grounded in transmodernism and the dynamic feminine, both of which are empowering, democratic, and respectful paradigms, as well as worldism, which recognizes that multiple worlds exist and are thoroughly entwined (Pritchard et al., 2012). This study is situated within this context given its focus on community-driven and morally informed visitation as a means for self-determination; in essence, it explores the potential of respectful tourism and visitation as a transformative act of resistance against colonialism.

Finally, this thesis is situated within Dr. Bryan Grimwood’s broader research project, entitled ‘Picturing the Thelon River: Restor(y)ing Denesoline relations en route to the headwaters’. A major focus of this broader project is to document the Denesoline’s relationships to and knowledges of the Thelon River watershed through oral history interviews with community residents of Lutsel K’e, and to understand why protecting this sacred place is so important to the community despite geographical
separation (Grimwood, 2014a). The research objectives for this broader project emerged during a preliminary research-planning workshop in November 2012 with the Lutsel K’e Wildlife, Lands, and Environment Committee (WLEC), and more thoroughly during a research workshop with the same committee in December 2013. The concept for this Master’s thesis was developed in response to a collection of the concerns and interests expressed by participating community members during the December 2013 research-planning workshop. These interests and concerns included the ongoing struggle for Denesoline land governance and management of their vast territory, which is further threatened by the potential for uranium and diamond mining and the environmental and socio-cultural impacts that are associated with research extraction; the establishment of the Thaidene Nene National Park Reserve and the associated potential for tourism growth and impacts on the community; and finally, how to efficiently and effectively communicate community expectations for visitors to Lutsel K’e Denesoline territory that not only emphasize Denesoline voices, but also educates tourists about contemporary Indigenous presence in spite of a nostalgic perspective on nature and Indigeneity (Grimwood, 2014a). This study is founded on the belief that a code of conduct for visitor behaviour has the potential to address each of these issues, in that it prioritizes Denesoline voices and essentially asserts that ‘we are here’. A code that is generated collaboratively with the community, based on their personal experiences and expectations for visitor behaviour, can be a mechanism by which to demonstrate that the community takes ownership of their vast traditional territory, even if that space may be geographically distant from the community itself. These lands are still an important part of Denesoline livelihood practices and are valued as sacred spaces with significant spiritual importance for the community (Grimwood, 2014a). A message that urges respectful behaviour and protection of the land can be shared via a code of conduct that indicates a moral responsibility to behave respectfully.

There are many commonalities between this thesis and the broader ‘Picturing the Thelon’ project, including the focus on community-based participatory research, working collaboratively with the community of Lutsel K’e, the use of a narrative methodology, and understanding the importance of the Thelon River watershed. At the same time, there are ways in which this project is unique from the broader study. While other aspects of ‘Picturing the Thelon’ focus predominantly on the Thelon River watershed and Thelon Game Sanctuary, and the stories and experiences that Denesoline have regarding this place, this thesis considers as its focal point all Lutsel K’e Denesoline traditional lands, including the community itself. The Thelon is still an important aspect of this project, as it is a sacred space for the Denesoline (Grimwood, 2014a); however, visitors may visit and move through the
community and other areas within Denesoline territory, especially with the advent of the national park reserve. Visitors in all of these spaces need to be cognizant of their behaviour, and therefore a wider scope to incorporate all Denesoline traditional lands is necessary.

1.1.1 Theoretical and methodological approaches

This project was informed by decolonial theory. Both postcolonialism and decolonialism advocate for pushing through colonial orders (Battell Lowman & Mayblin, 2011). Historically, academia has been dominated by Western epistemologies, entrenched as a result of colonial domination; however, postcolonial voices have emerged within the past several decades that have illuminated the perspectives of the colonized and marginalized, encouraging academics to rethink conventional assumptions about power, modernity, and culture (Battell Lowman & Mayblin, 2011). Postcolonial and decolonial theories are related and overlap to a certain extent. Postcolonialism “calls for a dramatic change in academic thinking, away from the perception of colonialism as being primarily about states and borders, and towards an analysis of the cultural and epistemic legacies of colonialism”, while decolonialism is “not so much a critique of Europe from within as a theory of coloniality/modernity from without…[A]nalyses of the present must be seen through the lens of the ‘coloniality of power’…[which] gives the historical events of colonialism very real contemporary implications” (Battell Lowman & Mayblin, 2011, p. 4). Despite some overlap, it is important to note the key differences. Postcolonialism is arguably still entangled in colonial power structures and fails to acknowledge the interrelationship between colonialism and modernity (Alfaisa, 2011).

Alternatively, a prerequisite of decolonialism is understanding that “there is no modernity without coloniality”; that the pre-modern/modern dichotomy is a result of an unequal geopolitical power distribution (Mignolo, 2008, p. 22). In essence, postcolonialism is in need of its own decolonization (Alfaisa, 2011). Decolonialism, although a flexible and ambiguous term, recognizes that colonialism is not simply a thing of the past, but a historical process with a modern day legacy (Battell Lowman & Mayblin, 2011). It can even be argued that modern-day tourism is an ongoing colonial process, perpetuating an ‘othering’ mentality that maintains colonial assumptions about modernity and stereotypes for the cultures of ‘others’ in host destinations (Brown, 2013; Palmer, 1994; Grimwood, et al., 2015).

This study strives to address the Denesoline struggle for management of their territory and activities on that territory, in an effort to manage visitation. A decolonial perspective allows me to unpack the colonial underpinnings that have enabled this struggle, while also being cognizant of the
potential to ‘other’ and marginalize through research. In an effort to allow for decolonization, this study was guided by a participatory paradigm throughout. Based on a participatory worldview, the participatory inquiry paradigm demands that research engages with ‘subjects’ as co-researchers, facilitating collaborative and transformative research (Heron & Reason, 1997; Lincoln, Lynham, & Guba, 2011). Within this participatory paradigm are two interconnected methodological approaches – community-based participatory research (CBPR) and Indigenous-driven research (based on an Indigenist paradigm). These methodologies exist in an effort to decolonize more conventional colonial research practices that have been dominated by non-Indigenous, Western academics who do research on and not with Indigenous communities (Moodie, 2010; Higgins-Desbiolles, 2009; Castleden et al., 2012). Guided by principles like engaging with Indigenous perspectives, working with communities as equal research partners, and empowerment through co-learning and capacity building, the participatory paradigm ensures that Indigenous Peoples guide research and benefit from its outcomes (Wilson, 2007; Israel et al., 2005). In order to truly engage with Indigenous perspectives and ways of knowing, narrative inquiry guided the data collection and analysis to facilitate storytelling through conversation, a practice which is congruent with Indigenous epistemologies founded in the sharing of oral narratives (Josselson, 2011; Daly, 2007; Barton, 2004).

1.2 Problem, purpose, and objectives

The research interests and concerns expressed during the December 2013 research-planning workshop identified the primary problem of focus for this study: the broader issue of Dene Soline governance and management over traditional territory, and within that scope, the local management of visitation and tourism development. Therefore, the purpose of this narrative study is to explore stories told by members of the Lutsel K’e Dene Soline that convey their experiences of, and expectations for, respectful visitor behaviour. Drawing on a participatory inquiry paradigm, this thesis examines these stories to develop a tangible code of conduct for visitors to traditional Dene Soline territory. The collaborative process, as well as the outcome of a community narrative and code of conduct, asserts Dene Soline management of territory and visitation through the communication of expectations of respectful visitor behaviour, which also represents an overt expression of Dene Soline presence within that territory.

There are three main objectives in this study. The first objective is to document the range of negative and positive experiences that the participants (i.e. youth, adults, elders in Lutsel K’e; land users, land managers) have had with visitors to their traditional lands, either through personal
experiences or stories that have been shared by other Denesoline (e.g., ancestors or elders). The second objective is to explore how the Denesoline expect visitors to behave on their land, and why those expectations exist. The third objective is to develop a tangible document in the form of a code of conduct for visitors to the area, which can function as a mechanism for land governance and management.

Based on these purposes and objectives, this research hopes to make three main interrelated social and scholarly contributions. The first contribution will be methodological, as I will discuss how this study is Indigenous-driven; a typology of research that highlights Indigenous involvement, empowerment, and self-determination, and is thus far vastly underrepresented in the academic literature (Nielsen & Wilson, 2012). Indigenous-driven research that is guided by community-based participatory research and Indigenist principles is key to creating an Indigenized code of conduct for visitors that is developed based on an ethical and decolonized approach to research. The second contribution will be practical - a community-driven, Indigenized code of conduct. The process of developing the code of conduct, as well as the code itself, represents a unique way for Indigenous communities to assert local governance and management over territory, and more specifically, visitation. I argue that the code exists as a mechanism for self-determination, as it explicitly communicates the community’s ownership of land and resource management through a tangible and explicit expression of their expectations for its protection and respectful use (Berman, Lyons & Falk, 1993). The final contribution will be theoretical, as I argue that the code of conduct addresses the moral question of how visitors ought to behave when travelling on Indigenous territory. It is a mechanism for managing visitor behaviour by communicating the expectations of community members – a practice that is especially important given the vastness of Denesoline territory, as well as the potential for visitors to not engage in direct interpersonal interaction with Denesoline peoples. By following an Indigenous-driven methodology, this study seeks to ‘Indigenize’ tourism ethics to create a document that outlines Denesoline moral and ethical expectations for visitors to their traditional territory.

1.3 Thesis overview

Now that a brief outline of the scholarly and social contexts, theoretical and methodological approaches, and anticipated contributions have been introduced, I will provide a chapter-by-chapter overview of the thesis. Chapter 2 provides a review of the literature as it relates to the social and scholarly context: classifying and defining the type of tourism relevant to this study; colonialism and
the role of tourism and visitation, decolonialism, and self-determination; and finally, moving towards Indigenous-driven visitor management, with a specific focus on tourism ethics, respect, responsibility, codes of conduct, and hopeful tourism. Chapter 3 will discuss a participatory research paradigm, guided by community-based participatory research and Indigenist research principles, as well as the use of narrative inquiry to inform data collection and analysis. This will be followed by a detailed outline of the methods for data collection and analysis, as well as personal reflection on the process and experience of this research project. Chapter 4 will present the results of the study, which include a community narrative that synthesizes stories shared by participants, and a code of conduct that was derived from this broader narrative. Chapter 5 will discuss the results as it relates and contributes to the broader social and scholarly contexts outlined in the introduction and literature review, and Chapter 6 will conclude the thesis, identifying potential areas for future research.
Chapter 2
Literature Review

This study is founded in several key contexts that were outlined in the introduction, and will be explored more in depth in this chapter. These contexts include colonialism, decolonization, and self-determination, as well as visitor behaviour and management, tourism ethics, respect and responsibility, and codes of conduct as it relates to Indigenous-driven visitor management.

2.1 (De)colonialism

2.1.1 Colonialism

Indigenous peoples are just that: *Indigenous to the lands they inhabit,* in contrast to and in contention with the colonial societies and states that have spread out from Europe and other centres of empire. It is this *oppositional, place-based existence,* along with the *consciousness of being in struggle* against the dispossessing and demeaning fact of colonization by foreign peoples, that fundamentally distinguishes Indigenous peoples from other peoples of the world. (Alfred & Corntassel, 2005, p. 597; emphasis from Barker, 2015)

This quote illustrates the stark contrast between Indigenous Peoples and their colonizers. As Grimwood (in press a) explained, colonialism is “an enduring relational process of subjugation and dispossession usually associated with the oppression of indigenous people by a minority of agents exercising power, self-interest, and assumed superiority in the name of a European or American empire”. It is a process that perpetuates inequality, enabling the suppression of a group of people under the power and control of another (Palmer, 1994). The justification for and ideas and attitudes supporting colonialism are epitomized in a statement by James A. Smart, the Deputy Superintendent of Indian Affairs in Canada in 1899, who was advocating against the death penalty for an Indigenous inhabitant of the Great Slave Lake area:

…the accused was from Great Slave Lake, a section of the country inhabited by Indians with whom no Treaty has yet been made and which is not yet in touch with civilization and that he can therefore hardly be regarded otherwise than as an untutored savage…the conduct of a savage governed by superstitions and whose habits are entirely opposed to those of civilization…whatever his actual age he is still an infant in the eyes of the law. (Fumoleau, 2004, p. 64-65)
This perception of Indigenous Peoples as infantile, in need of help to transition to civilized livelihoods, is a main tenant of colonialism that subjugates Indigenous Peoples and enables the takeover of territory by the State for their own interests. In turn, colonialism is associated with long-lasting social, political, and economic impacts that limit Indigenous control and ownership of traditional territory, livelihoods, and resources, and also often perpetuates racism (Grimwood, in press a; Chilisa, 2012). These limits to Indigenous control and ownership have actively been supported by several contemporary governments, who have explicitly objected to the United Nations Declaration of the Rights of Indigenous Peoples because it states that “Indigenous peoples have the right to own, develop, control and use the lands and territories, including the total environment of the lands” (Gray, 2009, p. 17). The governments’ objection stemmed from the use of the term ‘territories’, which they argued was “solely a prerogative of states” in an effort to undermine Indigenous territorial rights and to support land dispossession (Gray, 2009, p. 18). That states are trying to monopolize the term territory effectively silences the concept of Indigenous ownership and perpetuates a hegemony that favours the state over Indigenous Peoples in an effort to justify colonialism (i.e. to allow external access to resources, etc.) (Gray, 2009).

Indigenous knowledges and land rights are also undermined by the use of confining terms like ‘local’, which not only restricts Indigenous Peoples to a specific geographic place, but also limits Indigenous identity to their relation with that place or their participation in ‘Indigenous practices’ (Cameron, 2012). Indigenous Peoples often resist the notion of ‘local’, as their knowledges and connections with the land can extend beyond; yet, it is the perpetuation of the ‘local’ delimitation that allows Indigenous political claims to be found illegitimate, enabling the dispossession of land and restricting Indigenous autonomy and governance (Cameron, 2012).

The following excerpt from Fumoleau (2004) provides a telling narrative about early colonial practices in North America, and its impact on Indigenous inhabitants:

When explorers, adventurers, and settlers arrived in the new world, they mistakenly called the original inhabitants of the two Americas, “Indians”. At first, wonder and delight prevailed in both groups. Some newcomers explored, led through the forests and along the rivers by Indian guides. Others built trading posts, depending on furs supplied by Indians. Most grouped in settlements, welcomed by Indians to share their land. Initial friendship and goodwill did not last long. As immigrants became more and more numerous, they needed more and more land. Sharing, never an intrinsic ingredient in European colonization, was replaced by practices of taking and keeping…different methods of handling the Indians were tried. Often
they were treated benevolently, sometimes enslaved, frequently massacred, occasionally annihilated, or systematically assimilated as individuals or tribes. When all else failed they were banished into the hinterland to await the next advance of civilization. (p. xxiii)

More often than not, colonialism is considered in this context: a thing of the past, and something that occurs no longer. However, in Canada’s North, government, non-governmental organizations, and academic institutions still feel the need to intervene and fix many social problems like poverty, addictions, and loss of culture that continue to plague Northern Indigenous Peoples (Cameron, 2012). Li (2007) defined this mindset as the ‘will to improve’, whereby ‘trustees’ “claim to know how others should live, to know what is best for them, to know what they need…. The objective of trusteeship is not to dominate others – it is to enhance their capacity for action, and to direct it” (p. 4-5).

Intervention is simply a modern day form of colonialism, a practice that is often undertaken with good intentions, but may still be violent and lead to horrific outcomes (e.g. residential schools) (Li, 2007; Cameron, 2012). Ultimately, Li argued that the ‘will to improve’ as a form of governance is “no less significant than more coercive, assimilative, or disciplinary modes of domination. It is an extension and modification, not a departure from, colonial forms of power” (Cameron, 2012, p. 106).

Furthermore, as a settler colonial state, Indigenous claims to territory in Canada are constantly threatened by the government and socio-cultural discourses that strive to transfer Indigenous lands to colonial authorities (Barker, 2015). However, since this threat still persists and is often met with acts of Indigenous resistance, settler colonialism is arguably a process that has not yet been fully successful in Canada (Barker, 2015).

Despite its ongoing prevalence, colonialism is still largely ignored or underrepresented by academics. As Stavenhagen (2013) explained, “that the human rights of indigenous peoples were disregarded during colonial times is well documented. That these rights, now recognized in international law and many national constitutions, are still widely abused is less well known and frequently ignored” (p. 97). Although Arctic Indigenous research is making climate change and community vulnerability a prominent part of the conversation, the vast majority of studies fail to even mention how colonialism has influenced their research subjects, processes, results, and relations (Cameron, 2012). This is a glaring omission given that the communities in which these projects were undertaken were heavily influenced and shaped by colonization, and it also neglects to acknowledge the efforts of Indigenous resistance, decolonization, and self-determination (Cameron, 2012).

Ultimately, “the effects of colonialism run deep” in the Canadian Arctic, contributing to social
problems like poverty, substance abuse, violence, and suicide; all issues that cannot be adequately addressed until their ‘colonial origins’ are recognized (Kral & Idlout, 2009, p. 315; Cameron, 2012).

2.1.2 Tourism as an active process of colonialism

Despite its understanding as a historical construct, colonialism is still very present in a contemporary context. In fact, modern forms of tourism and tourism research are often perceived as expressions of neo-colonialism, since travelling in and of itself is a demonstration of power over another people and place (Grimwood, in press a; Kabbani, 1986). Alternatively, early proponents suggested that tourism could actually oppose neo-colonialist ideologies, as the tourism industry offers economic opportunities for the host destination that may not have existed otherwise (Brown, 2013). This argument is contestable, however, since wealthy countries still tend to dominate the industry, taking control of tourism operations and facilitating economic leakage away from the host country (Brown, 2013). Colonization through tourism is, in essence, strategic for the purposes of international capitalism, as international and elite interests are given priority over local interests (Brown, 2013). The exploitative relationship that is fundamental to colonialism is still very present within tourism.

Citing Nash, Brown (2013) explored the colonialist tendencies of the tourism industry, identifying a clear distinction between those who work, serve, and produce in host destinations, and those who visit and enjoy leisure, usually from ‘metropolitan centres’. ‘Otherness’ is a major draw for tourism destinations, and the tourist’s tendency to ‘other’ host people and places is very similar to that of colonizing settlers; the tourist ultimately performs the role of the colonizer (Brown, 2013). Brown even argued that tourism, as an active process of colonialism, creates a greater divide between tourist and local communities than historical colonialism did, especially when compounded by the presence of a large number of tourists. While settlers historically took over territory and marginalized Indigenous Peoples, tourists actually consume ‘otherness’, forcing the designation of tourist spaces and rendering them inaccessible for productive use by host communities (Brown, 2013).

It is in the search for authenticity of ‘otherness’ that tourism helps to perpetuate stereotypes and anachronistic understandings of historically colonized peoples and places, whether that is in developing countries and Caribbean destinations, or in the Canadian Arctic and Indigenous communities (Palmer, 1994; Grimwood, et al., 2015). Stereotypes and unrealistic expectations of a colonized tourism destination ‘stuck-in-time’ are often perpetuated through marketing and promotional tools inspired by colonial ideologies, and influence not only the tourists’ perception of the host community, but also the host community’s perception of self (Palmer, 1994). This is
especially problematic when a country is largely dependent on a tourism economy, which reinforces historical colonial identities rather than a contemporary presentation of the people and place (Palmer, 1994). Palmer (1994) demonstrated how Caribbean destinations are often sold based on their slave-based, racially discriminatory past, while Grimwood et al. (2015) and Braun (2002) explained that evidence of modernity, whether that be technology or industry, often disrupts the temporal narrative for travellers, especially one that is constructed around a ‘nostalgic gaze’ that views Indigenous landscapes as ‘remote’, ‘uncivilized’, or ‘pristine’. Being conscious of the colonizing nature of tourism and the way unequal relations are perpetuated in the industry, and looking towards ‘good’ travel opportunities that do not objectify host communities and perpetuate their colonial past, is an important part of being a responsible and respectful traveller.

2.1.3 Decolonization and self-determination

As I explained in the introduction, this study takes on a decolonial lens in an effort to decolonize the research process and facilitate self-determination in Lutsel K’ee. As a response to colonialism, self-determination may mean political independence, but generally refers to “the right to control their [Indigenous] institutions, territories, resources, social orders and cultures without external domination or interference”; an objective that is particularly challenging given the fact that Indigenous Peoples tend to reside in existing states (Berman, Lyons & Falk, 1993, p. 191). Additionally, Corntassel and Bryce (2012) identified self-determination as a process that is sustainable and community-based, not simply a political or legal privilege; therefore, it is “something that is asserted and acted upon, not negotiated or freely offered by the state” (p. 152). Indeed, self-determination is a reaffirmation of Indigenous rights, a process of resistance against national states and colonialism in an effort to be autonomous (de Oliveira, 2009).

Decolonization is an important foundation for working towards Indigenous self-determination and autonomy. It requires us to question the dominant worldviews that determine our understanding of self and relations with nature, state, and other people in an effort to comprehend how colonial power perpetuates oppression (Jaramillo, 2012). From this perspective, we can challenge the multitude of injustices forced upon the dispossessed (Jaramillo, 2012). As de Oliveira (2009) explained, the presence of Indigenous voices in the political scene is not a new phenomenon. Indigenous voices have always been present, but are starting to gain ground:

The difference is that Indigenous peoples’ claims to existence as societies differentiated from mainstream national societies are taken
nowadays as valid arguments in the dialogue with the states, while in the recent past they were regarded as the sad laments of peoples destined to disappear with a fully Westernised [sic] planet. (de Oliveira, 2009, p. 13)

In order to decolonize the Indigenous/nation-state relationship, de Oliveira referenced Ranger’s (1997) concept of ‘postcoloniality’ in Africa, which focused on the emergence of ‘Third World’ identities and voices in the ‘First World’, and resistance against Western ideas of rationality and ‘imperial science’. The movement towards decolonization required engagement with Indigenous Peoples as legitimate voices in ‘inter-ethnic dialogues’ (de Oliveira, 2009). Although this transformation has already started given that Indigenous voices are now perceived as ‘valid’, rather than part of a group who would inevitably be swallowed by the colonized world, decolonization still needs to become more prevalent in government and policy, as well as academia and research, so as to support Indigenous decolonization and self-determination (de Oliveira, 2009).

Much of the literature on decolonization in research focuses on theoretical frameworks and methodologies that can facilitate decolonization, rather than the practical application of decolonized approaches. Notably, decolonization in research is emerging in several fields. For example, Thaman’s (2003) article discussed decolonization in Pacific Studies, defining it as “an attempt to reflect critically on the nature, scope, and processes of colonialism in the Pacific Islands (or Oceania), particularly its impact on colonized people and their environments” (p. 1). She started by recognizing that ‘the Pacific’ is a western-defined geographic space, and that its studies are grounded in Western perspectives. As a result, we need to overcome the Westernized ‘truths’ that have become so ingrained in Pacific studies, and accept Indigenous ways of knowing and seeing the world (Thaman, 2003). A second example is Sundburg (2014), who considered the task of decolonizing geography by “exposing the ontological violence authorized by Eurocentric epistemologies” and acknowledging the implications of colonialism in research (p. 34). She looked at two performances of posthumanist theory, which tends to favour Anglo-European epistemologies: silence about location and silence of Indigenous epistemologies. In order to decolonize, Sundburg suggested walking; while walking, we need to reflect on our epistemological and ontological assumptions, as well as how they are situated in power relations, in an effort to ‘unlearn’ privilege. We also need to ‘walk with’, to appreciate multiplicity and truly engage with Indigenous epistemologies, ontologies, and methodologies, with an intention of solidarity, political engagement, and direct action (Sundburg, 2014). In essence, we can
move towards decolonization in geography by “locating the self, learning to learn, and walking with” (Sundburg, 2014, p. 41).

Finally, Chambers and Buzinde’s (2015) article explores decolonization as it can relate to tourism research. They discussed how decolonial theory encourages researchers to consider other ways of knowing and being in tourism, outside of conventional Western epistemologies. In order to engage with other knowledges (e.g. Indigenous), one must first consider the involvement (or lack thereof) of Indigenous and colonized communities in tourism research (Chambers & Buzinde, 2015). It is important to recognize and value the tourism knowledge being produced by non-Western academics, which can be supported when we respect and celebrate native languages in academia (Chambers & Buzinde, 2015). Also, non-Western knowledges in tourism need to be respected equally, as part of the academic curriculum, and not peripheral to it (Chambers & Buzinde, 2015). Finally, it is essential that the researcher recognize their position in the research process, reflecting on emotions and how they impact research and outcomes (Chambers & Buzinde, 2015). Through this framework, we can work towards decolonizing tourism research.

2.2 Towards Indigenous-driven visitor management

2.2.1 Arctic, Indigenous, nature-based tourism

Tourism is an important component of the visitation that occurs in Denesoline territory. As a result, I will briefly explore the type of tourism that attracts visitors in order to set the context for a discussion of visitor behaviour, visitor management, and hopeful tourism. Lutsel K’e and Denesoline territory is an Indigenous landscape located in Arctic Canada, and tourism activities tend to be focused around nature due to the attractive landscape that is sold to and consumed by a nature tourism market. Therefore, the type of tourism is identified as Arctic, Indigenous, and nature-based.

Arctic and polar regions have recently become a more popular destination for travelers for several reasons, including: improved infrastructure in the north, economic development that has shifted emphasis away from resource extraction towards the service industry, the opportunity for an alternative destination away from oversaturated mass tourism locations, and an interest in the North brought on by the green movement and concerns about climate change (Grenier, 2011). Although it is generally accepted that the Arctic and Antarctica are ‘polar regions’, there is no clear definition of what Arctic or ‘polar’ is (Viken, 2013). Polar is a relative term that refers ambiguously to the northern and southern ends of the earth, and the northern part, or Arctic, consists of parts of Canada, Denmark,
Greenland, Russia, Iceland, Norway, Finland, Sweden, and the U.S.A (Enzenbacher, 2011). The term ‘Arctic’ is often used as a broad generalization to define a place; however, it is important to recognize that it represents large areas of land in multiple countries that each consist of regions, communities, and people that are unique in their own right (Viken, 2013). There are common characteristics across Arctic environments, such as extreme low temperatures, heavy snow, and phenomena like the midnight sun and aurora borealis that tend to attract tourists; yet, even these characteristics can vary (Viken, 2013; Kaján, 2013). Despite this variation, Arctic tourism often draws on cultural (Indigenous) and natural (nature-based) dimensions as part of the tourism experience.

At the broadest level, Indigenous tourism might reflect any tourism enterprise, product, or experience relating to Indigenous Peoples. According to the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) definition referred to by Hinch and Butler (2009), Indigenous Peoples are those who occupied a certain area of land prior to colonization and the development of modern states, who self-identify and are identified by others as Indigenous, and who have unique ties to traditional territories and surrounding natural resources. The Lutsel K’e Denesoline certainly fall under this definition – they established permanent settlement in the community of Lutsel K’e in the 1960s, but the Denesoline are traditionally nomadic, still relying on resources from the natural environment and maintaining strong ties to their ancestral lands (Parlee & O’Neil, 2007). Indigenous tourism was more specifically defined as “tourism activities in which indigenous peoples are directly involved, either through control and/or by having their culture serve as the essence of the attraction” (Hinch & Butler, 2009, p. 17).

Nature-based is also an important component of tourism in Denesoline territory, not only given the vast area of beautiful, natural environment for nature-based activities, but also because the emphasis on nature is important in order to recognize the sacredness of the land and natural environment, as well as Denesoline connection to that environment (Hinch & Butler, 2009). As Fredman and Tyrväinen (2010) explained, there does not yet appear to be a universally accepted definition for nature-based tourism. Rennicks (1997) defined nature-based tourism as “travel and/or recreational activities by visitors and residents who use natural and cultural resources sustainably” (p. 8). She also acknowledged that this type of travel could synonymously be characterized as ‘ecotourism’ or ‘adventure travel’; however, Fredman and Tyrväinen (2010) argued against this comparison. They suggested that nature-based tourism and ecotourism are actually quite different, since nature-based tourism need not be sustainable, while nature-based tourism that is sustainable is, in fact, ‘ecotourism’. Nonetheless, a common thread for nature-based tourism is that the natural
environment is perceived as foundational to the tourism experience. On the demand side, tourists visit nature areas and participate in various outdoor activities, like hiking and canoeing (Fredman & Tyrväinen, 2010). On the supply side, natural resources must be appealing enough to attract visitors, a quality that is often supported by additional products and services, like trails and visitor centres (Fredman & Tyrväinen, 2010).

Ultimately, the natural resources consumed by nature-based tourists are part of the local community’s broader natural environment, and therefore local culture and traditions are often a part of the experience (Fredman & Tyrväinen, 2010). Higgins-Desbiolles (2009) attempted to capture the importance of culture and environment with Indigenous nature-based tourism, coining the term ‘Indigenous cultural-ecological tourism’. This comprehensive term recognizes that the Indigenous Peoples themselves, their culture, and the physical environment are a holistic entity, rather than separate parts, as is common with Western perspectives (Higgins-Desbiolles, 2009). It truly captures the nature and cultural dimensions of tourism in Lutsel K’e Denesoline territory.

### 2.2.1.1 Critiquing the terminology and types of tourism

Exploring the type of tourism is important not only to identify the type of tourist that visits Lutsel K’e, but also to explore some of the problems associated with the terminology; whether it is perpetuating colonial ideas or simply lacking in scope. For example, much of the research on Arctic tourism has a colonial bias due to the Anglo-American hegemony that dominates the tourism field (Viken, 2013). As a product of this hegemony, Arctic tourism tends to be characterized as on the periphery and ‘other’, using normative descriptions like ‘wild’ and ‘marginal’ that can be perceived as negative and patronizing (Viken, 2013). There are certainly problems associated with using the term Arctic to define tourism, as it can be associated with colonial and marginalizing language; however, based on the environmental characteristics and geographical location of Lutsel K’e, the term can help to capture the geographical location and unique characteristics that are common to an Arctic environment.

Hinch and Butler’s (2009) definition of Indigenous tourism is problematic for the purposes of this paper, because it lacks the key characteristics of the type of tourism that often occurs on Denesoline traditional territory. There is certainly the chance that tourists will visit or move through the community of Lutsel K’e itself and interact with the local residents, but it is not guaranteed. The projected area for the proposed National Park Reserve is 33 000 km², encompassing space from the East Arm of Great Slave Lake to the northeast of Artillery Lake (Bennett, et al., 2010; Parlee, 2011).
As a result, visitors may be travelling on Denesoline traditional territory that is geographically distant from the community itself, enabling little to no interaction with Indigenous inhabitants. Indigenous control of tourism operations may not be present, and the motivation for travel may be nature-based rather than cultural (although the land is certainly still ‘cultural’, Hinch and Butler’s definition does specify culture in terms of the direct involvement of Indigenous Peoples). Yet, it can be argued that travel on Indigenous lands, with or without direct interpersonal contact with Indigenous Peoples, still should be classified as Indigenous tourism given its location on traditional territory. Therefore, in order to be more inclusive, Hinch and Butler’s definition should be expanded to include travel on Indigenous lands with or without direct interaction with Indigenous Peoples, in recognition of Indigenous ownership of territory.

Finally, the lack of a universal definition for nature-based tourism provides a challenge, especially since some sources suggested that nature-based tourism and ecotourism are interchangeable, while others argued that there are fundamental differences between the two (e.g. a requirement of sustainability) (Fredman & Tyrväinen, 2010; Rennicks, 1997). Fennell (2008a) explained that the concept of Indigenous ecotourism promotes Indigenous Peoples as ecological stewards, “wise protectors of the land with accompanying inferences about how non-Indigenous people might begin to live more in harmony with the environment – in the manner of traditional societies” (p. 129); yet, the title of ecological stewards is somewhat contested, since Indigenous Peoples often partake in environmentally consumptive practices which do not necessarily meet the conservation requirements necessary for ecotourism (Fennell, 2008a). Therefore, Fennell suggested that nature-driven Indigenous tourism be referred to as nature-based tourism, where behavioural restrictions are less stringent and consumptive practices are more acceptable. This suggestion may be at odds with Fredman and Tyrväinen (2010), since as ecological stewards, Indigenous Peoples tend to practice sustainable livelihoods, and it is sustainability that is fundamental to ecotourism. After all, Indigenous Peoples have “inhabited their micro-environments for millennia and have complex and intimate knowledge of how to live sustainably in some very harsh and forbidding environments” (Higgins-Desbiolles, 2009, p. 147).

Although the terminology of Arctic, Indigenous, and nature-based tourism was met with several critiques, these terms help to classify the geographic location, importance of culture, and environmental focus of tourism in Denesoline territory. Such a classification helps to identify a relevant audience for the code of conduct for visitors, and although it only represents one type of
visitor, the tourist will be an important demographic moving forward with the potential protected area, as well as a growing local interest in tourism development.

### 2.2.2 Protected areas and conservation

During the 20th century, the Canadian Government’s approach to the conservation of wildlife was paternalistic, operating under the assumption that big game populations could only be preserved if the state was the overseer of Indigenous hunting practices (Sandlos, 2007). Co-operation between government and Indigenous Peoples was never considered, and instead, the state enforced hunting restrictions, designated traditional hunting grounds as protected areas and game sanctuaries, and introduced law enforcement and game wardens (Sandlos, 2007). Conservationists believed that Indigenous Peoples were incapable of sustainable hunting practices on their own, and only government intervention could effectively protect wildlife from decimation (Sandlos, 2007). In fact, Indigenous hunting was viewed with contempt, which perpetuated racist discourses that reported on “‘wasteful’ wildlife slaughters as the outgrowth of more general ‘primordial bloodlust’ among Native hunters” (Sandlos, 2007, p. 12). Canadian conservation policies legitimized state goals of colonizing the North under the narrative that Indigenous Peoples needed to be domesticated, to discourage their role as a “reckless killer of game” (Sandlos, 2007). In spite of the government’s assumption of authority over conservation, the Dene and Inuit in the Canadian Arctic perceived their ability to hunt as a ‘birthright’ and actively resisted the repression of those rights through petitions and letters (Sandlos, 2007). The Indigenous of the north resented the “meddling of outsiders who purported to be managing northern wildlife in the best interest of the local people” – a manifestation of the ‘Indigenous Peoples versus colonial authorities’ power relationship (Sandlos, 2007, p. 8-9).

Ultimately, the conservation policies of the federal government constituted a direct threat to Indigenous cultural livelihoods and helped to establish a relationship of distrust between Indigenous Peoples, the state, and protected areas.

Protecting biodiversity can occur through a variety of approaches, including the creation of parks and protected areas, the designation of natural reserves, and the establishment of integrated conservation and development ecotourism projects (ICDP) (Coria & Calfucura, 2012). Local, regional, national, and international levels of government tend to be the motivating force behind the establishment of national protected areas all over the world (Mason, 2005). Furthermore, local communities and other stakeholders often promote nature-based tourism practices because of its focus on protecting biodiversity; however, the level of Indigenous involvement in nature-based tourism
development and ongoing ventures can vary significantly depending on the location (Coria & Calfucura, 2012). As Coria and Calfucura (2012) suggested, “at least in the short run – indigenous ecotourism does not survive spontaneously without the full involvement of the indigenous community, and the support from external agents in the design, implementation, and diffusion of ecotourism ventures” (p. 54). Therefore, local involvement is an important part of successful nature-based tourism development, so local interests should be incorporated from the start of any new protected area designation process and the tourism industry that may develop as a result (Müller, 2013). Protected areas, especially national parks, offer an excellent opportunity for economic growth through tourism, allowing for less dependence on resource extraction economies, and encouraging the protection of lands from exploitation (Müller, 2013).

Yet, despite the potential for successful tourism growth, communities can face a number of contemporary challenges if situated adjacent to a protected area as a potential gateway to that space. These challenges, compounded by the distrust for government and protected areas that stems from the early 20th century (Sandlos, 2007), can make the prospect of government-designated protected areas unappealing, and even threatening. Several contemporary challenges are explored in Fortin and Gagnon’s (1999) paper, which looked at neighbouring communities to national parks more broadly, and Bennett et al.’s (2012) paper, which focused specifically on Indigenous communities that are adjacent to protected areas. Fortin and Gagnon discussed the changes that local populations and environments face when national parks are created, often without consultation or even approval from people in the neighbouring communities (Fortin & Gagnon, 1999). Their research concentrated primarily on industrialized nations where they argued that the situation for local populations is not quite as critical as in developing nations, since excluding local people from accessing protected areas is a declining practice in the industrialized world; however, it is still important to note that the “expropriation of local populations from protected areas has occurred and has not been accomplished without difficulty”, like vigorous protest (Fortin & Gagnon, 1999, p. 201). There are still direct and indirect long-term impacts that must be considered, whether that be positive, such as government funding for local economies to boost the tourism industry and encourage local employment opportunities, or negative; for example, if the lands designated for conservation by government restricts or removes local land governance and management, and if regulations prohibit activities and limit spontaneous use of the land by locals (Fortin & Gagnon, 1999).

The main outcome of Fortin and Gagnon’s (1999) paper was the authors’ advocacy for park management and government officials to work with local communities as partners, not simply as
recipients of potential economic benefit, and for park developers and managers to consider community development as integral to all planning and establishment phases (Fortin & Gagnon, 1999). This is an especially important cause amid concerns that the designation of a national park simply transfers power to core areas from the periphery where the parks are located, or that parks may only exist to satisfy interests outside of local communities (Müller, 2013; Lundmark & Stjernström, 2009). To ensure community benefit and involvement, Bennett et al. (2012) encouraged local capacity building for gateway communities based on seven capital assets: natural, physical and built, financial, political and institutional, social, cultural, and human; all of which can help the development of a locally beneficial and successful tourism industry.

2.2.3 Visitor behaviour

Understanding visitor behaviour is an integral part of visitor management. Moscardo (1999) explored the concepts of ‘mindlessness’ and ‘mindfulness’ in visitation; the former meaning that visitors “rel[y] on existing behavioural routines [which]…may limit a visitor’s ability to recognize and process new information”, and the latter meaning that the visitor can “actively process new information, create new categories for information, and consciously think about appropriate ways to behave” (Manning, 2003, p. 20). Manning (2003) identified a spectrum of five categories for the negative (mindless) behaviour of ‘wilderness’ visitors: deliberately illegal, careless actions, unskilled actions, uninformed actions, and unavoidable. Ultimately, enhancing mindfulness encourages learning and facilitates more informed decision-making on the part of visitors (Moscardo, 1999; Manning, 2003).

Hrubes, Ajzen and Daigle (2001) put forth the theory of planned behaviour as a potentially useful framework for studying visitor behaviour in tourism, given that it has been useful for modeling the “determinants of human social behaviour” in other contexts. The authors explored this theory in search of a theoretical framework to connect hunting and other outdoor activity behaviours with beliefs, attitudes, and values. The theory of planned behaviour suggests that human behaviour is guided by three kinds of beliefs: behavioural beliefs, which consider the likely consequences of a certain behaviour and produce either a positive or negative attitude towards the behaviour; normative beliefs, which consider the “normative expectations of others”, perceived as a “social pressure or subjective norm”; and control beliefs, which consider the factors that can either enable or hinder a certain behaviour (Hrubes et al., 2001, p. 166). When combined, the three beliefs generate a behavioural intention, as illustrated in Figure 1 (Hrubes et al., 2001). The theory of planned behaviour
suggests that values influence beliefs and attitudes, and therefore indirectly impact a person’s behaviour (Hrubes et al., 2001). The result of Hrubes et al.’s study supported this theory since attitudes toward behaviour, subjective norms, and perceptions of control did help to determine behavioural intentions. Although Hrubes et al. looks specifically at hunting, the theory of planned behaviour has previously been applied to studies of tourist behaviour in protected areas and wilderness (see, for example, Brown, Ham & Hughes, 2010).

Figure 1. Theory of Planned Behaviour

2.2.4 Visitor management

Awareness and education can play an important role in visitor management. In fact, education is perceived as one of the most efficient and cost effective ways to address visitor behaviour in parks and protected areas (Brown et al., 2010). It can be effective since negative visitor behaviour is often a result of ignorance and misconception (Brown et al., 2010); however, education is only really useful for those that may be uninformed, and less so for those exhibiting intentionally malicious behaviour (Hendee et al., as cited in Oliver et al., 1985). For example, in Manning’s (2003) typology of visitor behaviour, education may not be an effective solution for either end of the spectrum (deliberately illegal or unavoidable behaviours), as that behaviour may be intentional and unlikely to be changed, or simply impossible to change. However, careless, unskilled, and uninformed actions can be mitigated through education and interpretation.
When trying to educate and inform visitors, Manning (2003) recommended an approach based on a theory of moral development, which suggests that people move through different stages of moral development, and any information and educational tool needs to be able to reach people at all stages (from self-centered on one end of the spectrum, to altruistic and fair on the other end). Also, given the theory of planned behaviour, which suggests that visitor behaviour can be determined by values, attitudes, and beliefs, it is important that visitor management tools strive to either connect with or alter these components in an effort to modify behaviour (Manning, 2003).

One important example of an educational program for visitor management is ‘Leave No Trace’, which is a response to the problem of littering in parks and protected areas (Brown et al., 2010). Through education and communication geared towards visitors, the hope is not only to minimize littering in protected areas, but also to encourage visitors to remove the litter left behind by other visitors (Brown et al., 2010). Although print information like brochures can be an effective way to encourage responsible visitor behaviour like ‘Leave No Trace’, Oliver, Roggenbuck & Watson (1985) discovered that interpersonal interaction combined with brochures is even more effective. In this study, the brochure alone reduced incidences of tree damage and littering by about 50 percent, while distributing the brochure through person-to-person contact reduced incidents by about 80 percent (Oliver et al., 1985).

2.2.5 Ethics and responsibility in tourism

Ethics distinguishes between right and wrong behaviour, encouraging actions that are right and offering a framework by which to judge questionable behaviour (Sheldon, Fesenmaier & Tribe, 2012). It identifies the principles and values that define what ‘good’ and ethical behaviour looks like, and recognizes that different value systems exist which can inspire different ethical frameworks (Sheldon et al., 2012). However, ethics is a challenging concept in that it tends to be driven by emotions and subjective values (Hultsman, 1995). Given the potential for variability, establishing and maintaining a standard of ethics in tourism can be challenging. Nonetheless, this section will consider ethics, or the ‘right vs. wrong’ behavioural distinction in tourism, as it relates to responsibility and respect.

Although the tourism literature does discuss visitor responsibility to some extent, it is fairly restricted in scope. As Moscardo, Knovalov, Murphy, and McGehee (2013) explained:

Most discussions in the tourism literature either ignore the responsibilities of tourists or present them as a variation of
responsible consumers with a broad global responsibility to be more sustainable. To date, very little research has considered the specific responsibilities and obligations that tourists have to the communities they visit. (p. 553)

A focus on sustainability and the broader global impact of tourism is an important discussion; yet, the fact that tourist responsibility is often ignored or pertains solely to global responsibility is problematic. A local or regional lens that discusses the ‘specific responsibilities and obligations’ of tourists to the host communities they visit, is relatively absent.

The previous discussion on Indigenous ownership of land and tourism enterprises, and ensuring community benefit, are important to consider alongside responsible, respectful, and ethical tourism practices. Grimwood (in press b) defined responsible tourism as a “conceptually distinctive approach to all forms of tourism practice whereby accountable and respectful relationships with natural, social, economic, and cultural environments are given priority”. Mihalic (2014) added that it is the actual practice of tourism, requiring responsible behaviour and founded on the pillars of sustainability; essentially, it is an application of the concept of sustainability in tourism. Although not always explicitly related in the tourism literature, ethics and responsibility are intricately connected, as both consciousness and morality are foundational to an outcome of responsible behaviour (Fennell, 2008b). Ultimately, responsibility is evident in the efforts of the tourist to be both accountable and ethical in their behaviour as travellers (Fennell, 2006).

The focus on ethicality in tourism also relates to the concept of ‘just tourism’ (Hultsman, 1995). Hultsman’s (1995) article focused primarily on tourism service providers, and the idea that just tourism relies on the perpetuation of the “spirit of tourism services delivery necessary to allow tourists to find meaning in and derive benefits from activities in which they engage” (p. 560). Essentially, according to Hultsman, tourism is no longer a ‘just’ practice when extrinsic value, or the business side of the industry, exceeds the intrinsic value of the tourism experience, at which point ethical concerns for Indigenous Peoples and the environment can be swiftly negated. Although the focus here is on the service provider, the concept of ‘just tourism’ is applicable to the tourist or visitor as well, as they are also responsible for ethical behaviour (Hultsman, 1995). As Hultsman suggested, a framework on ethicality provides an important foundation for codes of ethics for the service providers, and therefore, also for tourist behaviour.

Responsible tourism is identified by Higgins-Desbiolles (2008) as one of several alternatives to mass tourism, alongside terms such as new tourism, low-impact tourism, and soft tourism, with
sub-types like ecotourism, pro-poor tourism, peace through tourism, and volunteer tourism. Each of these forms of alternative tourism are perceived by many advocates as a potential catalyst for change in the tourism industry, away from the “inequitable, unjust and unsustainable” status quo, towards humanistic globalisation (Higgins-Desbiolles, 2008, p. 347). This is in line with Jamal’s (2004) holistic definition of ‘good’ tourism, which suggested that “being engaged in the social and environmental well-being of the destination place and space, and being able to exercise good judgment and virtues in the conduct and practice of tourism” is paramount (p. 537). An intention of responsible, ‘good’ tourist practice is evident within the concept of ‘tracks and traces’, as identified by Grimwood and Doubleday (2013). In this study, canoe tourists perceived the Thelon River as a wild and natural space that has thus far been mostly unchanged by human intrusion. As a result, any behaviour that altered this landscape was considered irresponsible, and visitors stood behind a ‘leave no trace’ mentality (Grimwood & Doubleday, 2013). While this is certainly an important and responsible practice for tourists of any space, visitors also need to be conscious of the diverse nature of ‘tracks and traces’; that the presence of traces, like signaling structures and remains on Indigenous territory, are often important to the landscape and local peoples as symbols of interpretation or subsistence (Grimwood & Doubleday, 2013). Visitors who hope to engage in responsible travel do need to be conscious about leaving no trace, but also need to recognize that animals and people do inhabit these ‘wild and natural’ spaces and may leave behind tracks and traces of their own.

Initiated as a response to the negative impacts of tourism, Wheeler (1993) critically argued that alternative tourisms, and sustainable tourism in particular, are simply an “intellectually appealing concept with little practical application”, essentially allowing tourists to travel relatively free of guilt by label, without actually addressing the foundational issues or effecting change (p. 122). Instead of limiting the impacts of tourism, the concept of sustainable tourism seeks to address only the criticisms surrounding the impacts of tourism, a problem that is compounded by the fact that alternative tourism terminology is often usurped by the industry to no real effect (Wheeler, 1993; Higgins-Desbiolles, 2008). In order to truly be effective, responsible tourism would need to focus on critical self-reflection for all aspects of the tourism industry, and the tourist more specifically, in an effort to be more sensitive to marginalized people, and to be cautious of the built-in nature of tourism to deny responsibility in favour of freedom (Fennell, 2008b).

Although there is certainly value within the concept of responsible tourism, despite critiques of its actual applicability, there are inherent issues that often relate to tourist perceptions of the host place and people. For example, in Grimwood et al. (2015), canoe tourists of the Thelon River
perpetuated a discourse of responsibility centred on protecting ‘wild and unpoisoned’ nature of the space. In turn, this positioned the Deneoline and Inuit Peoples who inhabited this space as pre-modern and anachronistic, marginalizing the Indigenous inhabitants’ ability to represent the Thelon in terms of their own livelihoods (Grimwood et al., 2015). This approach to tourist responsibility fails to acknowledge not only the contemporary livelihoods and modernization of Indigenous lifestyles, but also ignores the ongoing efforts undertaken by both Deneoline and Inuit to maintain governance over their territory and resist resource extraction on their own (Grimwood et al., 2015). So although visitors can play an important role in land protection, it is important that this is done in conjunction with the Indigenous residents, with an awareness of and appreciation for their capacity for self-governance and self-determination.

2.2.5.1 Hopeful tourism: An alternative perspective

Important to this discussion on responsibility is hopeful tourism. Inspired by the emerging ‘critical turn’ in tourism studies, hopeful tourism is a ‘transformative perspective’ that actively pursues new approaches to tourism and tourism research that are more sustainable, egalitarian, and participant-driven (Pritchard et al., 2012; Nielsen & Wilson, 2012). It offers an alternative to the predominance of ‘Western’ thought, instead finding interested in the previously ignored, marginalized, or oppressed (Pritchard, Morgan & Ateljevic, 2011). A hopeful tourism perspective encourages us to analyze our role as tourism scholars (and even tourists) in a political way, recognizing oppression, coercion, and unequal power dynamics inherent in those positions (Pritchard et al., 2011). There are five main principles that ground hopeful tourism and are closely compatible with decolonization, as discussed in section 2.1.3:

• The characterization of society “by objective structures of power that encompass states, governments, classes, and sets of ideologies and relations that privilege the few at the expense of the many”;
• The recognition of “human agency in the making of multiple worlds through multi- and trans-subjectivities”;
• Understanding that “language is central to meaning”;
• Understanding that “consensus is discursively formed and… emancipation is possible through research critiques which address issues of ideology and power”;
• And, that “knowledge is guided by social interests so that the ‘truth’ is regarded as a matter of
social location and knowledge is seen to be a product of specific social, cultural and historical
context” (Mannheim, 1993, as cited in Pritchard et al., 2011, p. 950).

Ultimately, hopeful tourism is about moving towards change, practicing “care, commitment, trust,
responsibility, respect, knowledge, and a vision of human possibilities” in an effort to co-create
knowledge and experience the co-transformation of self and others (Pritchard et al., 2011, p. 953).

Despite its transformative and hopeful potential, hopeful tourism is met with some criticism.
As Higgins-Desbiolles and Whyte (2013) stated in their critique, “people can hope for a world with
greater justice while simultaneously failing to understand the need to confront the role their own
privileges can play in reproducing injustice” (p. 428). I return again to the Grimwood et al. (2015)
example of tourist responsibilities silencing Indigenous inhabitants. Despite good intentions, the
anachronistic perspective of Indigenous Peoples that is perpetuated by canoe tourists, founded on the
idea that the privileged, modern tourist is responsible to and for the less-privileged, pre-modern host,
serves to perpetuate an ‘othering’ mentality and colonial power relations (Grimwood et al., 2015; Sin,
2010). Therefore, tourists with privilege need to first acknowledge and question that privilege, and
only then reach out to those less privileged, in a collaborative effort (Higgins-Desbiolles & Whyte,
2013).

2.2.6 Codes of conduct

Now that we have a theoretical foundation for ethics and responsibility in tourism, it is important to
understand how we can practically address tourism ethics and encourage responsibility. Codes of
ethics are one of the most basic mechanisms that can be used to handle ethical concerns in tourism
(Richter & Richter, 1999). Fennell and Malloy (2007), who looked mainly at corporate and
organizational codes of ethics, explained that a code of ethics generally “functions as a message to
internal and external stakeholders regarding how it wishes to be perceived and it is a guide for
employees that identifies preferred modes of behaviour” (p. 21). It includes an organization’s norms
and beliefs, and is predominantly philosophical and value-based (Fennell & Malloy, 2007). Fennell
and Malloy also explained that codes of ethics often overlap with mechanisms like the code of
conduct, which tends to be more technical-based, describing expectations of behaviour for a group of
people in a particular space. Evidently, there are differences in the structure, content, and purpose of a
code of ethics and a code of conduct; yet, they are closely related and often overlap, and attributes of
both (i.e. a philosophical focus and technical focus) are relevant to this study. Nonetheless, the ‘code of conduct’ term will be used throughout.

There are two ethical schools of thought that can inform the structure and content of a code of conduct. The approach of deontology, or deontological codes more specifically, relies on an individual’s instinct to do what is right and the willingness to perform one’s duty and follow prescribed rules (Malloy & Fennell, 1998). Intent is more important than outcome of action, and no explanation for expected behaviour is given in the guidelines; it is assumed that people will follow these guidelines simply because it is the right thing to do (e.g. ‘do not litter’) (Malloy & Fennell, 1998). Alternatively, teleology, or teleological codes more specifically, is ends-driven and focuses on the consequences of action; the intent holds less merit (Malloy & Fennell, 1998). Instead, the outcome of behaviour is valued, and the assumption is that any conduct that is ethical will lead to a good end, while unethical conduct will lead to a bad end (e.g. ‘do not litter in order to preserve a beautiful environment and to respect the home of the people who live here’) (Malloy & Fennell, 1998). Based on their research of management ethics, Malloy and Fennell (1998) argued that a teleological approach, which informs users about the potential consequences of different kinds of behaviour, is more effective than relying on one’s sense of duty. It is also more congruent with Indigenous epistemologies that rely on oral narratives and storytelling, since the ‘ends-driven’ nature of teleological codes tends to capture the content of a narrative (explaining why behaviour is expected and the result of that behaviour) (Barton, 2004).

Originally, codes of conduct were developed for use by the manufacturing industry, mainly to address issues of pollution; however, due to the international nature of tourism and its inherent link to both the physical and social environment, the code of conduct has found popularity in the tourism industry (Genot, 1995). Codes of conduct are a response to growing ethical concerns among tourism operators, workers, and tourists, and are generally designed to educate users about acceptable and unacceptable behaviour in a specific context, while encouraging behaviour that exceeds the expectations of the law (Malloy & Fennell, 1998). A well-known example is the Global Code of Ethics in Tourism, a broadly applicable ‘global’ code established in 1999, which recognizes the individual’s right to travel, as long as it is in a responsible and sustainable manner that supports mutual understanding and respect, enhances cultural heritage and its conservation, benefits host communities both socially and economically, and recognizes the rights of workers (UNWTO, 1999).

The concept of interpretation is important to keep in mind while developing codes of conduct. Orams (1996) connected the term interpretation with its traditional meaning, which is the translation
of words and the essence of conversation from one language to another, and explained that the sharing of information in the form of a code of conduct is a similar type of communication. Tilden was one of the first academics to discuss the concept of interpretation in the 1950s, explaining that it is an educational process with an objective of revealing meanings and relationships for the users through the use of objects, firsthand experience, and illustrative media (as cited in Mason, 2005; Orams, 1996). Instead of focusing solely on the communication of facts, the method of interpretation seeks to communicate ideas and concepts, and foster an appreciation for the host community, culture and environment (Orams, 1996). For example, in the tourism industry, interpretation can help tourists connect with a destination in order to value and enjoy their tourism experience, while simultaneously receiving a message that encourages appropriate behaviour based on awareness and understanding of the host destination (Orams, 1996; Mason, 2005).

2.2.6.1 The visitor code of conduct

The visitor code of conduct has several interconnected purposes, including tourist awareness and education, increasing tourist confidence, preventing stakeholder conflict (with tourists and hosts in particular), and facilitating communication (Cole, 2007). Ultimately, the goal is to encourage better tourist behaviour and limit the potential for negative impacts (Cole, 2007). Traditionally, visitor management tools have focused on minimizing these negative impacts, but given their regulatory and prescriptive nature, they have often failed to take the tourist experience into consideration as well (Mason, 2005). As an alternative practice, integrating education and interpretation into a well-designed visitor code of conduct is a useful approach that can both limit negative impacts and contribute to a positive tourist experience (Mason, 2005). Rather than relying on a list of enforceable rules, codes of conduct appeal to an individual’s ethical principles and a sense of personal responsibility, communicating ethics as a set of guidelines that can provide guidance for decision-making on a daily basis (Genot, 1995; Cole, 2007). Of particular importance is the code’s capacity to inform tourists of the potential impact of their actions as visitors to an area, and their responsibility towards both host communities and environments (Cole, 2007). A code of conduct implies greater autonomy over personal behaviour, and a greater sense of responsibility for one’s actions (Genot, 1995).

Visitor codes of conduct are not covered extensively in the academic literature, so research that refers specifically to this topic is relatively limited (e.g. Mason, 1994, 1997, 2005; Mason & Mowforth, 1996; Cole, 2007), and the prevalence of only a few authors lends to a lack of diverse
perspectives. Nonetheless, it still provides an adequate foundation for the purposes of this study. According to Mason and Mowforth (1996), the style and format of codes of conduct tend to be fairly similar, structured as a relatively short list of instructions and advice pertaining to a certain area of concern. Codes are often direct and prescriptive in order to be user-friendly, but can easily be perceived as patronizing and alienating (Mason & Mowforth, 1996). Therefore, finding a delicate balance between simplicity while avoiding a condescending tone is important. Mason and Mowforth also identified three key components of a visitor code of conduct: authorship, which often belongs to NGOs, concerned individuals, and/or government bodies; audience, which considers the type of visitor and destination; and message, which can include, but is not limited to: minimizing harm to environmental and socio-cultural well-being, increasing benefits for the host community, encouraging respectful relationships between the visitor and host, and engaging in more responsible tourism practices in general.

Although underrepresented in the tourism literature, visitor codes of conduct are not a new concept. In the 1970s, the Countryside Commission developed the Country Code in England for an audience of domestic visitors (Mason, 1994; Mason & Mowforth, 1996). This started a trend that was soon followed by visitor codes in the 1980s for developing nation destinations, like Nepal, Belize, and Madagascar (Mason, 1994; Mason & Mowforth, 1996). Since then, there has been a proliferation of tourist codes of conduct, especially for the international tourist, and these codes have varied from local in scale to addressing large geographical areas (Mason & Mowforth, 1996). Mason and Mowforth (1996) explained that the objectives of a code of conduct are often not explicitly stated in the code itself; yet, objectives, whether explicit or implicit, tend to be fairly similar regardless of the audience or location for which the code is designed. The overarching objective of a code of conduct for visitors tends to be the practice of more responsible tourism, taking the environment, and host culture and people into consideration (Mason & Mowforth, 1996).

2.2.6.2 Visitor codes for the Arctic landscape

The existence of visitor codes of conduct, or lack thereof, in Arctic regions, is an important discussion given the growing tourist interest in Arctic destinations (Grenier, 2011). Mason (1994) explained that until the mid-1990s, the Arctic lacked a formal code for visitors; however, efforts had been made to design a code for visitors to Antarctica, which was perceived as a good model for code development in the Arctic due to a similar physical environment. The Antarctic code of conduct was developed by the International Association of Antarctic Tour Operators (IAATO) primarily as a guide for tour
operator conduct, but it also included a 16-point ‘Visitor Guideline’ section which provided specific advice for visitor behaviour (Mason, 1994). Although Antarctica may share a similar physical environment to the Arctic, there is one major difference: the Arctic has human inhabitants, while Antarctica does not (Mason, 1997). As a result, codes for the Arctic must take into consideration the presence of Indigenous Peoples and other inhabitants, while recognizing that the Arctic is not a homogenous region (Mason, 1997; Viken, 2013). An environmental focus is also necessary since tourist litter and waste, as well as human and machine-made tracks, can cause significant damage to the sensitive, vulnerable Arctic environment (Mason, 1997).

Since Mason’s (1994) article, several codes of conduct have been developed for Arctic visitors and tour operators (Mason, 1997). One example is the ‘Code of Conduct for Arctic Tourists’ from the WWF International Arctic Programme. This code was produced by a multi-stakeholder group, including academics, tour operators, community representatives, nature managers, and led by the WWF Arctic Programme, but it is unclear as to how much of a role each stakeholder played or how thoroughly community representatives were included in the process (WWF Global Arctic Programme, n.d.). The ‘Code of Conduct for Arctic Tourists’ is comprised of ten guidelines, including: use natural resources sustainably; minimize consumption, waste and pollution; respect local cultures; respect historic and scientific sites; follow safety rules; and use the trip as an opportunity to learn about the Arctic (WWF International Arctic Programme, n.d.). Each guideline has several additional points that further explain what kind of behaviour is expected from tourists, but it is largely deontological, failing to give reason for why certain behaviour should be adhered to (e.g. “leave as little trace as possible of your visit and take your garbage with you” and “learn about the culture and customs of the areas you will visit before you go”) (WWF International Arctic Programme, n.d., p.2). These examples rely on the visitor’s sense of duty rather than providing rationale for behavioural expectations, and also do not address the potential consequences or ends of a demonstrated behaviour.

A visitor code of conduct for the Arctic is necessary for several important reasons. To start, negative impacts from the presence of visitors are already apparent in the physical environment, as evidenced by the degradation of the physical landscape and disturbances to wildlife (Mason, 1994). Introducing a code that addresses this negative impact, as well as the potential for conflict between tourists and host communities, may be a proactive method of mitigating these issues while still encouraging growth through tourism (Mason, 1994). In addition, self-regulation in the form of a written code of conduct is often necessary in the Arctic, as it can attract independent travelers that
may forgo the use of guides, and as a result, lack access to important information about the place they are visiting and how to behave appropriately and respectfully while travelling (Grimwood & Fennell, 2011). In general, a code of conduct that is specific to tourists in the Arctic can help to educate visitors about a region that they may not be familiar with, raising awareness about its fragile environment as well as the cultural impact of visitors, while ultimately encouraging more sustainable and respectful practices (Mason, 1997).

2.2.6.3 Developing an effective code

The business and tourism ethics literature provides an important foundation for the content and structure of effective codes of conduct. Payne and Dimanche (1996) focused primarily on codes of ethics in the corporate world, and more specifically, the industry side of tourism. They provided a list of three factors that should be considered when creating a code of conduct: first, that the tourism industry depends on the environment, a limited resource, which means that intentional limits to growth may be essential for sustainability; second, that tourism is largely community-based, so sociocultural effects on the community are important to consider; and third, because the tourism industry is service-oriented, both visitors, hosts, and industry employees should be treated ethically (Payne & Dimanche, 1996). Payne and Dimanche also provided advice for the structure of an effective code of conduct, stating that it should be clear, so that instructions are easily understood by the user; that it should be comprehensive, in order to provide guidance for behaviour during situational ethical issues; and that it should be positive in tone, encouraging behaviour that is ‘right’ rather than providing prohibitive instruction (Payne & Dimanche, 1996). Also, publication and enforcement gives the code credibility and encourages compliance, while upkeep and regular revisions are necessary to remain relevant and applicable (Payne & Dimanche, 1996).

Ensuring user compliance can be difficult, especially since codes of conduct tend to be voluntary and not legally binding (Genot, 1995; UNWTO, 1999; Cole, 2007). Explaining the reasoning behind each guideline of expected behaviour, as well as the negative impacts that can occur as a result of non-compliance, can potentially improve voluntary compliance (Sirakaya, 1997; Cole, 2007). This logic follows the teleological school of thought, which Malloy and Fennell (1998) also advocated for despite the fact that the majority of tourism codes of conduct they analyzed were deontological in nature. Ultimately, they found that associating rationale with instruction to foster education and awareness could effectively inform users of the potential consequences of their actions, and in effect, encourage a positive outcome.
Encouraging public involvement is also essential to the development of an effective code of conduct (Mason, 1994; Sirakaya, 1997; Cole, 2007). Blowfield (1999) argued that an emic or case-by-case approach, rather than a universal approach, is necessary in order to address industry impact on local communities and environments. Local input and involvement can ensure that a code is culturally relevant and context-specific for the community it applies to. Genot (1995) reasoned that codes should be as specific as possible, because “vague statements of noble intent are unlikely to inspire practical action in the field and will not provide a solid basis against which performance may be gauged” (p. 168). Arguably, an emic and community-focused approach may be more conducive to specific instruction than a broader regional or global code, which is often more vague in an effort to encapsulate a diverse array of communities and environments (e.g. ‘Global Code of Ethics in Tourism’ and ‘Code of Conduct for Arctic Tourists’).

Cole (2007) explored the aforementioned qualities of an effective code of conduct while developing a code for tourists to a community in the Ngadha region of Indonesia. Cole invited different stakeholders from the village, including government officials, tour guides, and villagers, to discuss what they would like tourists to know prior to visiting the village. From this participatory process, a code was developed that was emic in nature, teleological in style, positive and action-oriented in tone, and associated reason with expected behaviour (Genot, 1995; Cole, 2007). It is important to note that the code contained some prohibitive statements (e.g. “avoid wearing…”), and that detailed cultural explanations for expected behaviour were sometimes omitted so that the code would be of user-friendly length, thus forgoing some opportunities for education and interpretation (Cole, 2007). Overall, Cole found that the style and content of the code were well received by visitors and effectively motivated appropriate tourist behaviour; however, a major barrier to the code’s success was a lack of distribution. The Department of Tourism had committed to printing copies of the code for distribution in prominent locations, but because the researcher was not in the field to hold them accountable, the Department failed to uphold their commitment (Cole, 2007). In addition, tourists, tour guides, and locals expressed a concern over the lack of official endorsement from government officials, a factor that may have limited the code’s distribution and reception as well (Cole, 2007). Nonetheless, the specific cultural information that the code provided was perceived as interesting and educational by most of the interviewed tourists, as it raised cultural awareness and helped to prevent unintentional offensive behaviour (Cole, 2007). It is important to note that, as with any voluntary guideline, some visitors were unwilling or unprepared to change their behaviour (Cole, 2007).
The detailed information that Cole’s (2007) code of conduct contained, as well as the effort and time spent to gather, develop, and distribute the code, contradicted the notion that codes of conduct are an “easy, quick, cheap visitor management tool to introduce” (p. 450). Instead, significant, intensive research is required, as well as ongoing communication and follow-up with the community in question (Cole, 2007). Therefore, in order for a code of conduct to be effective, it requires community participation, context-specific research, and proper structure (i.e. teleological and interpretation-based) to ensure it is received well, raises awareness in a non-patronizing manner, and encourages compliance (Mason, 1994; Sirakaya, 1997; Cole, 2007). This takes time and effort, so a code of conduct for any part of the industry is certainly not ‘easy, quick, and cheap’. Furthermore, the inability to effectively and efficiently distribute a code of conduct can be a barrier to its success (Cole, 2007). To remedy this, Mason (1994) suggested seeking the help of environmental groups, tour operators, airlines, and publishers of Arctic travel guides to publish and distribute copies of the code of conduct, which would give the document credibility and help it to reach a larger audience.

Codes of conduct are part of a growing trend of voluntary mechanisms for the tourism industry; however, to maintain a sense of credibility as an effective mechanism, implementation, monitoring, and the reporting of results are important (Genot, 1995). The implementation and monitoring of a code of conduct is a continual process that exists long after the initial code is drafted. Unfortunately, this practice is frequently neglected (Genot, 1995; Mason & Mowforth, 1996). As a result, several researchers have argued that a code alone is not an effective tool, and that it should be implemented collaboratively with wider strategies (Genot, 1995; Mason, 1997). In fact, Genot (1995) suggested that codes of conduct on their own are not a panacea, but should be part of a greater, integrated set of measures. A combination of regulation and education may often be the best mechanism for visitor management, as an approach that integrates a code into a broader program can help to ensure effective implementation and monitoring, while understanding that legal regulations may be needed in the long term (Mason, 1997; Mason, 2005).

The potential of a code of conduct often exceeds its explicit purpose of guiding the behaviour of its suggested audience (e.g. tourists/visitors). In addition to acting as a guideline for behaviour, codes can help to initiate conversations and even act as a catalyst for the establishment of partnerships between stakeholders (Genot, 1995; Cole, 1997). These types of relationships, especially when established between local community members, tourists, tourism operators, and government officials, can be essential to the promotion of sustainable and respectful tourism practices.
2.2.6.4 Limitations of a code of conduct

As mentioned previously, codes of conduct tend to be voluntary (Genot, 1995; UNWTO, 1999; Cole, 2007). It is very rare for a code to be backed by legal enforcement, so rather than relying on legal sanctions to enforce compliance, codes of conduct rely on an individual’s ethical commitment to values and a personal sense of morality (Genot, 1995; Mason & Mowforth, 1996). It makes sense to question the utility of codes of conduct in general, especially since tourists are often pleasure seekers, hoping to escape the constraints of everyday life (Cole, 2007). Therefore, they may resent the structure and expectations put forth by codes, which can ultimately result in non-compliance (Cole, 2007).

As of yet, there is limited literature that looks at whether codes of conduct are truly an effective mechanism for visitor management (Cole, 2007). Furthermore, the prescriptive content is often met with critique. As Butcher (cited in Cole, 2007) explained, codes of conduct can be dull and patronizing, deterring from the authentic tourist experience because it implies that the tourist needs to be guided through contact with other cultures. Cole disagreed with this critique, arguing that this type of guidance was often necessary, especially for new tourists who may not be familiar with appropriate conduct in different cultures and environments. Therefore, the codes exist for a reason, and the intention is generally not that of patronizing the tourist, but increasing awareness and education.

2.3 Revisiting the purpose, research objectives, and research contributions

This past section has reviewed literature about colonialism, decolonialism, and self-determination; the type of tourism in Denesoline territory and tourism’s role as an active process of colonialism; and working towards Indigenous-driven visitor management by looking at tourism ethics, respect, responsibility and visitor behaviour, as well as codes of conduct. This overview sets the stage for the methodology chapter, results, and discussion that follow. Again, the purpose of this study is to explore stories told by members of the LKDFN that convey their experiences of, and expectations for, respectful visitor behaviour. Drawing on a participatory inquiry paradigm, this thesis examines these stories to develop a community narrative of respectful visitation. By documenting the range of negative and positive experiences that the participants have had with visitors to their traditional lands, while also exploring how the Denesoline expect visitors to behave on their land and why those expectations exist, a tangible code of conduct for visitors to the area will be produced. Based on the context discussed in the literature review, the following sections will explore a participatory
methodology that facilitates an Indigenous-driven project to produce an Indigenized, community-developed code of conduct for visitors. The contributions will be methodological, filling a gap in the ‘Indigenous-driven’ tourism research literature; practical, as the code of conduct is a mechanism by which the community can assert control over visitation on their traditional lands and affirm self-determination over land governance and management; and theoretical, addressing the moral question of how visitors *ought to* behave while travelling on geographically distant Indigenous territory.
Chapter 3
Methodology

3.1 Participatory inquiry paradigm

Inquiry paradigms are basic beliefs that outline how an inquirer knows and understands the nature of reality (Guba & Lincoln, 1994; Heron & Reason, 1997). These paradigms are explored by asking three foundational questions that are ordered as follows: an ontological question, which asks, “what is the form and nature of reality and…what is there that can be known about it?”; an epistemological question, which asks, “what is the nature of the relationship between the knower or would-be knower and what can be known?”; and a methodological question, which asks, “how can the inquirer (would-be knower) go about finding out whatever he or she believes can be known?”, the answer to which is constrained by the previous two responses (Guba & Lincoln, 1994, p. 108). Although their original chapter only analyzed positivism, postpositivism, critical theory, and constructivism using this framework, Lincoln, Lynham, and Guba (2011) have since incorporated a participatory paradigm into their analysis based on the work of Heron and Reason (1997).

Heron and Reason (1997) explained that a ‘participatory worldview’ allows us to work collaboratively with others, facilitating a sense of belonging to a whole rather than feeling disconnected. Following Guba & Lincoln’s (1994) framework, the authors considered the ontological, epistemological, and methodological basis for a participatory worldview. Ontologically, we know reality through a subjective-objective relationship; “it is subjective because it is only known through the form the mind gives it; and it is objective because the mind interpenetrates the given cosmos which it shapes” (Heron, 1996, p.11). Shared experiences and mutual understanding, as well as participation, interaction, and conversation, are fundamental to our knowing of reality (Heron & Reason, 1997). Within this subjective-objective reality, we practice four interacting ways of knowing: experiential knowing, or direct encounter with a person, place, or thing that enables us to feel both familiar yet distinct in its presence; presentational knowing, which “clothes our experiential knowing of the world in the metaphors of aesthetic creation, in expressive spatiotemporal forms of imagery”; propositional knowing, or a conceptual understanding of how the world is, which can be articulated through language like theories or statements; and practical knowing, or understanding how to do something as demonstrated through a skill or practice (Heron & Reason, 1997, p. 281). It is through critical subjectivity that we are not only conscious of these ways of knowing, but also understand how
they interact – an awareness that is founded in shared experience, communication, and interaction with others (Heron & Reason, 1997). Methodologically, this epistemology demands a ‘collaborative form of inquiry’ or ‘cooperative inquiry’, in which research questions and processes are determined collaboratively (Heron & Reason, 1997). Epistemic and political participation are essential, which means that the research outcome is informed by the researcher’s experiential knowledge, while the research subjects have the right to participate in research design; in essence, the roles of researcher and subject overlap (Heron & Reason, 1997). By encouraging subject participation throughout the research process and by engaging with participating communities, research is done with communities, therefore embodying a collaborative and cooperative form (Heron & Reason, 1997).

In addition to ontological, epistemological, and methodological questions, Heron and Reason (1997) also consider the value and purpose of the participatory paradigm. They found that participatory human inquiry serves a practical purpose as it promotes an outcome of human betterment; indeed, it is transformative. This is reflected not only in the design and outcome of the research project, which collaborates with and seeks to benefit the community, but also in its ability to engage with community co-researchers and facilitate training and capacity building as part of the process (Heron & Reason, 1997). As a result, the participatory inquiry paradigm is the most appropriate approach for undertaking research with an Indigenous community, and this paradigm is realized through the community-based participatory research and Indigenist paradigm principles that guided this study.

3.1.1 Community-based participatory research

Community-based participatory research (CBPR) is a philosophy and methodology that involves research participants as equal partners throughout the research process (Castleden, Garvin & Huu-ay-aht First Nation, 2008). Israel et al. (2005) developed a list of the foundational principles of CBPR, which include, but are not limited to: recognizing that the community has its own identity; building on a community’s strengths and resources; enabling a collaborative, power-sharing partnership throughout the research process that empowers community members; encouraging co-learning and capacity building for everyone involved; and balancing knowledge generation and intervention to ensure mutual benefit. It is important to note that the core values of each CBPR relationship can vary, and should be identified through a collaborative discussion with the community at the outset of a research study (Israel et al., 2005).
CBPR is a response to conventional Indigenous research practices that have traditionally been done on, and not with, Indigenous communities (Moodie, 2010). These practices have perceived Indigenous Peoples as passive research subjects while failing to recognize Indigenous rights and their power to decide how research is planned and carried out (Moodie, 2010). Arizona State University took this conventional approach during their study of the Havasupai Indians of Arizona (Moodie, 2010). Rather than publishing results on genetics and the high prevalence of diabetes in the community, as the community had originally consented to, the university reported on mental health and inbreeding, deceiving the community and failing to maintain an honest, open, and collaborative research relationship (Moodie, 2010). A severe lack of respect, integrity, and honesty, as well as a failure to openly communicate and collaborate with Indigenous communities, are several of the key shortcomings of traditional Indigenous research practices that CBPR hopes to overcome. In her commentary, Moodie (2010) urged the academic community to rethink outdated, neo-colonial research practices on Indigenous Peoples, and to instead move towards a participatory research approach that maintains and builds a strong and trusting relationship between researchers and communities in order to produce quality, mutually determined, and mutually beneficial research. Researchers should recognize that Indigenous Peoples are capable of determining what kinds of research are relevant, acceptable, and ultimately beneficial for their communities, as well as the appropriate processes for conducting this research (Moodie, 2010).

In their article on First Nations students and higher education, Kirkness and Bernhardt (1991) identified “Four Rs” that are integral to counteracting many of the issues Indigenous students face at the university level. The “Four Rs” include respect, relevance, reciprocity, and responsibility, each of which is an important tenet for community-based participatory research (Kirkness & Bernhardt, 1991; Castleden et al., 2012). More specifically, the “Four Rs” encourage a respect for the cultural integrity of Indigenous Peoples, including their values and traditions; a relevance of research to Indigenous perspectives and experiences; the facilitation and maintenance of reciprocal relationships with co-learning and a bi-directional exchange of knowledge; and responsibility through participation, which allows access to power and decision-making opportunities (Kirkness & Bernhardt, 1991).

These theoretical principles of CBPR are not always easily achieved in practice. As Castleden et al. (2012) explained, “how people are involved is as important as who is involved in maintaining a collaborative and respectful research project” (p 167). As a result, simply saying that members of the Indigenous community were included in the research is not enough; they must be integrally involved in each stage for a truly collaborative process and outcome. CBPR prioritizes a collaborative
relationship with the community from start to finish, beginning with the research design and continuing on even after the study is complete (Castleden et al., 2012). The four stages of research, as identified by Castleden et al. (research design, data collection, data analysis, and knowledge translation and mobilization), and how the principles of CBPR were tied into each of these stages, will be explored in the methods section.

3.1.2 Indigenizing research and ethics – An ‘Indigenist’ paradigm and ‘Indigenous-driven’ research

Despite a call for a critical turn in tourism studies, Chambers and Buzinde (2015) argued that tourism knowledge is still primarily ‘colonial’, failing to truly engage with Indigenous Peoples and Indigenous epistemologies in an effort to co-create knowledge. Instead, Western epistemologies that are founded in ethnocentrism and have helped to sustain the exploitative power dynamic of colonialism tend to dominate (Chambers & Buzinde, 2015). Although Chambers and Buzinde focused their critique primarily on the colonized ‘South’, their analysis is fitting for Indigenous communities in the North as well. The legacy of colonialism is still very present in Indigenous communities globally, and some researchers and research practices continue to marginalize and exploit Indigenous Peoples (Moodie, 2010); however, recent attempts, such as collaboration and active Indigenous involvement throughout the research process, have been made to shift the power away from non-Indigenous researchers and ontologies in an effort to overcome this legacy of exclusion and colonialism (Higgins-Desbiolles, 2009).

Yet, despite recent shifts towards collaboration, Nielsen and Wilson (2012) argued that discussions of Indigenous involvement in research are still lacking in the tourism literature. To counter this deficiency, they introduced a typology that encourages researchers to reflect on Indigenous involvement within Indigenous tourism research. The four types of Indigenous research in this typology are: invisible, which does not involve Indigenous Peoples and silences their voices and experiences; identified, which explicitly identifies Indigenous Peoples but still fails to highlight their voices or involve and empower them through the research process; stakeholder, which involves Indigenous Peoples in the research but remains driven by the non-Indigenous researcher; and Indigenous-driven, which is research that is driven by Indigenous Peoples, facilitating self-determination and encouraging co-authorship and outcomes that address Indigenous needs (Nielsen & Wilson, 2012). The methodology of this study identifies most with Indigenous-driven research, as it supports participation, collaboration, and empowerment. It also promotes a ‘postcolonial’,
A decolonizing approach to research that encourages Indigenous Peoples to speak for themselves, determining the purpose, process, and outcomes of the research (Nielsen & Wilson, 2012). This type of research, which can be conducted solely by Indigenous researchers or alongside Non-Indigenous researchers, is “driven ultimately by concerns about the lives of Indigenous people and encourages engagement from an empowered and self-aware perspective” (Nielsen & Wilson, 2012, p.6).

Nielsen and Wilson (2012) explained that an Indigenous-driven approach to research often resonates with an ‘Indigenist’ paradigm, a framework that provides a valuable perspective for Indigenous research and contributes to the development of a culturally and contextually specific, Indigenized code of conduct (Higgins-Desbiolles 2009). With an Indigenist paradigm as the foundation for modern research in Indigenous communities, it is no longer possible for non-Indigenous people to control and define the nature and focus of Indigenous research (Higgins-Desbiolles, 2009). Instead, research must be undertaken in a collaborative manner whenever possible, and data collection and analysis should engage with Indigenous perspectives (Higgins-Desbiolles, 2009). Wilson (2007), a Cree scholar, suggested that ‘Indigenist’, rather than ‘Indigenous’, is the proper terminology for this paradigm, as it is not solely undertaken by researchers of Indigenous heritage, but by anyone who chooses to follow its principles – just as feminism is not only undertaken by females. It is not the researcher’s identity, but their adherence to principles relevant to the Indigenist paradigm that ultimately produces Indigenist research (Wilson, 2007).

The Indigenist paradigm is an interesting and important framework to consider for the purpose of this thesis. It is empowering because it recognizes the capacity and capability that exists in Indigenous communities and facilitates collaboration and Indigenous-driven research. In essence, an Indigenist framework encourages a decolonization of research that enables a common understanding between Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples (Higgins-Desbiolles, 2009; Chambers & Buzinde, 2015). It is also congruent with principles of self-determination, which the UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (2007) identified as the right to “freely determine their political status and freely pursue their economic, social and cultural development”, and “the right to autonomy or self-government in matters relating to their internal and local affairs” (p.4-5). Pulling from various Indigenous researchers, Wilson (2007) outlined the principles pertaining to Indigenist research (see Figure 2). These principles clearly overlap and interrelate with CBPR principles (as demonstrated in Table 1), and both approaches are compatible within the participatory paradigm discussed previously.
Given that this research involves working with an Indigenous community in Northern Canada, it is important to take an alternative perspective on ethics and codes of conduct outside of the perspectives that are dominant in the Anglo-American academic-based tourism literature. For the purpose of this study, this means Indigenizing ethics and the development of an Indigenized code of conduct, labeled as such because of the focus on Indigenous perspectives and voices, as well as the Indigenous-driven nature of the research that is guided by Indigenist principles. The Indigenized code of conduct produced by this study will outline how visitors ought to behave and why; an ethical guideline that is created with and relevant for a specific Indigenous community. Research by Yaman and Gurel (2006) made it clear that ethical values and perspectives can vary dramatically based on cultural differences. This ethical and cultural variability is recognized by Grimwood & Fennell (2011), who explained that the Indigenous communities that inhabit Northern Canada are heterogeneous, with differing cultural practices and values. For a code of conduct to be accepted and effective in the region, it needs to be accepted by those who permanently reside there (Grimwood & Fennell, 2011). This means being aware of diverse cultural and ethical values, and developing a code of conduct that is representative of these values and based on an Indigenous, rather than a
Table 1. Similarities Between CBPR and Indigenist Paradigm Principles

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CBPR Principles (Israel et al., 2005)</th>
<th>Indigenist Paradigm Principles (Wilson, 2007)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Balancing knowledge generation and intervention for mutual benefit</td>
<td>Reason for research must bring benefit to community</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Co-learning and capacity building</td>
<td>Work as a team under guidance of knowledge-keeper</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Collaborative, power-sharing partnership; empowerment</td>
<td>Ground theories in indigenous epistemologies</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Recognizing the community has its own identity</td>
<td>Researcher assumes responsibility for research outcomes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Building on community strengths and resources</td>
<td>Researcher cognizant of role as one part of group</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Research question lies within reality of indigenous experience</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Languages and cultures as living processes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Conduct oneself with kindness, honesty, compassion</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

non-Indigenous, understanding of ethics. This is why an emic, case-by-case, and collaborative approach is so important to this study (Blowfield, 1999).

3.1.3 Narrative Inquiry

Within the participatory framework, the data collection and analysis processes were informed by narrative inquiry (though adapted to accommodate the participatory nature of the study). Narrative research is grounded in various other methodologies, such as phenomenology, hermeneutics, and ethnography (Josselson, 2011). As a result, its border with other forms of qualitative inquiry is fairly blurred; however, it is unique in that narrative inquiry focuses on storytelling and narratives (Josselson, 2011). Rather than probing for fact and accuracy, the researcher studies how the story is told – what is said, what is not said, the characters, the events, and how it is all understood and organized by the narrator (Josselson, 2011). Attention is given to the content of the narrative (‘the told’) and its structure (‘the telling’) (Josselson, 2011). Daly (2007) explained that it is through story that humanity tends to make sense of their lives, to organize experiences in a coherent manner. As a result, it is important to try to understand the meaning that is constructed through the narrative, which is “generated by the linkages the participant makes between aspects of the life he or she is living and
by the explicit linkages the researcher makes between this understanding and interpretation” (Josselson, 2011, p. 225). This qualitative methodology was chosen because it complements Indigenous epistemologies, which tend to be founded on oral narratives (Barton, 2004). Similarly, the participants in the 2013 planning workshop identified that stories were an important part of Denesoline knowledge sharing, and that documenting and celebrating Denesoline stories should be an important objective for the broader research project (Grimwood, 2014a). Therefore, narrative inquiry allowed for data to be collected, analyzed, and presented in a meaningful way that is relevant to Denesoline ways of knowing.

Hermeneutics plays an important role in narrative analysis since narratives can be constructed in multiple ways, depending on the audience, the intentions of the storyteller, the prompts used by the listener, and the fact that the reader can interpret these constructed stories in multiple ways (Daly, 2007). Throughout multiple readings of the narrative in a hermeneutic circle, the researcher can reflect on the parts of the narrative to build a more complex understanding of the whole narrative, while an understanding of the whole narrative helps to illuminate its parts (Josselson, 2011). Again this process complements Indigenous epistemologies. As Barton (2004) explained, the hermeneutic circle relates closely to that of the Aboriginal sacred circle, which also emphasizes a holistic and “circular process of relational understanding within research” (p. 522), and thus reinforces the choice of the narrative approach. Narratives and traditional knowledge are significant for Denesoline peoples (Kendrick, Lyver & LKDFN, 2005; Grimwood, 2014), and choosing a methodology that engages with Indigenous perspectives and ways of knowing is an important precursor to Indigenist research as well as the broader participatory paradigm (Wilson, 2007).

Due to the nature of multiplicity in the telling and interpretation of narrative, it is important for the researcher to be reflective throughout the process, recognizing their own position relative to the construction of the story by the narrator as well as the gaze that the researcher interprets the story through (Sermijn, Devlieger, & Loots, 2008). For this study, journaling was an important mechanism in the reflective process. I completed a journal entry every day while in Lutsel K’e to document the interviews, interactions, and activities that occurred each day, as well as my personal feelings in relation to these activities. The journal was analyzed alongside the data from the interviews and workshop to add reflexivity, but also to further understand my position relative to the storyteller and the story being told, as well as the overall impact on the analysis.

Josselson (2011) explained that as of yet, there is no formal consensus for how narrative research should be conducted, although the main objective is to encourage storytelling around a
particular theme while being aware of the narrator-listener relationship and the linguistic and cultural contexts that influence and shape the narrative. Incorporating local language and terminology is important in order to accurately represent these contexts; however, analyzing these contexts can be challenging as an ‘outsider’ who is unfamiliar with the linguistic and cultural contexts of an Indigenous community. During an interview with a Ni hat’nî youth, I was reminded of just how challenging it can be to try to interpret Denesoline stories through an outsider lens. Prior to this interview, several participants had briefly mentioned that they use shells to pay the land during their travels. Hearing this, I pictured community members scouring the shores of Great Slave Lake to collect seashells prior to their journey. To me, it made sense – based on all of my lived experiences, growing up in Southern Ontario, shells were seashells. Yet, when this youth mentioned that shells were used for hunting, “for like moose and beaver…during the summertime, but in the winter we obviously use it for caribou”, I was confused. This was not obvious to me. Were shells used as bait for these animals? I had never heard of that before. So, fearing looking ignorant, I asked “do you mean seashells?”, at which time, it all clicked. Hunting, ammunition; he meant gun shells. This was followed by laughter on both of our parts, and embarrassment on mine, but I left with a clarity that had been sorely missed, and a realization that I was an outsider and it was okay to ask questions to better understand the Denesoline cultural context. My interpretation as a researcher was influenced by my own upbringing, and if not clarified, this misguided interpretation would not have been representative of the participant’s narrative. Therefore, it is important to engage with Indigenous perspectives throughout the process. The involvement of a local research coordinator, as well as an analysis workshop with the Lutsel K’e Wildlife, Lands, and Environment Committee (WLEC) to discuss the content of the interviews, helped to integrate local knowledges in the analysis of the material and helped me to better understanding the cultural context. For the sake of transparency in the narrative process, it is also important to note that the elder participant told his story in Chipewyan, which was then translated to English by the local research coordinator several days later. As a result, the contexts and intricacies of how the story was told may have been lost in translation. Although accuracy and truth is not important for narrative inquiry, storytelling and language is. These important qualities can be easily lost through a translator.
3.2 Study context: Denesoline in Lutsel K’e, Northwest Territories

3.2.1 Lutsel K’e, Northwest Territories

Previously known as Snowdrift, Lutsel K’e (meaning the place of small fish) is a geographically remote Indigenous community situated on the south shore of the East Arm of Great Slave Lake in the Northwest Territories, with an estimated population of 300 people who speak English and/or Chipewyan (Bennett et al., 2010; Bennett et al., 2012; Missens, Dana, & Anderson, 2007). Accessible only by air, water, or snowmobile, it is approximately 200 km east of the capital city of Yellowknife, and is inhabited by the traditionally nomadic Chipewyan Lutsel K’e Dene First Nation (LKDFN), or Denesoline (Bennett et al., 2010; Kendrick, Lyver, & LKDFN, 2005). The LKDFN are part of the Akaitcho Territory Government, which is comprised of six Dene First Nation governments in the region – the Yellowknives Dene (Dettah and N’dilo), Deninu Kue, Salt River, Smith’s Landing, and Lutsel K’e (Akaitcho Territory Government, 2009). Of these communities, Lutsel K’e, Deninu Kue, N’dilo, and Dettah belong to Treaty 8 (Weitzner, 2006).

During the initial planning for Treaty 8, the Canadian government argued against including the land and peoples that lived around Great Slave Lake; however, given the “‘many claims now staked at Great Slave Lake’ the area was, indeed desirable for a treaty” (Fumoleau, 2004, p. 52). Treaty 8 was negotiated with the Canadian government in 1900, and to this day, the Akaitcho and Crown have different interpretations of its terms (Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, n.d.). The Akaitcho perceived the agreement as a peace and friendship treaty supporting co-existence, rather than a surrender of land and rights as perceived by the Crown (Weitzner, 2006). The Indigenous parties signed the treaty with the understanding that they would be able to continue their traditional livelihood practices of hunting, trapping, and fishing, while being protected against abuse from non-Indigenous Peoples (Fumoleau, 2004). However, as Fumoleau (2004) illustrated, the intention behind government policy at that time was partly to extinguish Indigenous land rights, but also to exert more control over Indigenous and non-Indigenous Peoples in the region in order to facilitate peaceful land settlement and development. The treaty existed as a policy by which to force Indigenous dispossession, setting aside small pieces of land as ‘reserves’ for Indigenous Peoples, while using the remainder of the territory for state benefit (Fumoleau, 2004). The government was not upfront their intention to take land and extinguish land rights from Indigenous owners, and given the haste with which signatures were collected to finalize the treaty (motivated by the promise of money and supplies), it is clear that the Indigenous participants were not perceived as equal partners, and that the
Treaty itself was drafted with little understanding of Northern Indigenous Peoples or their livelihoods (Fumoleau, 2004).

In light of this discrepancy over the terms of Treaty 8, the Akaitcho Process seeks clarification, as the Akaitcho Dene First Nations, Government of Canada, and Government of the Northwest Territories negotiate an agreement to better outline the ownership of and rights to land and resources in the region (Akaitcho Treaty 8 Tribal Corporation, n.d.). In the meantime, as of June 28, 2001, an Interim Measures Agreement has been negotiated that gives the Akaitcho Dene First Nations the ability to review applications for licenses and land use permits on their asserted territory (GNWT Aboriginal Affairs and Intergovernmental Relations, n.d.).

The Lutsel K’e Denesoline have long practiced a hunter-gatherer lifestyle (while also embracing modernization), and rely on an intimate knowledge of the physical environment and wildlife for sustenance and survival (Kendrick et al., 2005). Of particular significance for Denesoline livelihoods and economy are the caribou, a large mammal that migrates across their vast territory (Kendrick et al., 2005). Because of their experience on the land and generations of tracking and harvesting caribou migrations, the Denesoline are able to recognize changes in migration patterns and populations, and determine whether these changes are a result of natural causes and human interference (Kendrick et al., 2005). As a traditionally nomadic peoples, the Denesoline travelled across their territory according to the movements of the caribou; knowledge that was shared across generations and involved a ‘reconnaissance system’ of communication between families and hunting groups (Kendrick et al., 2005). Although this traditional knowledge of the caribou is no longer essential for survival, it is still an important part of Denesoline identity and spirituality (Kendrick et al., 2005).

Throughout Lutsel K’e territory, there are several non-Indigenous owned tourism operators, mainly geared towards hunting and fishing activities; however, despite the significant cultural and natural capital that gives the area great tourism potential, the community reaps few benefits from the tourism industry (Bennett, et al., 2012). Because of its proximity to the proposed Thaidene Nene National Park Reserve, Lutsel K’e may become a gateway community (Bennett et al., 2012). With this title comes the threat of consequences that have been experienced by other gateway communities, such as land use restrictions (Fortin & Gagnon, 1999). However, there is great potential for increased tourism opportunities that can benefit the community as well (Bennett et al., 2012). In fact, many of the Denesoline participants in the study by Bennett and Lemelin (2009) felt that there could be significant local benefit if Lutsel K’e is formally acknowledged as a gateway community and
mandatory entrance for the park. Although there are currently few economic benefits from tourism in the community, visitation could increase if Lutsel K’e becomes a gateway to the Thaidene Nene National Park Reserve (Ellis & LKDFN, 2013).

3.2.2 Thelon Wildlife Sanctuary and Thaidene Nene National Park Reserve

Designated as a Canadian Heritage River, the Thelon River is the largest watershed in Canada, flowing over 900km from east of Great Slave Lake, north across the Barren lands and meeting with Hudson Bay (Nunavut Parks, n.d.). Its Canadian Heritage designation comes as a result of its rich past, including Inuit and Dene culture and the tragic story of John Hornsby, who died alongside two companions in a cabin in the 1920s (Nunavut Parks, n.d.). The Thelon River travels through the 52 000 km² Thelon Wildlife Sanctuary (previously Thelon Game Sanctuary) which was first founded in 1927 without Indigenous consultation, in an effort to protect supposed declining muskoxen, caribou, and wildlife populations more broadly (Mitchell, 2006; Nunavut Parks, n.d.). The lands in the sanctuary were withdrawn from ‘disposal’ in 1930, restricting mining and prospecting in the area, and prohibiting general access to the Thelon without written approval from a government official (Mitchell, 2006). This ban on hunting activities and restricted access applied to Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples alike, ultimately contributing to Indigenous dispossession of territory (Mitchell, 2006). Although devolution transferred responsibility of the protected areas to the territorial government, the NWT still required that anyone visiting the sanctuary must have a permit (Mitchell, 2006). This requirement was withdrawn in 1978 with the new Wildlife Ordinance, but hunting remained prohibited until the Territorial division in 1999, which split the Thelon between the NWT and the newly designated Nunavut (Mitchell, 2006). A new co-management plan allowed for Indigenous hunting within the Nunavut part of the Thelon, but the NWT still has yet to sign the new plan due to unsettled land claims (Mitchell, 2006).

The Thelon Wildlife Sanctuary designation plays several important roles, both historically and today. It was initially introduced as a perceived response to declining wildlife populations, which remains an ongoing issue; but it also exists to protect the unique “rich mosaic of boreal forest habitat interspersed with tundra and arctic riparian that provides for greater species diversity”, also known as the ‘Thelon Oasis’ (Mitchell, 2006, p.2). Furthermore, it is protected from any surface or subsurface developments (Kivalliq Inuit Association et al., n.d.). Yet, despite its perceived intentions of conservation and environmental protection, the Thelon Wildlife Sanctuary represents a clear example of Indigenous dispossession in the North, forcing Indigenous Peoples off of their territory and
restricting their livelihood activities. It echoes earlier efforts by the Canadian Government to facilitate dispossession of Indigenous lands and livelihood rights by enacting policies like The Game Act of 1896, which prohibited hunting on traditional territory (Fumoleau, 2004). The blatant disregard for Indigenous livelihoods insinuated by this policy, which perpetuated “misery and starvation of the Indian people”, was communicated by a Catholic missionary, who begged the government to “endeavor… to show as much zeal in preserving the lives of human beings who are to be found therein” (Fumoleau, 2004, p. 46).

The establishment of protected areas is often perceived as problematic for local Indigenous communities. Indigenous Peoples have been alienated from their traditional lands as a result of a protected area designations, which negatively impacts their ability to maintain a traditional livelihood and threatens their ability to maintain authority over land management (Ellis & Enzoe, 2008). Based on these perceived threats, the Lutsel K’e Denesoline had initially resisted the proposal for the development of a national park in their territory after it was first suggested by the Canadian government in 1969 (Ellis & Enzoe, 2008; Bennett, Lemelin, & Ellis, 2010). However, in 2000, the LKDFN reopened a dialogue with the Canadian government to discuss the designation of the ‘East Arm National Park Reserve’, since renamed ‘Thaidene Nene’ (translated as ‘The Land of the Ancestors’) (Ellis & Enzoe, 2008; Bennett & Lemelin, 2013). The proposed national park reserve would cover approximately 33 000 km² of Denesoline traditional territory, making it one of the largest national park reserves in Canada (Bennett & Lemelin, 2009). If connected with the Thelon River Basin and Wildlife Sanctuary, the area of protected space could exceed 90 000 km² (The Nature Conservancy, n.d.). The landscape of the proposed park reserve and Sanctuary is characterized by an absence of roads, many clear-water rivers, and migratory herds of large mammals, like caribou, which are essential to the Denesoline way of life (Ellis & LKDFN, 2013).

The Lutsel K’e Denesoline are now open to negotiations for the national park reserve for several reasons, including “Parks Canada’s improved aboriginal engagement policies, increased industrial pressures around Great Slave Lake, economic diversification needs in the community, and the constitutionally-protected precedence of aboriginal and treaty rights and land claim arrangements” (Ellis & Enzoe, 2008, p.1). In 2006, the community signed a Memorandum of Understanding with the Canadian government to analyze feasibility of the proposed park reserve, to recommend a boundary, and to consider its potential benefits and detriments (Bennett & Lemelin, 2013). Beyond the aforementioned factors that reopened negotiations between the community and the Canadian government, exist objectives that the Denesoline hope to attain from the designation of a national
park reserve. Of utmost importance is to maintain control and governance over the traditional landscape in order to sustain Denesoline livelihoods (Ellis & Enzoe, 2008). Maintained stewardship of the land would help to ensure that extractive industries are barred from the region, while also maintaining the landscape for both subsistence and cultural practices (Ellis & Enzoe, 2008).

Economic diversification is a prominent goal as well, since community members are currently very dependent on the mining industry for employment (Ellis & Enzoe, 2008). A national park reserve designation can help the community’s tourism industry develop and flourish, creating an alternative, and hopefully sustainable, source of economic growth and employment (Ellis & Enzoe, 2008). However, in order for the proposed national park reserve to become a reality, the Canadian government must be willing to maintain a relationship of trust with the Denesoline, encouraging co-management with the community, resolving issues around land governance and ownership, and allowing for the continued use of the land for subsistence and cultural practices (Ellis & Enzoe, 2008).

The sacred value of the land and its ownership is evident in the LKDFN Thaidene Nene Vision Statement:

Thaidene Nene is the heart of the homeland and sacred place of the LutselK’e Denesoline. It is where the ancestors of the LutselK’e Denesoline laid down the sacred, ethical, and practical foundations of the Denesoline way of life. Carrying these traditions into the future, the LutselK’e Denesoline have the right to promote their culture, practice their relationship with the land and water, and protect the territory upon which this culture and relationship depend. Protection of Thaidene Nene means preserving the environmental and cultural integrity of a homeland fundamental to a material well-being and cultural identity. As the keepers of the Thaidene Nene, the LutselK’e Denesoline have the responsibility to act as stewards of the land and as hosts to visitors (Ellis & LKDFN, 2013, p. 1-2).

Should this land be left unprotected, it is vulnerable to extensive mineral exploration and extraction (Ellis & LKDFN, 2013). Diamond mining, hydropower, rare earth elements, and uranium, have attracted industry to the region, threatening the traditional lands of the Lutsel K’e Denesoline; therefore, permanent protected status needs to be achieved in order to keep out industry and protect the landscape (Ellis & LKDFN, 2013). It is important to note that acts of resistance against external intrusion on Denesoline land are not common. Of particular relevance was a recent co-operative effort between Lutsel K’e Denesoline and Baker Lake Inuit to oppose the Kiggavik uranium project (Nunatsiaq News, 2015). The mining proposal was rejected for several reasons, including the
potential for environmental contamination, the proximity of development to the Thelon River and Wildlife Sanctuary, and in order to protect the caribou (Nunatsiaq News, 2015). Although one Baker Lake Inuit said he is not entirely opposed to the potential for mining and the creation of jobs, the Inuit-Denesoline coalition is fighting for a more specific plan that is sensitive to the environment and wildlife (Nunatsiaq News, 2015).

The Ni hat’ni Denesoline, or ‘Watchers of the Land’, act as stewards and hosts of Thaidene Nene, and are responsible for maintaining the natural beauty of the environment and cultural sites, as well as hosting guests and sharing traditional knowledge with younger generations (LKDFN, n.d.). Nonetheless, a self-regulatory mechanism like a code of conduct for visitors, which is designed by the community for their traditional lands, is an opportunity for community members to exercise stewardship over the land, regardless of protected status. It is important to note that there are already several informational brochures about the Lutsel K’e community and territory: e.g. ‘Welcome to Lutsel K’e Community Map’, which provides information on culture, ecology, history, Thaidene Nene, and how to get to the community; ‘The Lower Snowdrift River’, which provides information about means of travel, traditional activities, and traditional foods; and ‘Käché’, with information about Pike’s Portage, caribou, Ni hat’ni Dene, the Lockhart River, and a deontological list of guidelines for respecting the land. Each of these brochures provides educational geographical, cultural, and environmental information, but do not provide a teleological, interpretation-based code of conduct for visitors.

3.3 Research ethics

3.3.1 Formal ethics approval
The broader ‘Picturing the Thelon’ study, which includes this Master’s thesis, received ethics clearance through the University of Waterloo and has received a research license through the Aurora Research Institute. An application to conduct research with human participants was approved by the University of Waterloo, Office of Research Ethics on March 3, 2014 (see Appendix A). Since the research is taking place in the Northwest Territories, a multi-year research license was applied for and approved by the Aurora Research Institute (see Appendix B). Both applications were developed and approved based on the objectives and research questions that emerged from the community-planning workshop in December 2013, and covered all aspects of the ‘Picturing the Thelon’ study. Since this thesis is one aspect of the broader study, the fieldwork was carried out under these licenses.
3.3.2 Community-level research ethics and responsible research

Developing and maintaining a long-term, respectful research relationship with Indigenous communities is an integral part of decolonizing research in the Canadian Arctic (Grimwood et al., 2012). Such an objective is not necessarily guaranteed through formal ethics clearance or research licenses; instead, it depends on ethical relationships and partnerships that are developed through methodological approaches like CBPR and engaged acclimatization (Grimwood et al., 2012). These approaches encourage practices like visiting communities, transparency throughout the research process, knowledge sharing, and maintaining researcher-community relationships past the completion of a research project in order to be a responsible researcher (Grimwood et al., 2012). For Indigenous Peoples, ethics is not limited to rules or guidelines for behaviour; instead, ethics are “intimately related to who you are, the deep values you subscribe to, and your understanding of your place in the spiritual order of reality. Ethics are integral to the way of life of a people” (Castellano, 2004, p. 103). It is based on this foundation that communities engage in discussions about research ethics in order to minimize risk and maximize benefit for the community (Castellano, 2004). For this particular project, visiting the community in advance of the fieldwork, as well as immersion in the community during fieldwork, helped to establish personal relationships between community members and researchers, and was an important opportunity for engaging with the community. A research agreement that accurately represented the community’s research ethics was developed collaboratively with community members for the broader ‘Picturing the Thelon’ project, and was adhered to throughout the research process (See Appendix C).

3.4 Methods

Castleden et al. (2012) identified four stages of research: research design, data collection, data analysis, and knowledge translation and mobilization. Stewart and Draper (2009) also acknowledged the existence of four stages (though slightly different from Castleden et al.), identifying descriptors, purposes, and associated research activities for each stage (see Table 2). Defining the research stages as ‘getting there’, ‘getting in’, ‘getting along’, and ‘getting out’ (Stewart & Draper, 2009) was relevant to the narrative methodology adhered to throughout this research because it demonstrates the chronological characteristics that are so important to narrative (Gergen & Gergen, 1986). The following subsections will explore how each of the four stages identified by Castleden et al. and Stewart and Draper were undertaken during this study.
3.4.1 Entering into research – (‘Getting there’ and ‘Getting in’)

3.4.1.1 Research design

The broader ‘Picturing the Thelon’ research project started long before I entered the Master’s program at Waterloo. Although I had never considered focusing my tourism research in the Canadian Arctic, I entered the program with an open mind and was presented with an incredible opportunity for research that built on my interests in development and tourism ethics. In the first step of the process for the ‘Picturing the Thelon’ research design, Dr. Bryan Grimwood reached out to the community of Lutsel K’e to initiate a research relationship. Ideally, CBPR projects are initiated when the community reaches out to the researcher; however, in reality, this is fairly uncommon (Castleden et al., 2012). An initial meeting was held with Lutsel K’e community representatives in November 2012, at which time Grimwood shared information about the initial phase of his project; a study with canoeists and Inuit residents of Baker Lake, Nunavut, that took place from 2008-2011 (Grimwood, 2014a). During this meeting, the Wildlife, Lands, and Environment Committee (WLEC) expressed interest in a research relationship with Grimwood and identified important objectives for a research project. Once funding was approved, Grimwood and two graduate students (PhD Candidate Lauren King and I) participated in a two-day workshop in December 2013 with members of the WLEC in

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stage of research</th>
<th>Descriptor of stage</th>
<th>Purpose</th>
<th>Research activities</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Stage 0</td>
<td>‘Getting there’</td>
<td>Initial process of finding potential case study communities</td>
<td>Making contacts, Preliminary site visit, Reflexive journaling</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stage 1</td>
<td>‘Getting in’</td>
<td>Preliminary research visits to gain acceptance of community being studied and to gather background information</td>
<td>Stakeholder interviews, Pilot resident interviews, Participant observation, Reflexive journaling</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stage 2</td>
<td>‘Getting along’</td>
<td>Main data collection period with residents in the community</td>
<td>Resident interviews, Participant observation, Reflexive journaling</td>
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<tr>
<td>Stage 3</td>
<td>‘Getting out’</td>
<td>Period of reporting back research findings to the community and departing the field</td>
<td>Poster display, Weblog, Stakeholder reporting, Community research talks</td>
</tr>
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(Table from Stewart and Draper, 2009)
Lutsel K’e to revisit the research objectives, collaborate on how future research should be pursued, and to determine the next steps.

This first trip to Lutsel K’e represented a lot of firsts for me, and I experienced an array of emotions in anticipation of the journey: adventure, at the opportunity to explore an area of Canada that I was unfamiliar with and that, for so long, was simply a name and a mass of land on a map; anxiety, for travelling to this geographically remote community, far from the comforts of home; and fear of the unknown, of being an outsider, of being unwelcome as a ‘white researcher’. I was conscious of the atrocious colonial history experienced by Indigenous Peoples in the North, as well as the exploitative practices of past researchers, government officials, bureaucrats, and travellers. I knew so little about the territory and the people that lived there, but I wanted to be different than these past ‘ambassadors’, to be collaborative, genuine, and friendly. I knew proving that would be a challenge. Nonetheless, this initial workshop and visit to Lutsel K’e offered an excellent opportunity to begin to build a trusting, honest relationship with community members in anticipation of collaboration in the future.

Given that this was my first real ‘fieldwork’ experience, I was happy to primarily observe this planning workshop and take notes. During the two-day meeting, participants were invited to express their concerns and interests pertaining to the Thelon River and their traditional territory, which ultimately led to a discussion around what kind of research community members would be interested in, as well as how they would expect to be involved throughout the process. There were seven priority concerns and interests identified by workshop participants, including: ensuring that research is future-oriented with a focus on sharing knowledge with youth; supporting local management and governance of the community’s traditional lands; facilitating experience on the land for Denesoline of all ages; building a connection between Inuit and Dene Peoples; sharing knowledge about various environmental and cultural changes in the Thelon in both a past, present, and future context, as well as examining past and current responses to these changes; sharing and preserving stories about Denesoline experiences with the Thelon River; and identifying the various uses and potential uses of the Thelon River (Grimwood, 2014a). Grimwood summarized these concerns and interests, providing a report with a detailed overview of the two-day workshop that occurred in December 2013 (See Appendix D). Participants had also identified characteristics of good and respectful research, such as learning together, respect, collaboration, review and reporting, local protocols and ownership, on-the-land observations, and clear benefits to the community, which would need to be incorporated throughout the research relationship (Grimwood, 2014a). This report also discussed the desired
outcomes and next steps that the participants wished to see. Although Grimwood developed the report, it was sent to the community for feedback, via WLEC manager Mike Tollis, in case it did not accurately document what was discussed at the workshop. Open communication and the sharing of collected knowledge are important components of CBPR. Research reports throughout the project, as well as community workshops that encouraged open discussion, were important mechanisms to facilitate communication and knowledge sharing.

This thesis was inspired by several of the research concerns and interests identified by community members in the ‘Picturing the Thelon’ workshops, including land governance and management issues, especially pertaining to potential uranium mining activities in the region and its associated environmental and socio-cultural impacts; prospects for the development of the Thaidene Nene National Park Reserve that would cover a large area of the LKDFN traditional lands and may impact local land use and the tourism industry; and the lack of a formal code of conduct for visitors and visitor behaviour on LKDFN traditional lands (Grimwood, 2014a). The proposed project for visitor behaviour and developing a code of conduct, including the proposed research methods and the rationale for the project, was shared with the community in a proposal for Phase 2 activities prepared by Grimwood (Grimwood, 2014b). Only upon its approval by the community, as communicated by Mike Tollis, was the research pursued.

3.4.1.2 Leaving for Lutsel K’e

Despite having visited Lutsel K’e in December 2013, I was still incredibly nervous about returning for fieldwork. Although the fear of the unknown was somewhat abated from my previous visit, I could not help but still worry about feeling unwelcome and unwanted. On April 21, 2014, the day of my departure for Lutsel K’e, I felt great – confident and excited - but that quickly dissipated once my father dropped me off in Toronto to await my flight to Yellowknife the next morning. My eyes welled with tears as I watched him leave, and I realized that this was actually happening. I was leaving my family, my friends, my dog; I would be returning home eventually, but at the time it felt like forever. The concerns I had before my first trip to Lutsel K’e were now amplified. I would be gone anywhere from one to two months (at the time, I did not have a concrete return date), away from home and the people that love me, away from where I really felt safe. I didn’t sleep much that night.

Sitting in Yellowknife with Lauren, awaiting the shorter flight to Lutsel K’e, I began feeling inadequate. This would be my first time doing fieldwork, and that lack of experience flat lined my confidence. This inadequacy was compounded by feelings of doubt; what if I should not be doing
this? Who am I, a white researcher from a university in Southern Ontario, to enter this small community, take up residence, and do research? How would I feel if that happened in my community? What if I am rejected, unwelcome, and uncomfortable? These thoughts troubled me, and it required a lot of internal dialogue (and chats with my mom) to reassure myself that I could do this. My intentions were to work with the community, on a project that community members expressed interest in, and I would not have been welcome to return unless community members wanted to continue the research relationship. I had to change my perspective and try to calm the anxiety. Ultimately, this was a learning process and an opportunity for me to grow as an individual and as a researcher. I needed to accept that ups and downs were inevitable and that together, Lauren and I could overcome anything.

I found a level of comfort when we arrived at the Air Tindi terminal in Yellowknife for our flight to Lutsel K’e, and Ron Fatt recognized us from the December workshop. A familiar face and friendly conversation eased a bit of my tension. I relaxed a bit more when another passenger, travelling home to Lutsel K’e, introduced himself and welcomed us. Arriving in Lutsel K’e, getting comfortable in our new home, and building a routine around shopping at the Co-Op store, cooking, walking, exploring, and data collection, helped me to settle right in.

3.4.1.3 Getting involved in the community

Although I grew to be more comfortable in Lutsel K’e as the weeks went on, I still felt like an outsider. This was largely a result of my own insecurities and awareness of my position as a white university researcher, and it persisted in spite of the kind hospitality of Lutsel K’e community members throughout our stay. In fact, during my five-week residence, several members of the community visited our house for conversation; we were invited to a dinner of fish stew and bannock at someone’s home (a meal that was so delicious, we learned to make it ourselves); and we would often stop and chat with other community members during our daily walk. These casual, unplanned encounters were a meaningful part of the experience and made me feel more at home; however, it was also important for us to get involved in the community as much as possible. This included a visit to the school, where we conducted a session with the upper-year students to discuss the reason we were staying in the community, the importance of research, and the fact that research on the land that uses and builds on traditional knowledge is just as relevant and important as university-based research. We also hosted a movie night at the arena, showing ‘Spirit of the Thelon’, a documentary about a trip down the Thelon River starring local community members, Baker Lake Inuit, and a documentary
team. We provided refreshments and popcorn, and those that attended really enjoyed the film. It celebrated local knowledge and Denesoline territory, and allowed community members to experience the Thelon through film. It was an evening of educational entertainment that encouraged conversation about the Thelon, and also elicited laughter from the audience when the narrator would use dated and inappropriate terms like ‘Indian’, and mispronounced Dene as ‘Dana’.

We also had the opportunity to sit in on a community meeting with a diamond mining company, who was looking to expand its operations in Denesoline territory. It was interesting but upsetting to see how the information was presented in a way that was full of scientific jargon and culturally inappropriate. The meeting finished with a rushed question period, followed by the mining officials flying out of the community soon after. Although I was somewhat aware of the impact and attitude of mining companies, this meeting proved that colonialist tendencies that value Western over Indigenous knowledges are still very present in the relations between mining organizations and Indigenous communities. It seemed as if the company was only there as a formality and did not truly value Denesoline input or feedback short of granting permission to expand the mine. This was only echoed by the fact that the mining officials were drawn to speaking with the other ‘white’ people in the room (Lauren and I) before the meeting rather than making an effort to engage with the elders or other community members. I could not help but compare myself to these visitors, in hopes that the community would perceive me as a ‘better’ and more engaged visitor, especially given my fairly long stay in the community (five weeks, as opposed to four hours). And yet, maybe I too was perceived as just another white person briefly visiting the community to ‘do research’, only to leave and maybe not return. I knew that my intentions were not to ‘use’ the Lutsel K’e Dene. I wanted to co-create knowledge that could benefit this community. I wanted to learn from the Denesoline and build friendships with community members. All of these opportunities to get involved, whether formal or unplanned, offered an excellent learning experience and facilitated relationship building with community members outside of data collection and analysis. These experiences also allowed me to engage in the community in ways I would not have been able to if I focused solely on interviews, and immersion in the community gave me a unique and more informed perspective for my research.

3.4.2 Data collection and analysis (‘Getting along’)

To engage with CBPR principles during data collection and analysis, Castleden et al. (2012) recommended avoiding the conventional unilateral transfer of information from participant to researcher to academia. Instead, she encouraged an exchange of knowledge, or a bilateral relationship
where both researcher and community are benefiting from the sharing of information. Community workshops and the sharing of research reports were important parts of this process, since maintaining communication with the community, sharing information throughout the research, and encouraging community input and engagement are important objectives for CBPR and Indigenous-driven research. Castleden et al. also recommended hiring a local community member to help with data collection and analysis. A local research coordinator, Terri Enzoe, was hired to help with interviews and analysis for this project, which not only created the benefit of training and employment for someone in the community, but also encouraged Denesoline involvement throughout the research process, integrating local knowledge as the research was planned and data was collected and analyzed. The involvement of a local research coordinator is one mechanism that can help to overcome Moodie’s (2010) concerns about traditional research practices. It encourages research with, not on, Indigenous communities.

3.4.2.1 Collecting data

Narratives can be obtained through interviews or written documents (Josselson, 2011). There are also various approaches to narrative research that guide the type of story told by the narrator. This study relied specifically on the life-focus or life history approach to narrative. Life history interviews encourage the participant to describe retrospective stories about their life in response to a specific research question (Daly, 2007). From this story, the researcher analyzes how the participant perceives and understands his or her own life within broader social, political, and economic contexts, paying particular attention to how participants select certain events and people to include in the story that makes sense of who they are (Daly, 2007).

For the purpose of this study, narrative life-focus interviews were conducted with twelve key informants. These informants included several experienced land users, including an elder, adults, and youth, as well as community members who are involved in land governance and management, such as past and present members of the Wildlife, Lands, and Environment Committee, and members of the Ni hat’ni land watchers program. It is important to note that one participant, Stephen Ellis, is not a Lutsel K’ee Dene community member, but did live within the community for twelve years as the Wildlife manager and is still very involved in land management. As a result, he provided valuable insight into visitation and land use in Denesoline territory. Participants were identified and interviews were arranged with the help of the local research coordinator who also helped to facilitate and translate the interview with the Chipewyan-speaking elder. Posters advertising the purpose of the
research and the need for participants were posted in the Co-Op store to encourage recruitment, but participants were primarily identified through the local research coordinator. Two of the participants expressed an interest in staying anonymous, while the remaining consented to being recognized for their participation, as indicated on the informed consent form that needed to be completed prior to each interview (see Appendix E). The two anonymous participants were given pseudonyms (anonymous elder and anonymous Lutsel K’e resident) by which they could be identified. The length of interviews ranged significantly, from 30 to 80 minutes, and participants were given the option of stopping the interview or withdrawing from the study at any time, with no consequence. With the participant’s permission, interviews were recorded and transcribed then returned to each individual participant to read over, to add or remove material, or to opt out of the study. Each participant was given a $50 honorarium for participating in an interview. In accordance with the previously identified priorities of learning together and sharing stories, all interview recordings and transcripts were added to the electronic Traditional Knowledge Archive in the WLEC office, to be held indefinitely for use by the community. Otherwise, the data will be secured in a password-protected file for ten years, and only researchers associated with this research study or members of the Lutsel K’e Dene First Nation will have access to the data.

The life-focus interviews were both unstructured and dialogical in nature; two compatible approaches, since the participant needs to be able to freely tell their story, but the researcher should also be able to ask questions (Glover, 2003). Unstructured interviews, such as life-focus interviews, start with a general question that is relevant to the study. This creates a flexible outlet that allows the participant to follow the natural flow of his or her own thoughts and ideas (Chilisa, 2012). The interviews were approached as a conversation in order to foster a more informal and comfortable atmosphere for storytelling. This gave the participant greater control of the direction of their story, but still allowed me to actively engage in the storytelling (Glover, 2003). The interview started by asking the participant to share stories about experiences or interactions with visitors to their traditional territory. Prompts were used to encourage the narrator to elaborate on different aspects of their story, and varied depending on the participant. Sample prompts were for stories related to: positive and negative encounters with visitors, the positive and negative impacts of visitors (e.g. social, ecological, cultural), specific examples of visitor behaviour, and stories about the different ways that visitors use the land. My involvement in the conversation also varied depending on the participant. For some interviews, I had to ask questions more frequently in order to maintain the dialogue, while other interviews flowed more naturally and required little interjection or encouragement. The prepared
interview guide, as approved by University of Waterloo Ethics (Appendix F), suggested that participants be invited to use photographs, personal objects, cultural symbols, or maps to guide their story; however, this was challenging and rarely occurred because interviews were often spontaneous, arranged without any advanced notice, and at a location where the participant did not have access to these materials.

3.4.2.2 Analyzing data

The process of narrative analysis involves finding the implicit meanings in a story, determining the important from the less significant, and discovering relationships between seemingly dissimilar aspects of experiences (Josselson, 2011). To start this process, and to incorporate community collaboration in the analysis phase, a workshop was held on May 20, 2014 with the WLEC. At first, I was not sure how to engage with community members for analysis, since reading through twelve long interviews would be a tedious and time-consuming task for participants. Also, I would soon be leaving Lutsel K’ee, which would make analyzing data collaboratively very difficult. An alternative and more efficient method of collaboration needed to take place before I returned home. Thus, a 90-minute workshop was held with five members of the WLEC to discuss an overview of the data. Each participant completed an informed consent form (see Appendix G) and received a $50 honorarium for their participation upon completion of the workshop. To prepare for the discussion, I reviewed each transcript to identify key ideas in the narratives, including both common themes and opposing ideas. Although there was an attempt to cover as much information as possible, it was my responsibility to extract key themes, common ideas, and concepts that may have been difficult to understand from my perspective. These talking points (see Appendix H) were shared with participants, who were asked to elaborate on and provide feedback for the stories shared by interviewees, and to determine what ideas from the narratives would be important to include in a code of conduct that would accurately represent Denesoline expectations for visitor behaviour. Participants were also invited to contribute any stories or ideas that were not identified in the talking points. The discussion was recorded and transcribed for further analysis alongside the interview transcripts. Ultimately, the collaborative analysis workshop facilitated local involvement in the analysis process. It allowed me to engage with Denesoline perspectives and continue the next stages of analysis through a lens that incorporated local knowledges (Castleden et al., 2012). When studying the interview transcripts, the workshop transcript helped to guide my understanding of the narratives. This approach also allowed the voice of
community members to be dominant in the research and contributed to a respectful, community-based research process (Castleden et al., 2012).

For narrative analysis, Daly (2007) suggested asking several analytical questions of each story. These include: why a story was told a certain way; what is included and what is omitted from the story; what is accomplished by a narrative; who is the audience and how does the story relate to that audience; and how does the story encourage the audience to understand cultural practices (Daly, 2007). It is important for the researcher to respond to these questions while reflecting on their position as an outsider, as facilitated through the reflective journaling process. It is also important for members of the community to have the opportunity to respond to these questions from their cultural perspective and to compare and contrast these analyses, as encouraged through the WLEC analysis workshop.

In order to effectively analyze the narrative data, Glover (2003) suggested identifying the storytellers, their circumstances, and the cultural context. With this in mind, each transcript was read using a framework like Dewey’s three-dimensional narrative inquiry space, which is a metaphorical analytical construct that consists of interaction (personal and social), continuity (past, present, future), and place (situation) (as cited in Clandinin & Connelly, 2000). This process started by printing off hard copies of the transcripts and using a variety of coloured pens to underline and label the themes common to each interview. As I continued to read about narrative analysis throughout this process, I came to realize that narratives should be structured chronologically. With this new information, I attempted to adapt my process by highlighting past/present/future in each story as well as the key themes, still using coloured pens. Unfortunately, this method was not working as the participant stories did not often have a chronological flow, and attempting to identify past/present/future was essentially impossible. At this time, I also came to realize that using hard copies of the transcripts was an incredibly inefficient process, especially when trying to move back and forth between writing a narrative and referring to the transcripts. I decided to try an alternative method for analysis – the computer-based analysis program, NVivo. I uploaded electronic copies of each transcript to NVivo, and started to ‘code’ transcripts for the main narrative themes that were relevant to a community narrative, which could then be translated into a code of conduct for visitors. Some of these themes looked at describing visitors and why they are attracted to the region, the different dimensions of respect (whether that relates to paying the land, visiting the community, or removing litter), the potential for tourism development, and the problem with being economically dependent on the mining industry. As an iterative and hermeneutic process, it was important to read the transcripts multiple times, while referring to the workshop transcript for supplemental information and feedback.
on narrative themes. It is important to note that the data was not deconstructed into themes during this process; instead, to maintain the integrity of each participant’s story, themes were identified in order to synthesize a community narrative from individual narratives.

While identifying the themes that are present in each individual transcript enables a better understanding of the participant, his or her life situation, and the context of the story, it is also important to identify themes that are common across multiple transcripts – especially when developing a community narrative (Glover, 2003). As Glover argued, “it is the common narrative ground shared by all research participants that is notable, made especially so by this type of analysis” (p. 157). The common themes about expectations for and experiences of visitor behaviour were helpful to identify the ideas and excerpts that needed to be included in a community narrative and the code of conduct for visitors. Themes that emerge from narrative analysis are often complexly intertwined and it can be challenging to analyze them separately; however, “categories that are too separate are artificial. Human life is of a piece, multilayered, contradictory, and multivalent, to be sure, but the strands are always interconnected (Josselson, 2011, p. 232). Identifying elements of social and personal interaction, continuity, and situational environments in each story, and comparing similarities and differences across the stories and the WLEC’s analysis, helped to determine what concepts and what excerpts from stories are important to incorporate in a code of conduct for visitors that will encourage respectful behaviour. As Josselson (2011) suggested, the results of narrative analysis are not meant to generalize, but to encourage an understanding that will benefit broader scholarly fields. In this project, the intended goal was a context-specific code of conduct that is meant to apply to the visitors of Denesoline traditional lands; yet, the process of its development seeks to encourage a new way of looking at tourism ethics and visitor behaviour on traditional Indigenous lands more broadly.

3.4.3 Reporting data (‘Getting out’)

Finally, the code of conduct was developed from this broader community narrative and informed by academic literature that outlines the characteristics of an effective code of conduct. The common narrative themes that emerged were synthesized and summarized to produce a document that follows the structure and flow of the broader narrative, but is shorter and more accessible for visitors. In order to produce a document that was of reasonable length, verbatim participant stories that were presented in the broader narrative were omitted in favour of a brief explanation for expectations of behaviour based on those stories. In order to incorporate community feedback and co-authorship, Grimwood
shared a draft of the code with community representatives during a visit to Lutsel K’e in May 2015. Participant feedback suggested that the code should explicitly state: that the Denesoline want to help visitors understand how to use the land properly; that knowing who is on their land enables Denesoline to better plan, monitor, manage, and make decisions about their territory; that hunting and trapping by visitors is not universally okay, and should only be practiced in the presence of a Lutsel K’e guide or monitor; that Denesoline rely on hunting for survival; and, that local guides know the land and how the weather works and are willing to share this information with visitors. Participants also suggested that a link to the Land of Our Ancestors website be included in the code. All of this feedback was incorporated into the final draft to create a document that represents Denesoline expectations of visitor behaviour. Community members were excited that tangible research outcomes were starting to emerge, and expressed an interested in developing a brochure-type document to share with visitors. The updated draft was also shared by e-mail with Stephen Ellis, who is actively involved with the community and Thaidene Nene. Ellis thought the code looked great and recommended that it be presented in a pamphlet, as well as uploaded to the Thaidene Nene website.

Reporting to the community was essential throughout the entire process, especially given the geographic distance between the university and Lutsel K’e, as well as a lack of resources to visit in person more frequently. Beyond the initial research workshop report that was developed by Grimwood (as discussed in the research design section), a report was also developed by Grimwood, King, and I, and shared with the community after the Spring 2014 fieldwork. This report shared an overview of preliminary research results, our involvement in the community (e.g. school visit and film night), as well as the next stages of the research (see Appendix I). Upon completion of my thesis defense, I will send a final community research report that summarizes the project, presents the code of conduct, and thanks the community for their collaboration. A final copy of this thesis will be shared with Lutsel K’e to include in their Traditional Knowledge Archives. In addition to these research reports, any abstracts for conferences and publications, as well as drafts of publications, were shared with the community for feedback and approval. Consultation with the community will continue for any future publications and presentations, and the Lutsel K’e Dene First Nation will continue to be included as co-authors to recognize community participation throughout the process.

3.5 Personal reflections on the process

It is important to reflect upon the experiences of and emotions felt during a research encounter in order to understand how these influence the researcher (Ali, 2012). As Ali (2012) explained, being an
‘emotionally literate’, self-reflexive academic is an important precursor to taking ‘critical turns’ in tourism research and engaging with a hopeful tourism perspective. There are two types of reflexivity, as identified by Willig (2001): personal reflexivity, which is reflection on our own values, experiences, and social identities, how these have shaped the research, and how the research has shaped us; and epistemological reflexivity, asking questions about how research could have been undertaken differently and reflecting on our underlying assumptions about the world and knowledge that may have affected the research and outcomes. Both types of reflexivity were important for this research, as I reflected on my personal emotions through the research anticipation phase, and continue to reflect on these emotions as well as the epistemological challenges with the research process in the following sections. As Tucker (2009) explained, rather than being counterproductive to her work, being aware of her alignment as a researcher “has led to an understanding of the productive and anti-colonial role that reflexivity and recognition of emotion, especially shame, can play in both the tourism encounter and Tourism Studies” (p. 447). Tucker’s shame arose when she realized she was both a colonizing researcher and tourist, in that she was trying to define the world while also consuming a host destination. She recalled blushing and feeling tense in this moment shame, a physiological reaction that I experienced during one encounter with a Lutsel K’e community member who asked if I was there to ‘use them too’. I blushed, I tensed, I returned home and I cried while I questioned why I was there. I had these underlying fears of being confronted by community members, of being perceived as a ‘user’ and an ‘outsider’; but actually encountering this confrontation fostered a shame and guilt that was very difficult to cope with. I knew that this person was not wrong to accuse me of ‘using them’, as researchers have been known to exploit the community. Nevertheless, it reminded me of my position as a white researcher and the ongoing colonial legacy that the community faces (e.g. researchers who ‘use’ them). Tucker argued that shame, however uncomfortable it may be, “should be seen as positive in its reflexive and self-evaluative role. Indeed, shame in itself has an important worldmaking function in that it is a positive and productive highlighting of our interest and desire to live ethically” (p. 455). Thus, reflecting on emotions in the research encounter, and experiencing seemingly negative emotions like shame, encourages movement towards postcolonial and decolonized research (Tucker, 2009). In the following subsections, I will further explore the challenges and emotions I experienced throughout this participatory and narrative research.
3.5.1 Participatory, Indigenous-driven research

I strongly believe in the pursuit of participatory research. This belief stems from the more theoretical, reading-based studies of my undergraduate degree in International Development, where I learned that a bottom-up, participatory approach is essential for successful, sustainable development projects. This perspective was only fortified as I began the practical stages of my thesis research. Living in Lutsel K’ee, I was able to see first-hand the colonialist legacy of the ‘white man’, not only when it came to government and mining, but with researchers as well. There was a level of distrust for researchers in the community due to past experiences of exploitation. I could not help but to internalize those concerns, feeling shame and guilt for my position as a white person and a white researcher; however, I wanted to be different, to earn the community’s trust by working with them and pursuing research that would be more for their benefit than my own (Israel, 2005; Wilson, 2007).

I was lucky to have the opportunity to live in Lutsel K’ee for five weeks during my fieldwork, engaging with community members and getting to know the people and place. It is important to note that I am someone who easily gets homesick, and I can find it challenging to be in unfamiliar places with unfamiliar people, without the comfort of home and family. It was my first experience being that far from home in a geographically remote location. It was trying and lonely at times, and knowing that I could not simply jump in a car and drive home for a weekend visit made it all the more difficult. Although I collected enough data during my five-week stay, I constantly question whether I should have stayed longer to build a stronger relationship with community members; that perhaps the community still perceived me as ‘using them and leaving’. Facing this regret, I long to be a more adaptable person, to be more comfortable with being away from home in an unfamiliar place. This is something I need to work on as I continue community-based participatory research in the future.

Although I did try to engage with the community as much as possible throughout the entire research process, the distance between Lutsel K’ee and Ontario was a major barrier. Not being able to physically meet with community members outside of the fieldwork stage made collaboration and consultation very challenging. Communication by e-mail and the sharing of research reports did compensate to some extent, but it is not as efficient or as personal as meeting in person. I argue that this project was guided by CBPR and Indigenous-driven principles, largely because it was difficult to pursue a truly collaborative project. In line with these principles, community members helped to identify the direction and objectives for research, as well how respectful research should be undertaken in the community, and a local research coordinator helped to identify research
participants, and in turn received training and employment. In addition, several community members participated in the analysis workshop, lengthy verbatim quotes were used throughout the community narrative to maintain community voices, and community members were asked for feedback that was incorporated into the final code of conduct. However, I was responsible for completing much of the project, partly due to geographical distance and time, and partly because I needed to be sole author of my Master’s thesis. Indeed, I facilitated most of the interviews on my own, identified the key talking points to share at the analysis workshop, wrote the narrative from my own perspective as the researcher, and drafted the code of conduct. Although I tried to pursue a collaborative project as much as possible, it is not a perfect representation of participatory, Indigenous-driven research. Instead, this study was guided by principles that encourage engagement with Denesoline perspectives and voices in order to create a community-developed, Indigenized code of conduct.

3.5.2 Narrative inquiry

To say that the narrative process was both frustrating and overwhelming is a massive understatement. Never in my academic career have I experienced so much confusion and so much uncertainty as I had trying to analyze the narrative data and present the results in a narrative fashion. My university career started in the sciences – chemistry, biology, and math primarily – and my mind still tends to flow towards positivistic, objective thinking. This is a trap that can be difficult to avoid. Fortunately, a qualitative methodologies course forced me to push the boundaries of this comfort zone and explore alternative ways of thinking and writing in academia. Nonetheless, it still could not prepare me for this process.

Unlike other methodologies that deconstruct the data in order to identify and explore individual themes (e.g. grounded theory), narrative analysis strays away from this tendency, instead aiming to retain the integrity and structure of narratives told by participants. Although seemingly simple at the outset, I quickly realized how challenging it would be to avoid deconstructing themes and analyzing them separately. My positivistic mind needed to break down themes and it was unwilling to accept any alternative approach. I wrote draft after draft for the community narrative, consistently falling short of developing a true narrative in favour of exploring independent themes. My inexperience in qualitative research, and narrative analysis in particular, limited my ability to think outside of the box. I wanted to revert to a process that I was more comfortable with – in this case, theme deconstruction and technical writing.
Developing the community narrative was a challenge because it felt as if I was forcing the data to fit a narrative mold that it was not meant to fit. The data was often not explicitly narrative in structure and content, and the participants’ vastly different responses and storytelling techniques made the development of a single narrative seemingly impossible. I felt that to force the data into a temporal narrative structure would mean taking creative liberties that may prioritize my voice over that of the participants, thus quieting the Denesoline perspectives and voices that were so important to the process of community-based participatory research and the Indigenist paradigm. This concern echoes some of the criticisms that Madison (2008) identified in terms of a “‘weaving’ approach of ‘researcher’ and Other’” (p393); that the researcher’s analysis may be intrusive, either upstaging or silencing the narrator’s story, and that the researcher’s understanding distorts the narrator’s telling, modifying meanings for the sake of their own interpretation. I was especially worried about Madison’s critique given that I was writing a community narrative and the code of conduct from London, Ontario, and could not ask for input and feedback from the community in person due to a lack of resources to return to Lutsel K’e. I would have to depend on e-mail communication and reports for feedback throughout the process.

Furthermore, as Alcoff (1991) suggested, “speaking for others is arrogant, vain, unethical, and politically illegitimate” (p. 6). No matter what, I would be speaking for the community to some extent, as I was responsible for writing the narrative for my thesis and developing a draft of the code of conduct. In an effort to address Alcoff’s critique, I made sure that communicating the voices and perspectives of participants was the primary objective of the community narrative. Although creative writing is often an important part of storytelling, I felt as though undertaking a more creative approach would have prioritized my own voice over those in the community. Therefore, although this study was certainly guided by narrative methodology, it was not a perfect fit. Community-based participatory research often requires the adaptation of methods and methodologies to ensure the process is truly representative of community participants.

In the end, I tried to keep to a ‘narrative-style’ of writing as much as possible, with descriptive writing woven in throughout the story and a narrative structure that demonstrated movement through a plot. As Gergen and Gergen (1986) explained, one of the most important characteristics of a narrative is the ability to organize events so that they show connectedness and coherence, as well as a movement through time. Maintaining a clear chronological foundation to the narrative (i.e. a past, present, future) was challenging, since each participant presented different stories and storytelling techniques. Instead, connectedness and movement through time followed a
different plot-based structure: an introduction of the context for the narrative; discussing the conflicts or problems in the story; identifying the resolution or intervention for these problems; and, discussing the outcomes from this intervention. This echoes Glover’s description of narrative components, which traditionally include an abstract explaining the story; an orientation of who, what, when, and where; a complication; a result; and a conclusion, presented in a temporal order (Glover, 2003). Although developing an explicit temporal order (past, present, future) was very challenging, the story is representative of a progressive narrative, in that the events indicate movement towards a goal state, from conflict to resolution (Gergen & Gergen, 1986).
Chapter 4

Results: A Community Narrative and Code of Conduct

There are two components to the results of this study: a community narrative, which synthesizes the individual narratives shared by interview and WLEC workshop participants; and a context-specific, Indigenized code of conduct, which is derived from the community narrative. Both tell a story of respect and expectations for visitor behaviour.

4.1 A community narrative of respect

In the context of this study, a community narrative represents a culminating narrative that combines the stories told by individual participants. It embodies one particular narrative for the community of Lutsel K’è, shared from my perspective as a non-Indigenous researcher, and based on the individual narratives shared by a select group of participants who were willing to share stories based on prompts for visitor behaviour. The community narrative can change based on participants, researcher/narrator, and topic of story; however, this particular narrative speaks to visitor behaviour and respect in Denesoline territory. The concept of respect in this narrative has multiple dimensions, such as showing respect for the physical environment and Denesoline place in their territory, as well as the complex intersection of respect, safety, and tourism development. The following narrative represents my interpretation of the stories of respect shared by participants in this study, balanced by verbatim excerpts from individual participant interviews and the WLEC workshop that help to illuminate the voices of those who participated. Including verbatim quotes, even lengthy ones, not only lends a personal tone to the results and communicates the participants’ experiences with visitors and expectations for respect as originally narrated, but it also directly engages with Denesoline stories and perspectives – a process that is essential to the Indigenist paradigm and to the development of an Indigenized code of conduct for visitors (Higgins-Desbiolles, 2009). This approach is an important foundation for ‘respectful representation’, which requires that the researcher be conscious of how they represent all aspects of their research, including self and research subjects, while also listening to others and setting one’s own ideas and priorities aside (Louis, 2007). Retaining the integrity of direct quotations, letting those quotations drive the narrative and only intervening when necessary, facilitates respectful representation because it focuses on participant ideas and priorities rather than my own. These longer quotes also add depth and enable the telling of important micro-narratives; stories on a smaller scale that are specific to individual participants but still represent the larger theme
of respect. These community member voices are supplemented by my own narration to tell a story that first outlines the context of who visits Lutsel K’e territory and why, followed by the problem or conflict of the narrative, which explores the historical and present condition of disrespectful visitor behaviour, and finally, the resolution – an explicit outline of the participants’ expectations for respect.

4.1.1 Setting the stage: ‘It’s so beautiful here’ – Visitors to Lutsel K’e

We have lots of visitors, lots of Americans, they come on our land, we take them out as a guide. They really like our area, drink the fresh water. They come year after year and sometimes I’ll ask them why you always come back to the Northwest Territories of the East Arm of Great Slave Lake. He said, you know where I come from? It’s not the same as where you’re from. The water is more fresh, the air’s more clear, you can smell all the new growth that are growing on your land. And that’s one reason why I come back year after year. I also, when guiding for Frontier Fishing Lodge, Taltheilei Narrows, Plummer’s Lodge, Great Bear Lodge, I always ask the same question of why they like to come back. It seems like they love our land and our water and everything that lives on it. It’s so beautiful here. That is what they always say to me. It’s not the same as where they’re from. And that is one reason why we have visitors coming back year after year, even when they retire they still come back. There must be something about our land that they like to see when they come back. (Anonymous elder, May 12, 2014 [translated by Terri Enzoe])

Our land is very beautiful land and that’s why [visitors] come here. Everyone loves to say that you can drink the water right out of the lake in the East Arm, that’s how clean it is. And the fish taste so good, and it’s so beautiful, and that’s why people come here. (Anonymous Lutsel K’e resident, May 14, 2014)

These vivid descriptions truly set the stage for Denesoline territory. Where else can you literally drink water straight from the lake, worry free? Where else is the air so clean, seemingly free of the pollutants that are ever present in the city, that an asthmatic such as myself could take a deep breath without struggle, without hesitation? These characteristics of the vast Denesoline territory, among others, attract visitors from all over – including myself, a Master’s student researcher. Until I experienced it firsthand, I never could have imagined just how breathtaking of a place Lutsel K’e territory truly was.

During my five-week springtime stay, I didn’t get the chance to travel too far from the community itself. I didn’t see the Barren Lands or the Thelon River; however, the community itself was stunning. Colourful, paneled homes sat steps away from the still-frozen East Arm of Great Slave
Lake. Gazing upon the large body of water, it was impossible to miss the array of partly snowy islands near and far, dressed in a thick coat of thin coniferous trees that offered a beautiful green-brown contrast to the vast horizon of white snow-covered lake and bright blue skies. Within and behind the community towered a large hill, a popular hiking spot for Lauren and I, with breathtaking views of the lake, land, and airport. Sunsets with infinite shades of yellow, orange, and red reflected off the icy lake past midnight, and if the sun finally set, we occasionally glimpsed the green-hued Northern Lights, dancing across the not-quite-black night sky. It was Canada, as I had never experienced it before.

Located in the Northwest Territories and accessible only by air or water, Denesoline territory is by no means a mass tourism destination. Because it is geographically remote, tourists may be unaware of its potential as a tourist destination, and the cost of travel can limit its accessibility; yet, there is the potential for an increase in visitation, as negotiations for Thaidene Nene National Park Reserve may attract more interest. Nonetheless, the list of visitors tends to be quite diverse. “There’s so many visitors we get here (laughs). Yeah, hunters, fishermen, sightseeing. Canoers – they just go right through sometimes. Spend the night here and they just continue paddling,” explained Joseph Catholique (April 28, 2014).

There’s tourism, there’s politicians, there’s a lot of natives that come visit us during the summer when the water’s open, you know, there’s no ice. There’s all kinds of visitors that’s coming in. All kinds of foreign people, you know, there’s- especially when the parks - we’re close to negotiating our park, now we’ll start to see more and more white people coming in, you know. People come a long ways, like from all over the country, you know, up in Nunavut, down in the States. (Ron Fatt, May 20, 2014)

Dog teams, skidooers, boaters, researchers, fishing lodge guests, and finally, politicians, bureaucrats, and mining officials; these are all visitors to Denesoline territory. As a landscape that is so magnetic and different from the everyday environment for most visitors, Denesoline territory can be especially popular for repeat leisure tourists. Throughout his young life, Damien Kailek has interacted with many visitors to Lutsel K’e, taking particular notice of any who are returning after a previous visit. They “have certain landmarks they like to go back to visit too or you know, just be around and just having the luxury of being out here and knowing- knowing to learn the lifestyle” (May 6, 2014). Interacting with Denesoline community members and learning about traditional livelihoods are important parts of the experience of visiting Lutsel K’e territory, whether for the first time or the fifth
time. For me, that experience involved sitting by a campfire near Duhamel Lake, cooking freshly caught whitefish and trout; attending a women’s sewing night on Thursdays, working on my cross-stitch while watching elders handcraft intricate beaded ‘uppers’ for a pair of caribou-hide moccasins; and listening to stories about Denesoline history, family, and experiences on the land.

Throughout my stay, I was presented with a diverse understanding of the ‘visitor’ that I had not anticipated – one that was not restricted to recreational tourists, but included those with a business, political, or research focus. An anonymous resident made this distinction clear when they explicitly stated, “there’s different kinds of visitors, right? For example, you’re a visitor. But you’re not a tourist… So there’s a difference” (May 14, 2014). Participants determined that the term ‘visitor’ generally encompassed anyone who was not a Denesoline currently residing in Lutsel K’e. In fact, visitors can include “family members who are not living here, [when] they come and visit the family members” (Terri Enzoe, April 29, 2014). Expectations for respect behaviour were not limited to the conventional recreational tourist, but would include all visitors, regardless of their purpose or intentions.

4.1.2 Exploring the conflict – Disrespectful visitation, colonialism, and the struggle for self-determination and Denesoline governance

Lutsel K’e Denesoline now permanently reside in the community of Lutsel K’e; however, as a traditionally nomadic peoples, they have lived and travelled on this vast territory for generations. To this day, community members still travel the land and rely on its resources for sustenance and the practice of traditional livelihoods. This territory is their homeland and, in effect, Denesoline should have the right to exert ownership and govern that space. Unfortunately, significant changes have and continue to threaten Denesoline territory and their ability to self-determine, such as colonialism and its lingering effects, as well as the tourism industry, or visitation more broadly, which is part of the colonial process.

Some of the earliest stories of disrespectful visitor behaviour relate to interactions with the Inuit, who historically travelled on Denesoline territory. Although these stories are not necessarily associated with colonial processes, the perception of disrespectful visitation is still very present in the anonymous elder’s detailed retelling:

Long time ago, people used to hunt and trap our foxes in the Thelon River. My grandfather used to tell me a story. The old man, his name is Gahdele. In the Thelon River, there was lots of people with their dog teams. They see muskox from the south. They shot a couple.
They saw an Inuit person while they were shooting muskox. They met up with the Inuit person. The Inuit said can you give us some meat or give us one of the muskox? So they gave him the bull muskox to the Inuit person... In the Thelon River, he said one day, we’ll be all meeting each other here again. He said he told the natives (Dene) that they should come first. He said when I get home, I’ll tell my people that we’ll come back and meet each other. He said one of the Inuit tribes, there was a young girl in there, really wanted to be with one of the native persons, fell in love. He said the Inuit liked to sneak at the people, the native people. He said they’re always sneaking and can hear the dogs barking at night. He said when people are out hunting in the fall time, to harvest their caribou, they go and sneak at people, for long ways you can see them. He said the Dene people are the sharpshooters, they shoot as much caribou as they want after meeting up with the Dene person. He said after they met each other, they were on the Inuit and the Dene, they both went back to the village or wherever they were staying or camping. He said you could tell there was visitors that come to our area of where we hunt because you could see rocks piling up on each other. He said we stayed out there in the Barren Lands for one year. Wherever we travelled, we see lots of rocks piled on each other, that’s how we know we had visitors on our land. At that time, like in the wintertime when we harvest white fox, we see those too. We see rocks that are piled on big rocks, so they know there are visitors there. Like in the summertime, he said the Inuit would be sneaking, they wouldn’t say hello to anybody and they’ll hide by the path that they portage. He said the Inuit, they always hide from the Dene, so one day the Gahdele person, the magic man, put the hides down and said that they’re going to be taking everything from the Inuits, why are they sneaking at us and peeking at us instead of talking to us. The magic man took all their weapons away and they all landed on the canvas. Like arrows, bows, the harpoon. That’s what happened. (Anonymous Lutsel K’e elder, May 12, 2014 [as translated by Terri Enzoe])

The elder’s perception of disrespectful and ‘sneaky’ visitor behaviour was established because the Inuit were not being upfront about their presence in Denesoline territory. Not acknowledging one’s presence can be perceived as a failure to recognize or appreciate Denesoline presence in and ownership of their homeland – whether that is an intentional demonstration of disrespect, or simply a result of ignorance and misunderstanding. The idea of intention is of importance here, because with differing languages and cultural customs between the Dene and Inuit, simple miscommunication is possible and disrespectful behaviour may result. Nonetheless, ignorance can enable disrespectful visitor behaviour, as visitors may be unaware of Denesoline ownership of territory and expectations for its use:
Yeah, so most visitors that go to the Thelon are canoeists and most of them don’t come through the community and probably most of them don’t recognize that it may be part of the traditional territory of this community, or that it’s also part of the traditional territory of the Baker Lake Inuit folks, right? So I think that knowledge of sort of the Indigenous presence is not really there. But there’s knowledge of the Thelon River, and when it comes to sort of Northern canoeing rivers, that’s one of the premier ones that’s well known. You know, most visitors would probably charter in and skip over coming to this community primarily. And, you know, have probably heard about the area through canoeing magazines or all that sort of thing. So, I think that most visitors come for the remoteness and the northern beauty and wildlife and all that sort of stuff, but nobody really- very, very few people have that understanding of the cultural aspects of and the cultural importance of the area, or the, you know, specifically the Indigenous presence in the area. (Stephen Ellis, May 1, 2014)

The Thelon River, which sits partly in Denesoline territory, is geographically distant from the community of Lutsel K’e. As a result, canoeists and kayakers travelling along the Thelon may not directly see or interact with Denesoline peoples, and therefore may not realize that the territory they travel on is, in fact, ancestral Denesoline territory. In fact, some visitors have completely bypassed the community all together en route to their destination, ending up in Lutsel K’e “more by accident than by design”:

There have been a handful of- of canoeers of the Thelon River and those areas around there that have come through the community and- but I think that hasn’t been intentional, some have been sort of stuck here or some have gotten flown in on the scheduled flights and gotten charters out of here. (Stephen Ellis, May 1, 2014)

Although the beauty of the landscape and nature-based tourism opportunities are some of the major draws for visitors, such a focus can omit overt recognition of contemporary Denesoline presence. A visitor who is unaware of Denesoline ownership of the land may not appreciate that there are expectations for respectful behaviour while travelling. Therefore, to be respectful, visitors must first be upfront about their presence in Denesoline territory, which, in turn, acknowledges Denesoline presence and ownership of that space.

Instances of disrespectful visitor behaviour, sometimes stemming from visitor ignorance of Denesoline presence, are often a symptom of the legacy of colonialism. The dynamic of tourism and visitation is arguably part of the process of colonialism, due in part to the power relations embedded in the host/visitor dynamic that tend to perpetuate colonial relationships, as well as the anachronistic
expectations that visitors have for Indigenous hosts and lands (Grimwood et al., 2015). As Stephen Ellis explained, the history of colonialism, with a legacy of influences that still impact the community today, represents an ongoing challenge:

Obviously there’s some pretty nasty colonial history, right? Some people are struggling with that and how do we- how do we engage with the visitors in a sort of a positive way given that history, right? So that’s- that’s something that’s a challenge as well. (May 1, 2014)

With that said, the community is trying to overcome these challenges by engaging in self-determination to actively resist this colonial legacy. For example, Terri Enzoe recalled a time when the community fought back against the colonial intentions of visitors:

The only time… the visitors were not allowed, is when my late Uncle Joe Lockhart was the chief…[a] plane came, I don’t know how many white people in our visitors that came off the plane and talked to them and he didn’t want to sign the paper and so he ripped the paper in half and told the people that they had to leave, go back on your plane, go back where you came from, go back. And that’s what happened…. come sign this paper right now, you know. Like disrespecting. That was the only time I’ve seen something like that. That was when I was like eight years old. That was a long time ago man. (May 20, 2014)

Past experiences with colonizers (i.e. non-Indigenous people) have been largely negative, founded in disrespect and a lack of honesty that can still impact perceptions of visitors today. Despite acts of resistance like the example that Terri described, contemporary examples of disrespectful visitors continue to exist. Jerry Lockhart spoke about how a non-Denesoline tourism operator was an unwelcome visitor to Denesoline territory, living there in search of personal profit through a dishonest operation:

He had no permission. He’s been living there with his dad for so many years, and one day he come back and- from the states, and he end up putting up a lodge, and he had no permission to put up a lodge. And he was supposed to come here and do it- do that but then the people, he never did that and he went ahead with it. And the thing is he had lots of tours, but he ripped off lots of tourist people. So he was getting lots of money for it and he- he was there, saw all the people but when the government came there and chased him out of there, even they gained more and chased him out. But he swung around and came into Lutsel K’e, he was trying to put up a- a little store here. He got kicked out of here too. And he owed lots of money and ‘til today it’s been over five years and I- I know last time I heard
he was in Yellowknife but I caught up to him there and tried to get my money back right away and he didn’t give my money back and I had to approach him the other way and I scared him off ‘cause the cops are looking for him. He managed to- up in Inuvik, up north he went. But this guy’s hiding out in Eskimo land now. Until today I know a story of where he is right now, but I know if he’s been found he’ll be- probably get canned for it… For [him], I don’t know, it’s just- he didn’t work out. It could have if he had permission but the chief and council, there was two chiefs that time when they found out so that’s when- the last time I did a job with him, I never went back again. (April 29, 2014)

That same tourism operator, who owned a lodge at Whitefish Lake:

took all our arrowheads and showed it to tourists and those guys are doing things like that. It’s disrespecting our land. Now they got bankrupt and they don’t own the lodge, they just left everything like that…. You know, if you take something and you don’t tell people from this community, ‘cause we are the closest one, it’s disrespecting. So now, today, he doesn’t own the lodge, doesn’t own a plane, he’s on the run. (Terri Enzoe, May 20, 2014)

Using the land without permission, without respecting Denesoline ownership of the territory, is essentially a manifestation of ongoing colonial behaviour; that is, that a non-Indigenous person can simply enter Denesoline territory and set up their own business, claiming that space as their own without acknowledging Denesoline presence. Although this particular example had a rather negative outcome for the tourism operator, things could have been different if he had approached his business through the right channels while being upfront and transparent, demonstrating an appreciation for Denesoline ownership of territory and engaging with Denesoline residents.

Beyond this overt disrespect for the local peoples and their place in the territory, failing to show respect for the land and water in Denesoline territory is also problematic and unfortunately common:

I guess I’m mostly thinking about tourists, but there are other visitors that come to our territory that- that make a mess and they come here to party on the land or they make a mess. They come to hunt and they’re using alcohol and that’s not respecting the hunt. So there’s some of that that happens (Anonymous Lutsel K’e Resident, May 14, 2014).

This type of behaviour not only disrespects the land and the animals, but also the Denesoline and their relationship to their territory. Again, part of the cause of this kind of behaviour is ignorance; visitors
may simply not be aware of Dene presence in and ownership of the territory, or of Dene expectations for behaviour from visitors to their home. As a result, it is important to educate and inform.

The reason a focus on disrespectful behaviour and informing expectations for visitors is so important is because of the ongoing struggle for land governance and management. This vast territory belongs to the Dene, and ensuring that they can explicitly manage their territory and communicate expectations for its protection and respectful use is one way to address this issue. In the meantime, there remains an ongoing struggle for land ownership and governance that necessitates the negotiation of the Thaidene Nene National Park Reserve as a protected space in Dene territory:

I mean, it’s not a- it’s not a thing you take too slightly, I guess. It’s sad that you have to negotiate to try to protect your home. For me, it’s sad because it’s my home. I know it’s my peoples’ peoples’ home. But how things work nowadays is- there’s a system that’s created and apparently that we have to follow. And that- part of that system has put us where we are today, I guess. So when you’re negotiating a park here, Canada’s got- got history in that area. And the history’s not very good, you know. Even to this day the history’s not good, even in 2014. Some of its agreements with the- you know it’s- it makes you really- it makes you worry about your future. And when I say your future, the future of all- all Lutsel K’e Dene and its generations to come. Its future. The well-being of the land, the well-being of the water and the air, the well-being of animals. Lutsel K’e’s future. I worry about all those kinds of things. I worry about Lutsel K’e’s income and how it’s going to support its families. I worry about at the end of the day who has say, who has the power. I worry about those kinds of things. I worry about the future, I guess, what it holds. How people will think in the future. Will they still have the spirituality, the way our ancestors used to think, will still hold that kind of knowledge? Not so much of- not so much for my people I guess, but the people that sit on the other side of the table. Will they respect it, and learn to understand? (Gloria Enzoe, May 8, 2014)

Historically, Dene ancestors inhabited and travelled this land, and passed those traditions onto the generations that followed who still live in and use this space; yet, despite this historical ownership, the Dene need to constantly fight to protect their land, their culture and livelihoods, and their ownership rights. It is an unstable situation, one that generates concerns over the future of the Lutsel K’e community and territory. And although it is an effort to protect Dene territory and land rights, some community members believe that the establishment of a national park reserve may introduce even more challenges for Dene livelihoods:
It will be a big change around here, yeah. Rules would be changing for ours. I don’t want the rules to change out here. I don’t want the government to come having a fish fine for us, and we have to have papers for it. So I really like it out here without that. I really enjoy my land and I like to camp every time I want, I like to go hunting anytime I want. And I have no tags for it, I have no fish fine for it, so, you know, we’re very lucky people out here just to live- live life like. (Brandon Michel, May 13, 2014)

Given the very real challenges that other communities near protected areas have faced (Fortin & Gagnon, 1999; Bennett et al., 2012), especially pertaining to livelihood restrictions, these concerns are not unfounded. Protected areas can often represent another mechanism by which Indigenous rights and land ownership are negated. In order for Lutsel K’ee to truly benefit from the national park reserve, they would want “the community to control it” (Joseph Catholique, May 20, 2014) and “want to live the way we live. As of today” (Terri Enzoe, May 20, 2014). As Ron Fatt explained:

Well, park’s right now, it’s in the negotiation phase, right? There’s three phase to it, I believe we’re on the third phase now, you know. And there’s lot- still lot of uncertainty from the people, local people. People are right now fifty/fifty right now. Fifty don’t want the park, the other fifty want the park, you know. It’s mostly, I will say half the elders, half the generation, half the young people too, like they don’t want the park here at all. They don’t agree with it. A lot of these people are educated today, you know, have a knowledge of what the park is, what they look like, what they seen in the past, like in the south, you know, how hard it is to enter some of these parks. You have to buy like some kind of license, registrations, there’s all these fees that are tied to it, you know…. This is a reserve park, you know, it’s not- it doesn’t look like a national park, but a reserve park. What kind of laws there are there, what kind of policies, regulations that they need to follow, you know. It’s gonna- it sounds like- for some people it sounds like really restrictive, you know. But if we gear it towards ecotourism, towards culture, you know, respecting all these stuff, you know all the land aspects of it. (Ron Fatt, May 20, 2014)

Again, there is a level of distrust around the process and implementation of a national park reserve on Denesoline territory that exists alongside the recognition that there is the potential to benefit in some capacity if it is locally managed. That distrust extends to government involvement in the park negotiation process – involvement that may be necessary in order to protect Denesoline traditional lands, but is still met with caution:
Yeah. Because we gotta start somewhere, we gotta start right in our-our papers for the government because we don’t have nothing written. Now the government’s gonna say, they gonna- we’re gonna set a net, it’s gonna tell us, you know, how long you’re gonna set a net in the water before you pull it out, that’s what they’re going to do to us, you know. That’s what my grandfather told me, even they’re going to go hunting, you gotta go- you got a time limit. Everything. We don’t want the government to put that on us, you know, tell us. (Pete Enzoe, April 29, 2014)

Government interference in Denesoline traditional livelihoods and their right to hunt, fish, and practice other traditional activities in their own territory, is of major concern. Unfortunately, these concerns around land governance and management are well substantiated given the past experiences in Lutsel K’e and other Indigenous communities around that world. Distrust for government stems from the fact that, “it’s been happening all over the world. Governments are taking all reserves, all their lands, the same thing. They’re trying to do that to us. So we’re trying to do as one, as one family all for all native people” (Jerry Lockhart, April 29, 2014). A poignant example of government intervention is how government bureaucrats are infringing on Denesoline land management and tourism marketing responsibilities:

I have to travel to Yellowknife for meetings from time to time, and when you stay in a hotel room there, there’s a magazine in every hotel room and it’s like tourism magazine, ‘Spectacular NWT’, and it tells you all about the NWT and its communities and places you can go. And when it comes to Lutsel K’e and the East Arm, it says for more information, contact Judy Cozzetto at Parks Canada, which is a bureaucrat, a financial bureaucrat, within the Parks Canada organization. So even little things like that need to be fixed in order for us to- like there’s no way that people want[ing] to visit Lutsel K’e and the East Arm should be phoning an accountant in Parks Canada, you know, so you have to identify who’s the contact person for visiting, you know, Thaidene Nene. Usually it would be Gloria, but it seems like the dynamics of that department are changing. (Anonymous Lutsel K’e Resident, May 14, 2014)

The fact that a non-Denesoline, non-Lutsel K’e resident is put forth as the representative and spokesperson for the community and its territory, without consulting the community, is representative of outsider interference and an overall disrespect for Denesoline authority to govern their own territory. Rather than an outside bureaucrat, the tourism magazine should be working with the community, allowing its members to speak for the tourism potential in their territory and to communicate expectations for respectful behaviour while travelling on that land.
Although the government is largely responsible for past and present land management conflicts with Lutsel K’ee Denesoline, mining companies are also problematic. Mining activities can threaten the Denesoline landscape, and companies often use Denesoline territory for profit without providing adequate benefit to the peoples who own that territory:

Mining- I think mining people are probably the biggest polluters, you know, the biggest damage that they do, especially to the caribou… today. For me, those… don’t have any idea about who or how we depend on this caribou. For them, at the end of the day, oh did we make a lot of money, you know, industry. That’s all they worry about, is money. And us people like that, we’re impacted big time, especially the cost of living is real high… cost of gas is really high, cost of shells is really high, you know. It’s not like the southern markets where you can just go to the store and that’s it. Up here, it’s not like that where you have to go out on the land in order to provide. (Ron Fatt, May 20, 2014)

Yeah, because they- now, people every time we go to meetings, we’re asking for lot of stuff, and like you know, they’re not giving out jobs and they’re, you know they’re- it’s kind of like a racism. It’s kind of hard for people, you know, to get jobs in the mines ‘cause we’re native people and they said we have our first choice after we sign our paper, we say ‘X’ okay, I’ll write my name down and I say okay. Next meeting came after- after this mine opened, I never seen these community people never got a job in there, in the mines. And nobody got a job fishing, or guiding. Nothing. (Jerry Lockhart, April 29, 2014)

Jerry continued by explaining “’til today we’re fighting for our rights, for our land. We’re trying to settle this land for so many years. And it never ever settled ‘til today”. A lack of formal land claim agreements maintains this sense of insecurity over land management and governance, so outward demonstrations of land ownership, like explicit expectations for visitor behaviour, continue to be important.

4.1.3 The resolution – Communicating expectations for respectful visitor behaviour

Developing ways to engage with the visitor, to ensure that they have the information necessary to make informed decisions about travelling respectfully on Denesoline territory, is an important step towards self-determination, asserting control over visitation, and encouraging respectful visitor behaviour. Again, it is important to note that the primary driver behind disrespectful visitor behaviour may not be malicious intent, but simply a lack of knowledge or understanding of local expectations:
I would say that most people…who came to town were respectful or trying to be respectful and just didn’t know where to start. So people who didn’t come through town was the main issue, right, ‘cause they don’t care to come here and don’t give a shit, and then they go off and there’s concerns in the community about, you know, garbage being left around and sort of big party sites and people not in the right understanding that this is someone’s home, and that when you go into someone’s house you ask permission and you respect that place, and you’re welcome, but there’s some rules involved, right? (Stephen Ellis, May 1, 2014)

Although being informed is certainly a responsibility of the visitors, Stephen suggested that part of the onus lies with the community:

I mean, it’s one thing for the community to say that we want people to treat us with respect, but there’s no pathway to do that, so a lot of that is promotion, marketing, communications, so the community has to take a much more proactive role and putting itself out there and saying, you know, we want you to come here and this is what we have to offer, and this is the services and we can help you. And that’s- that’s part of the growth that’s happened, certainly. I mean, certainly, even when I’ve been here, it’s been, you know, there’s lots more trepidation about visitors, and the park was really about wailing off a piece of land for- to keep everybody out, but now it’s much more about let’s share this with people, we have something to offer, and this is for us primarily, but for everybody to share in, right? So I think that’s- First Nation has to put itself out there and offer, yeah, pathways for people to engage, right? It’s one thing to say we demand you engage with us but people need to know how to do that, so you know, websites and communication protocols and, you know, a visitor centre. All that sort of stuff is stuff that will hopefully come with the park and will help that out. (May 1, 2014)

To reassert Denesoline governance of their territory and communicate expectations of respect for visitors, several members of the community have informed a story of respect, in terms of the Denesoline and their place in the territory, as well as the land, water, and animals. This story encourages visitor safety, facilitates economic development through tourism opportunities and community development through the celebration of local knowledge, and in turn, reaffirms community autonomy and control over visitation and territory. The whole of this resolution seeks to inform a community-developed, tangible code of conduct that can effectively communicate this narrative of respect, to influence respectful visitor behaviour.
4.1.3.1 Respect us, our home, our land

There are several interrelated dimensions within the Denesoline concept of respect. Although discussed separately, they intricately overlap. First, we explore being respectful towards the Denesoline peoples, whether travelling within the community of Lutsel K’ee or in the broader territory. This transitions into showing respect for all land, water, and animals associated with that territory. Essentially, a respect for the Denesoline peoples is tied to a respect for their place within and ownership of that vast land. As Gloria Enzoe explained, this land is her home, and although visitors are welcome, she expects that they act accordingly:

The one thing that I hope the people that come to the area and experience our beautiful home, is that - to take in the scenery, I guess, in the definition of English terms (laughs) and because for me it’s my home, right? It’s not only beautiful, it’s like a home that you love that you grew up in that has four walls, I guess, down south or anywhere else. But for us here it’s it’s a home like that. It’s where you feel safe, where you feel happy, where families of families of generations have grown and lived. It’s got stories and of course it’s got hardship too. But combined in all it’s all- it’s home and memories, and how life has lived on and on and on, and how, when you grow up here as a person. [...] when visitors come, it would be good for them to know that they’re coming to somebody else’s home and that regardless of where you go within our traditional territory, it’s our home. It’s a place where you’re gonna walk in, there might not necessarily be a door there, but you’re anticipating you’re walking to somebody’s door where you’d knock on somebody’s door, telling you come in. You know, you show, how would you say it, respect for somebody else’s house and to be a good guest, I guess, and when people come, I hope they acknowledge that and- because when you come here, it’s people, when people come to visit our area, they come to relax and enjoy our land. Whatever it may be, the way of, you know, camping, kayaking, hunting, fishing, you know, all I ask is- all I ask for I guess from those guests is that they come with respect, because we always, you know, our territory’s huge. And we want the land respected and we want the animals respected and the water respected. Don’t over consume. Enjoy. Relax. (May 8, 2014)

For us as researchers, adhering to Gloria’s advice for demonstrating respect meant speaking with the community in advance of our arrival, planning the research collaboratively with community members, then organizing a time for us to return and engage in the data collection and analysis process with the community. We were transparent and upfront about our presence in the community and our intentions as researchers, essentially ‘knocking’ on the community’s metaphorical door.
Communicating your plan to visit and informing of your arrival is an important first step. As Ron Fatt explained, “well, if you’re just a tourism, like you’re here for just fishing on their own time, it’s good to tell the people. Or if you’re industry, just give us a heads up so we can prepare” (May 20, 2014). For all visitors, whether to the community itself or to the broader ancestral territory, the process of ‘knocking’ is simple; yet, it is still an important, overt gesture of respect:

You can go through the department, the wildlife, Band Office. People have asked to come through here. What I’ve told them was just write a letter to the Wildlife Department or to Lutsel K’e Dene First Nation, to the Chief, and those would be passed on to the Wildlife Department anyway. So just an acknowledge letter I guess… You’re going to be in the area from this time to this time, and just so, you know, out of respect we’re letting you know, right? (Gloria Enzoe, May 8, 2014)

Being a visitor in someone else’s home also means making the effort to be informed, to learn about the culture and the history of the Dene Soline. As Pete Enzoe suggested, visitors should “read about the people up here, you know what people used to know, you know, talk to some elders so they can tell them- they can tell stories, where people used to live before” (April 29, 2014). There is an expectation that visitors come with some advanced knowledge about the Dene Soline, but also that they try to visit the community and take the opportunity to learn more from the people who live there:

I mean learn from people here, understand that you’re in someone’s home, you know, that’s how I always describe it, is that come knock on the door, and people are going to welcome you in, but when you walk in someone’s house you don’t chuck trash around or something like that, so just treat it like you’re walking in- you’re a guest in someone’s home, and that’s really about how you should treat the area. And that means that, you know, you respect people’s place, you understand- learn a little bit about their history and understand that-what they’re about, that part of the story of the landscape and treat it like it’s someone else’s home, right? It’s not just a place to chuck shit around. (Stephen Ellis, May 1, 2014)

Denesoline territory may not have four physical walls, and it encompasses thousands of square kilometers that may seem untouched and uninhabited; yet, it is still home, the ancestral territory of a traditionally nomadic peoples who have depended on this landscape for their livelihoods for generations. Behave as you would a guest in anyone’s home – politely, with respect, and without ignorance. Keep in mind, too, that the people that reside in this home, who welcome you in as a respectful visitor, care about your well-being and safe return:
if you’re a hunter, coming through here, if you get lost on the other hand or run out of gas, you break down, you have no communication so we know where you are. In case of emergencies, you know. So notification is good. (Ron Fatt, May 20, 2014)

Keeping the Chief, council, and wildlife department informed of your presence and itinerary is not only them showing us respect but us acknowledging that there’s two people within our traditional territory that, you know, make sure that they’re, you know… we’d like them to let somebody know in town that they’ve made it home safe, like after their trip or whatever…Yeah we don’t [want] nothing bad to happen here. Make it home…Cause we tend to be worrisome people here (laughs). (Gloria Enzoe, May 8, 2014)

Like a visitor to anyone’s home, write or call ahead informing of your plan to visit, say hello when you arrive, and say goodbye when you leave. It is a polite gesture that respects Denesoline ownership of their vast ancestral territory; ownership of their home.

Any home has rules and regulations for behaviour and practices. In Lutsel K’e, alcohol and drug use are prohibited activities but persist nonetheless. This is somewhat perpetuated by visitors, who need to be cognizant of the fact that they may be contributing to larger environmental and social problems within the community:

We’re at a point where the, you know, since the caribou- the no hunting zone across the lake, where other hunters or other first nations have access to. And today we’re seeing more hunters coming to our community. We see a rise of a lot of problems, like social problems, start bringing in like alcohol, drugs, and stuff like that. You know, the wrong things. Hunting - it’s not about that, you know. We need to send a clear message to the government and other communities too, as well. Respect- respect is about respecting the land, the wildlife, you know, if you come here for hunting, you should just come here for hunting, you know. Respect the community here. We’re beginning to see a lot of waste meat and stuff like that, I don’t think that’s respect. It’s creating a lot of problems for- especially on a local level here, you know. If I go hunting in your traditional territory, I’m going to make sure…I take everything out of there, I don’t leave anything behind (Ron Fatt, May 20, 2014).

Terri remembered how “all my life I’ve found visitors are visitors that are from out of town that bring alcohol into our community…when we’re supposed to have a dry town” (May 20, 2014). This is not acceptable because, years ago, “my elders…wrote [a] sobriety clause… I have grandchildren that I
have to protect…[it’s] not good for you” (Terri Enzoe, May 20, 2014). Although consuming alcohol is legally allowed fifteen miles outside of the community, alcohol should not be brought in; a rule that is often broken because “some people sneak it in, they just go right through” (Terri Enzoe, May 20, 2014). The sobriety clause was created long ago in response to the social problems associated with alcohol use, but also in an effort to prevent any further alcohol-related incidents from happening in the community: “like, we lost a few young people from our community here ‘cause of [alcohol], by water and skidoo” (Joseph Catholique, May 20, 2014). Unfortunately, “it’s not just liquor. There’s lots of drugs, lots of dope that’s coming into town. I even heard from some of the younger people… there’s even crack that’s making it’s way through” (Ron Fatt, May 20, 2014). Although there are laws in place about alcohol and drug use, and legal restrictions on bringing it into the community, it is difficult to enforce. Therefore, visitors need to be aware of these regulations and act morally and respectfully to avoid contributing to further social problems within the community. Be conscious of the fact that “if you abuse [alcohol], it abuses you” (Ron Fatt, May 20, 2014).

With respecting the territory as a ‘home’, and the rules that come along with that, visitors need to respect the land, water, and animals that make up that territory, and show respect in a way that is appropriate and relevant to Denesoline practices:

People need to know that- that we respect the land as the stewards of the land and they are expected to do so also. So how they do that, I don’t know. But I think there should be some kind of instruction on how we pay the land. Give thanks, and make an offering when you harvest or when you’re taking anything from the land, when you’re travelling on the land. These are things that we do to show respect. So I would want that to continue with visitors. I would never want to disrespect the land. (Anonymous Lutsel K’e resident, May 14, 2014)

The land, water, and animals in Denesoline territory sustain human life, and visitors need to be mindful and appreciative of its sacred and spiritual nature. In fact, the land itself is known to hold great potential for healing, health, and well-being:

We have a medicine hill right around us, across the lake. Me and my wife were not feeling good so we went over there. The doctor told us we had TB, so when we went to the hill and came back, we went to see the doctor again and they said we didn’t have anything, there was nothing wrong with us. Do you believe in stuff like that, whatever the creator left on this land for us? Also on our land when we have a healing person come to our community, they always tell us to go to the medicine hill or the Lady of the Falls. When we go out on our land in the springtime, everything thaws out. It’s so beautiful in the
Yet it is not only the land that is spiritual and holds great power and potential, but the animals that live there as well. Caribou, wolves, muskrat, fish, and muskox are only a few of the animals that live in the territory and play an essential role in Dene Seline livelihoods, whether that be as a source of food or materials (Ellis & LKDFN, 2013). These animals should be respected, not only for their value as sustenance, but also for their knowledge as conscious, sentient beings. As Herman Catholique’s grandfather used to tell him:

[The animals] know things already, they know things. He said something is going to happen in the future, maybe be- maybe I will see it, maybe I won’t see it. But something is going to happen, that’s why the muskox have started moving. It’s telling you something, these muskox… Muskox and buffalo, they meet together, it’s gonna be something wrong, something’s going to happen to this world.

(May 1, 2014)

These animals are beings that are intrinsically connected to the land, and they are capable of communicating information about the changing landscape and climate – a warning to be heeded. The Lutsel K’e Dene Seline have lived on this territory for generations, relying on this type of traditional knowledge to survive in the past, present, and future. Respectful behaviour that shows mindfulness and appreciation for the value of the land, its sacred and spiritual nature, and all life and matter on that land, is key to protecting that space for future generations:

And that’s one reason why I want to protect our- our water, especially the water and the land and the animals we eat. And in any meetings I go to because I sit on Wildlife [Committee], I tell them that in our- in our meetings I go to, or in the conference or just any meetings, even here in the community, so I can protect it not only for me, it’s for my- it’s for the young generation that are growing up today, you know, everything you see here, climate is- is changing with us. There’s lots of pollution in the air and everything else that we should be taking care of. And I still want to see it like that later on in the future, not only for the young- young kids, but their- their kids, that’s what I want to see. (Terri Enzoe, April 29, 2014)

Beyond protecting the land for future generations and recognizing its potential for healing, survival, and sustenance, showing respect to the land, water, and animals plays a practical purpose. There exists an important dynamic between the showing of respect and one’s safety and success while travelling the land and trying to provide for one’s self and family:
I just seen it too when I was- when I was a guide in Fort Resolution. And I see about at least 200 caribou right there, and when [the visitors] take all [their] gun[s] out, an old fancy gun and everything, they took it out. ‘Oh yeah, you know, I’m good for about at least ten. I’ll shoot about at least ten, that’s good enough’, you know? You’re not familiar with the land, you’re not from around here, you know. Don’t talk like that, you know. Don’t speak like that, you know, ‘cause you’re talking about somebody that’s alive… Me, I was just guiding them, I don’t want to shoot no caribou. They went over there and then they start shooting caribou. Oh man, there were lots and lots of shots right behind the hill. I just stood there because I just wanted to get out- stay out of the way ‘cause there’s too many shells shooting in all different directions. So I just stood there… Those three boys on the other side of the hill, they start shooting, shooting, shooting, oh I thought to myself I hope they don’t shoot too much caribou. And they came back- they came back to me, they said they had four caribou they brought it back. And I told them, you guys go get those other caribou before it gets dark, I want to fix it all up right away. He said all they shot is four. Five box of shells, they shot four caribou (laughs). Like I said, don’t wish like you know, if something alive, oh I can shoot ten no problem, you know? Don’t say things like that. You never got there yet, you know? You don’t speak like that, you know. Even your own words will backfire on you. You’re not from around here, you’re not, you know, you’re a stranger, you’re on a stranger land. If I go out there in your country, go hunting, I won’t say things like that, I will respect it. You know, you gotta respect these kinds of things… You gotta respect it. (Herman Catholique, May 1, 2014)

These hunters experienced bad luck because “they’re not respecting the land. We do not need to talk about things that you didn’t kill yet. You’re not supposed to say stuff like that” (Terri Enzoe, May 20, 2014). Just as Herman’s grandfather had taught him, these animals are conscious, aware beings that hold important knowledge about the land and environment. So although they do provide sustenance for Denesoline livelihoods, this awareness and intimate connection with the environment needs to be respected throughout the hunting process, for Denesoline and non-Denesoline hunters:

So food is really important, you know. And whatever you kill out there, you gotta treat it good too, you know. Treat it with respect, you know? And like if I go hunting I enjoy what I’m doing myself. I enjoy cutting it up, I enjoy hunting it, I enjoy when I’m doing it. I’m not- I’m not angered towards it or mad at [what] I’m doing, lazy when I’m doing, anything like that, you know? I’m really up to what I’m doing, I like what I’m doing, you know. That kind of thing’s really important too. (Herman Catholique, May 1, 2014)
For me, it’s like- it’s not like before where you can just go out your front door and you see lots of caribou, but this is a long ways we have to go hunting. You should harvest everything good, so when people go out they- they do harvest all their meat and not leave anything. And the- the other thing I like to see is when our visitors come in to our area in the wintertime and when they harvest our- our- when they harvest caribou, that they should pile up all the bones that they don’t need to take or whatever. And not just let them lay all over the place and scattered you know what I mean? And that’s what I want to see… we gotta remind your- your visitors when they come into our area. Even when you go on the spring hunt and when you’re out there you’re coordinating that thing and if you have a visitor, especially the monitors should be telling people how to behave and- and take your belongings with you when you leave, you know and not leave anything behind. You know if you don’t- if you disrespect the Barren lands, you can hit the storm and be stuck for like one week and you’ll never get out. And you wouldn’t have nothing.

(Terri Enzoe, April 29, 2014)

Behaving with respect is not only practical while hunting, but also while travelling the land in general, since respect and safety are so intricately intertwined. From her experiences on the land, Terri Enzoe has learned that “you really have to respect the land. If you don’t respect the land, that land will not respect you”(April 29, 2014). Respect means being conscious of your behaviour, your attitude, and what you say while on the land:

I remember one- one year, this was my Auntie Madeleine, and she wanted to go to her daughter’s graveyard right in- in Artillery Lake… It’s a long ways from here, so when we went for…our spring hunt, she said let’s go over there. I never been there for five years, so I said okay. We took them- we took her out there and I was hoping she’d let the youth came with us, you know, on the skidoos we brought, and then this one girl just went- ’cause it was nice and sunny, warm when- and she went and took out her shirt, she only had a tank top shirt on and then I told my Auntie, “look at that girl’s just wearing a tank top shirt’ and she said ‘it’s really nice out, it’s beautiful’, she kept saying that. So my auntie came back right away and picked her up on the skidoo and then dropped her off and she told her ‘put your clothes back on, put your sweater back on, bad weather’s gonna come’. And- then she told me in Chip, ‘let’s get ready’, so I tied back the sleigh up and got her the sleigh ready for her and all sunny, we looked back the storm was coming. You know, we made it back in- in camp maybe five minutes before the storm hit us and it was like right behind. You couldn’t see nothing for three days. Nobody even couldn’t go hunting or go anywhere except to get wood, that’s it, and water. You- you can’t say stuff like that, especially when you’re- you’re out on the Barren lands. You can’t
just go out and say ‘Ahhh it’s so beautiful!’ you know? You never know, you might get wind bound or weathered in, you can’t- you can’t say stuff like that. (Terri Enzoe, April 29, 2014)

It is important to appreciate the beauty of the environment and times of nice weather; however it is also important to be humble about it, to keep any comments to yourself. During my time in Lutsel K’ee, I experienced something similar to Terri’s story first-hand. At the end of April, after a span of relatively mild weather, Lauren and I saw the most beautiful sunset, reflecting off of the ice of Great Slave Lake like a watercolour painting. That evening, we took pictures and commented on the absolute beauty of the sunset and the nice weather we had been having. Starting the next day, we were faced with a long span of snow and cold temperatures, and although we did continue to see beautiful sunsets throughout the rest of our stay, it was never quite the same. Perhaps the drastic change in weather was a result of our conversation and our not-so-humble attitude, or perhaps the beautiful sunset was a harbinger of the bad weather to come. Either way, I quickly learned that it is important to remember that a traveller’s safety and well-being is at the mercy of the land and weather, which is capable of changing at any moment. Being cautious of this great and dangerous potential, choosing one’s words and attitudes carefully, is necessary for safe travel in Denesoline territory:

When I say respect the land, I guess there’s more to it I guess. I grew up with legends, you know. My dad was telling me about fish and the spirit of the Kingfish, I guess. Used to be like a story that he’d tell me at nighttime. Overall, it’s the respect of the water. Even the water itself is a spirit. Fish is a spirit. Any element of the earth, I guess. They all have life behind it in one way or another and you respect it all. You want to have good travels, you respect those things. You want to go out on the land and enjoy the land. In order to enjoy the land, you need to respect the land. And you have, you know, a good time on the land. A lot of people don’t understand that I think. A lot of people don’t have understanding of those kind of things. (Gloria Enzoe, May 8, 2014)

For the Denesoline, respect is more than just being cautious of how you speak or feel when travelling on the land. It is also an action – mainly, through symbolic payment, which is often done while asking for safe travel:

If you go out and you pay the land, you ask for nice what, like ask for a good safe trip, nice weather and you know, even just asking not to be bothered by certain animals while you’re camping and stuff like that, you know, that helps. (Damien Kailek, May 6, 2014)
Damien often tells visitors about the importance of safety and preparedness while travelling on the land, and the potential for being stranded in the event of a rapid change in weather. While informing guests about how and why to pay the land, providing instructions that included asking for good weather and a safe trip, “some of the guests would ask, you know, is that just superstition… [but] it’s been a way of life. It’s the way we… were raised and growing up and, you know, told to do so” (Damien Kailek, May 6, 2014). The action of symbolic payment to show respect is a traditional and culturally important practice that plays a very real and practical role for Dene soline travellers, something that visitors should demonstrate as well. For Damien, it is especially important to pay the land before embarking on a journey to the Barren lands, where the weather can be particularly unpredictable, as “you could have a beautiful day for weeks on end or whatever, and then all of a sudden just turns to crap and it could be just like that for a month” (May 6, 2014).

When paying the land or water, one can use various tangible items, whether that is willows, spruce boughs, sugar, tea, or more commonly, tobacco. As Terri explained, this can be done “anywhere. Anywhere you go you can pay tobacco” (May 20, 2014):

Pay the land, you know, don’t pay the land with money, pay the land with tobacco. We usually pay the land with tobacco, chewing tobacco, you know, to have safe passage. That’s- that’s how our ancestors used to do stuff, so you know, people still do that. If we get on big lake we- we offer tobacco. (Pete Enzoe, April 29, 2014)

[Tobacco is] from the Creator that’s built from this earth, and you pay it back to them, to the people before us who were here. I do it all the time because it makes me feel good, I’ve been taught that way. I don’t know why, but I’ll keep that way. It’s better than paying tobacco to anything else. I sometimes throw just like coins and that for bushes… If I have no tobacco and that, I just threw shells in the water. Yeah. It’s for same thing as paying the land. You do- you do need shells for hunting, but you give it to the Creator and the water. Sometimes the water it can take you anytime it wants to, so that’s why I do pay the water with tobacco and that. Ask for nice calm weather, nice calm wherever I go. (Brandon Michel, May 13, 2014)

Terri and Joseph also recommended using matches, because “it’s matches that survive you, you can heat them, you can make fire and cook for you and heats you up in wherever you are. So that’s valuable too” (May 20, 2014). Brandon and Joseph identified rifle shells as valuable payment as well, since they are used for hunting and survival; “you shoot it carefully, you get the meat” (May 20, 2014). These items can also be used to pay the water. Paying the water you are travelling on is important to show respect and engage in safe travel. Joseph warned of the inherent dangers of
travelling on the Thelon River, given that it has “its own mind, its own water, and so it can take a life” (April 28, 2014):

This water that you travel on, that it’s got its own mind, its own- it’s own territory… ‘koo ani’ we call it in Chipewyan, it’s, ah, live water. The water could- could recognize you, you know, can make it’s kinda funny movements, you know when it’s dead calm, koo ani so, right away, we just usually pay- pay a bit- pay a little bit of something valuable, like maybe tobacco or shells or matches and all that. And there’s certain place are out there today that you go by and- that area and… you pay all the time. You pay your respect, you know, give us a good day when I go by here, need a calm day, you know. So- so that’s- when you see that happens, like I say, do a little prayer and respect… giving tobacco and all that or kneel or something, or a bit of food, you give it to them… it’s usually a good day… Koo ani- for all time, all times when you do get on the water you always pay the land, the water and the land at the same time. (Joseph Catholique, April 28, 2014)

This same practice of respect for safe passage described by Joseph also applies when passing big lakes or water in general. Gloria learned from a young age that to encourage safe passage and calm waters while boating, “you had to be quiet growing up. Pay the water before you cross and after you cross and you’d say thank you to the creator” (May 8, 2014). During the workshop, Terri elaborated: “when you cross a big lake [like Christie Bay], you have to be quiet, ‘cause you never know what’s under the lake. ’Cause there used to be a big muskrat and beaver” (May 20, 2014). While guiding, Sam Boucher experienced the mysteries of the water firsthand, when he “wanted to go to the end of Redcliff Island. [It was] calm, and then about halfway, I see this big sea monster… It was a beaver, the beaver was swimming away to the middle of the lake” (May 20, 2014). Ultimately, Lutsel K’e is situated “on the big lake, so we have a lot of travel….we do travel on the lake. But there’s no roads here. So we respect – we have a lot of respect for the water” (Joseph Catholique, May 20, 2014).

The complex dynamic between respect and safety is a consistent theme in Denesoline stories. Essentially, respectful behaviour results in safe travel, while disrespectful behaviour can put you at risk; whether that be because disrespectful behaviour tends to be more careless and unsafe, or because you are tempting the spirits that inhabit the land, water, and animals:

Not giving thanks, not making offerings, not paying the land when you’re travelling. I believe not following those traditions can lead to bad things happening… Anything is possible in my mind… Changes in weather, bad luck. All kinds of things. (Anonymous Lutsel K’e Resident, May 14, 2014)
In fact, Terri Enzoe’s life was put at risk because of the careless and disrespectful behaviour of visitors, who left behind their litter and supplies at their campsite:

One year when we went back to work in the summertime, first week of June- or July I mean, when we went back to camp, to our cabin, with the- with the young people, it seems like there’s garbage everywhere, and the cabin didn’t- didn’t smell good, I don’t know somebody left rotten stuff in there, you know that’s like not having respect for us and for the- for the youth that are working with me. You know, and people in town know that we go there in the summer and we stay there all summer. I was going to burn garbage and my son said ‘Mom, just wait. We’ll check. You never know people hide things, you know’ he said. You know, if I would have lit the garbage, I wouldn’t be here today. There was- there was ten gallons of gas in there on the bottom of that garbage can and they put garbage all on top of it. (April 29, 2014)

Ultimately, respect for the Dene’soline, land, water, and animals are a critical part of being a good and safe visitor, as respect and safety are so intricately connected.

4.1.3.2 Respectful visitors are welcome: Tourism potential for community development

I mean I think the main thing is that my experience here is that people are heavily interested in visitors and the visitation of tourists. They really want two things from them: one is that respect the community’s and this First Nations place in history in this area, and secondly the ability to build a bit of an economy around that interest, right? I mean both those pieces are missing. (Stephen Ellis, May 1, 2014)

Although respect and safety are two dominant and interconnected concepts, with a clear cause and effect relationship shared through the stories of community members, a third concept factors in as well. This is development, whether that is economic development through the tourism industry, or community development through the celebration and honouring of local knowledges and stories.

While being upfront about a visitor’s presence in Dene’soline territory is important, contributing to the local economy of Lutsel K’e, either by spending money when visiting the community or hiring local guides for travel in the broader territory, is also critical. By engaging directly with community members in some capacity, visitors are showing respect for the Dene’soline place in their territory, gaining knowledge about safe travel and Dene’soline culture, and enabling community benefit from tourism development.
The tourism industry can offer important, sustainable, and culturally relevant opportunities for development for Indigenous communities, especially compared to more extractive industries like mining, which currently dominate the regional economy. While taking advantage of Denesoline territory, mining companies do make some financial contribution to the community, though most often through impact benefit agreements and rarely through employment opportunities for community members. Jerry Lockhart’s previous statement about the mines resonates here as well:

they’re not giving out jobs and they’re, you know they’re- it’s kind of like a racism. It’s kind of hard for people, you know, to get jobs in the mines ‘cause we’re native people and they said we have our first choice after we sign our paper, we say ‘X’ okay, I’ll write my name down and I say okay. Next meeting came after- after this mine opened, I never seen these community people never got a job in there, in the mines. And nobody got a job fishing, or guiding. Nothing. (April 29, 2014)

Colonial power relations remain prevalent between mining companies, who are predominantly owned and managed by non-Indigenous people, and the Indigenous communities who take ownership of the land where the mines are located. There often exists an ‘othering’ and patronizing mentality within mining companies that limits opportunity for Denesoline peoples. Also, the overall lack of economic benefit and employment for local community members is especially distressing since mining, an extractive and unsustainable practice, contradicts the Denesoline’s role as stewards of the land who practice sustainable harvesting and advocate protection of their territory. Instead, engaging more in the tourism industry offers a practical and potentially sustainable economic alternative to mining, especially if it is centred on sharing traditional Denesoline culture and activities with visitors. For Stephen Ellis:

[ Poe Enzoe is] one of my go-to guys when somebody comes down, he’ll take you around and do fun stuff, right? But Pete told me, he said Steve I never knew my life was so interesting, you know, all I do is go check my nets, I go feed my dogs and just went about my daily business, and people were just ‘Wow, this is so amazing!’ (May 1, 2014)

Pete recognizes the potential to turn traditional activities that are simply apart of his everyday routine, into a successful and engaging tourist experience for visitors – an opportunity that shares Denesoline knowledge and facilitates economic independence in the community:

You know, people can tell them stories. Lot of people would like to know what people do here and then they want- some people want to
know how we tan hides, you know, how we- how we do we dry fish and, you know, how we tan hides, you know, we do all these little things, put it together and then, you know, get people together so they get income, you know, they don’t have to go live- depend on social service, you know, when you get tourists just to see that they get paid for it. (Pete Enzoe, April 29, 2014)

By creating an industry based on sharing traditional Dene soline livelihoods with visitors, the community would be able to establish an economic foundation that is not only culturally appropriate and more sustainable than mining, but offers an economic incentive for present and future generations to maintain traditional culture. Ron Fatt truly believed that “we have a lot to offer up here in the north” (May 20, 2014), which can help to draw tourists and build an economy. But that is not to say that there are no potential drawbacks:

It’s a double-edged sword, so there’s lots of research saying that sort of this cultural, Indigenous tourism is a great way to preserve [culture and traditional livelihoods], right, because it’s- it’s a reason in and of itself to preserve it because there’s an economy built around it, right? The reason people know lots about the land is ‘cause they use the land all the time, they went after caribou, then trapping and so on, so what’s the economic incentive now to use the land, well that cultural tourism can be part of it right? So why is it important to know the Thelon now, other than just for if you know the Thelon therefore you can sort of market that knowledge to visitors and there’s economic reason to do that right? ‘Cause now the only economic, you know, is either work in a mine or don’t work, right? So we have to provide an economic incentive for the culture, that’s always how it is, right? Trapping is a reason to get people on the land. Following caribou is a reason to get people- that subsistence reason. So that’s the real opportunity to preserve culture is through that tourism aspect and this has been done in, you know, many parts of the country and throughout the world. The challenge is- is not having it overwhelm you… It has to be the right balance because it can overwhelm you. So in bits and pieces, well-controlled, I think it could be very good, but it can be overwhelming. But the reality is, is that, you know, there’s- there’s- the town’s plugged in, there’s going to be 3G service in a few months… So it’s plugged in as the rest of the world, everybody has TVs, and that- that’s happening with or without tourism coming to this town, right? So I think that the cultural tourism is one- one of the only ways to really start giving an incentive to young people to- hey, maybe it is useful for me to really know the land because someone will pay me to really know the land, right? And I can build a job and a livelihood around that; I can stay in my community. Other than that, otherwise, I’ve choice between doing nothing or wandering- going working at a
mine site, or moving to Yellowknife, right? (Stephen Ellis, May 1, 2014)

There is vast potential for building a tourism industry around traditional Denesoline culture, which, in effect, could preserve the culture; however, the fact is that, as of right now, “[visitors] bring no money into the community” (Terri Enzoe, May 20, 2014). This issue needs to be remedied by encouraging more visitors to move through Lutsel K’e or to hire Denesoline as guides for their travels. With that being said, there must be a delicate balance between welcoming visitors into the community to earn income, and retaining a level of normalcy and privacy. This is especially important given one anonymous resident’s concern about feeling “observed in the wild” (May 14, 2014) while going about her daily life, and the fear of becoming a scheduled tourist attraction:

I want to share who we are with people, but I don’t want to- I don’t want it to turn into a scheduled event where we do it on a weekly basis. Where it’s on Monday at one o’clock, we’re gonna have a tour at this area. I don’t want it to be like Banff, you know? I don’t want it to be crazy like that. I don’t want to have too much people in the area. I don’t want our lakes to be filled with boats. I don’t want it to be overpopulated. That’s what I’m afraid of. (Gloria Enzoe, May 8, 2014)

However, despite concerns around overpopulation and privacy, an anonymous resident also believes that visitors travelling on Denesoline territory “should have to come here before they go to the Thelon so that they’re contributing some money to our economy. Like maybe there’s a hotel here, they stay the night, there’s an outfitter where they rent their gear before they go” (May 14, 2014). Sam Boucher agreed, arguing, “we need more people coming” (May 20, 2014). Perhaps this can be realized if and when Lutsel K’e becomes the gateway to the proposed national park reserve, requiring all visitors, whether tourist, business, or government, to physically visit the community and contribute to the economy:

I think it’s important that the money is spent here, you know, I don’t want Yellowknife to be the gateway to Thaidene Nene or the gateway to the Thelon. I don’t want the tourists stopping there and spending all of their money there, and then going to our territory, spending no money, having their wonderful experience and leaving. There has to be a way that the community can benefit. And the situation we find ourselves in right now is we have no economy. Like the economy is some government jobs and drugs and alcohol and gambling. So we need to develop an economy and this is one of the ways, by making sure that when people come to Lutsel K’e, they stay at least a night and spend some money here. Like what we just
This story about De Beers is only one example of a missed economic opportunity for the community. Part of the problem may be that visitors like these mining officials do not feel obligated to contribute to the local economy during their brief visits; however, a lack of available tourism resources to accommodate visitors and enable spending is also a causal factor. During my stay in Lutsel K’e, I was able to purchase several beautiful handcrafted goods; however, other than the Co-Op grocery store, there are few other formal venues through which to spend money and no marketing for these crafts or tourism activities. In order to encourage visitors to stay in Lutsel K’e and spend money, the community needs to be capable of meeting their needs with official accommodation and food services, while also making crafts or tourism activities more accessible:

This community is officially listed as no accommodation, right? Yeah, so the co-op house exists, but like the mining companies, for insurance purposes, won’t even stay here because it’s not- they won’t insure that place, right? So it needs formal commercial lodging that’s attract- I mean people stay, like, ‘cause they have to, but if you had attractive commercial lodging in the community, then people stay ‘cause they want to, right? … there’s an economic case for the in-town commercial lodging now, just with the traffic in town now, if no more tourists come… Right, just from the business traffic, you know, just think of all the services that the Government of the Northwest Territories has to do here, have to charter people in, charter people out, and all that kind of- and all the meetings with the band and all the, yeah, all the teachers that come in and all, you know, just crazy amounts. That, and the other consultant says it’s all unaccommodated demand. People would stay here if it was cheaper and if it was nice, they would love to stay here, but they just can’t or they won’t. So if you built a place, the money’s just there to take out of pockets. And it’s not even their money, most of it’s just government paying for it, right? So that’s, yeah, there’s- you don’t need anymore- anymore traffic in town to make that- that business thing feasible. (Stephen Ellis, May 1, 2014)

If the community truly wants to engage in tourism development, they need to invest in capital and capacity building to accommodate visitors comfortably; however, it is an undertaking that requires immediate investment without immediate gratification:
It’s not something instant. That’s the attraction of the mines, is it’s just instant money, right? This is a slow, sort of really sustainable local economic development. It can take decades to build. It needs training, capacity building, learning and that’s one step only pay off like a decade down the road, right? You know, you buy this lodge and you might not make money for many years, but eventually, the reality is that capacity is being built, people start taking pride in it, it’s a community building exercise, right? So I think, yeah, I think it’s a big opportunity, for sure. But it’s doing it right, that will take a generation probably, to explore. (Stephen Ellis, May 1, 2014)

Tourism has the potential to play an important role in economic growth for the current and future generations of Lutsel K’e, based on a culturally relevant industry that can be locally managed and sustainable. Moreover, tourism can be an important catalyst in the effort to protect Denesoline territory. Visitors participating in low-impact tourism activities can show that the land is being actively used alongside traditional Denesoline livelihood practices. Mining activities pose a serious threat to the traditional landscape, both aesthetically and environmentally, and it may be easier to discourage future mining activities if the land is being used for alternative economic purposes:

If [visitors] go out on the land and then we know people are on there, you know, doing things like…parks… it’s good for- to keep the companies out of there…. You know, we gotta leave something for the earth to breathe… Everything should be under the ground and make- and make sure if you take things out of the earth, the earth is going to do something back. (Pete Enzoe, April 29, 2014)

As Joseph Catholique explained, “it’s good to have visitors here… coming through our community and coming to visit us… go and use the land and keep the land safe and know it’s used in a respectful way instead of a mining company blowing it up” (May 20, 2014). Furthermore, the role that the visitor can play in protecting the land can extend beyond their visit to Lutsel K’e territory, as they are encouraged to share information about the land and their experiences with the rest of the world:

So- so that’s Thelon- Thelon, you know, like I said, they go down the river every year, get a charter from Yellowknife and go to a certain place and they- they just start paddling from there, and ah, some of them they go through here and they go through Yellowknife, and just on their own. And which we don’t mind that, you know, some- sometimes there’s usually an article into a magazine and you know, they say, you know, this is some doctor- doctor Joe been on the Thelon (laughs), yeah. Beautiful country, you know, I think you read about it and be protected on it too, protected ‘cause Thelon’s got a lot of big uranium there, and ah, cannot be- cannot be mining,
don’t want it to be getting into a mining industry here. (Joseph Catholique, April 28, 2014)

But alongside this advocacy needs to be an understanding that Denesoline have actively resisted outside intervention and resource extraction in their territory for years on their own (Grimwood et al., 2015). Although visitors can be a vocal force for protecting this land as well, it should be done in conjunction with Indigenous voices, not under the perception that Indigenous peoples need to be spoken for (Grimwood et al., 2015).

This focus on economic development and community benefit overlaps with the celebration of Denesoline knowledge, safety, and respect. With the inevitability of visitors, especially nature-based tourists, Denesoline community members have and will continue to play an important role in communicating traditional knowledge for safe travel in Denesoline territory. Denesoline knowledge is invaluable, so guides play an important role in ensuring safe travel, sharing knowledge of the land and how to survive. The Ni hat’ni, or “Watchers of the Land”, are a particularly useful resource while travelling on the land:

As the Ni hat’ni, we have maps and we tell them hey, this is open water, this is rough place or whatever. This is good place for shelter. The portage to the Thelon or wherever to Baker Lake or whatever, short paths. Just tell them- we tell them everything about your map where you’re not supposed to be. (Terri Enzoe, May 20, 2014)

You may or may not encounter the Ni hat’ni during your travels; nonetheless, it is important to have knowledge of the land in order to be safe, and travelling with a Denesoline person as a guide can help facilitate safer travel. This is especially true in the Barren Lands, where visitors will “get lost ‘cause everything looks the same” (Terri Enzoe, May 20, 2014). As Joseph Catholique explained, non-Denesoline can easily make mistakes without proper knowledge:

He wasn’t- he was a white guy (laughter). He thought he was all trained and all that, living with us for so many years, and one time we went out trapping and… he took a shortcut without me. I was looking around and he took a shortcut right- went right by me. Next thing I look over there, he just crashed and went right in the middle of the lake where 2030 feet deep, right around here. Right around here, yeah… Yeah, he thought he would make it and he was going real fast, but then the ice- I could see the ice was going thinner and thinner by the cracks, and then I just stopped my skidoo, but him, he just continued travelling then went in. Straight down, the sled went straight down and didn’t touch the bottom really. And it’s still down there I guess. (May 20, 2015)
The safety of visitors is an important concern for Lutsel K’ee community members, along with reaffirming land management and governance over territory and ensuring community development through tourism and the celebration of local knowledge. The sharing of this community narrative addresses each of these concerns by illuminating the connection between respect for the land, water, animals, and safe travel by calling for visitors to visit the community and contribute to the local economy, and by reaffirming self-determination through the overt expression of visitor expectations. Ultimately, visitors are generally welcome to the community – if they show respect:

I would just want visitors to know that, yeah, we uphold the treaty and so that means peace and friendship and at the end of the day, we’re all human and just as if I went to the land of their ancestors, I would show respect. I would expect the same…. at the end of the day, we’re all human and there is a basic respect that is afforded. That’s how I would like to be treated from visitors. A sense of humour is always good. (Anonymous Lutsel K’ee Resident, May 14, 2014)

For Ron Fatt, it’s what the visitor learns during their stay and takes home that is most important:

One thing that we care to pass on to our visitors would be, you know, this is our culture, you know, this is our traditional land. We have a lot of respect for the environment, the animals, you know. This is our way of life that people are looking at. When they go back, we make sure that they have a clear understanding who and what we are here. And so this way, when they go back, they send good words back, you know, and that word passes on to another person, another person, you know, and sooner or later we’ll have people start coming back up here north. And the tradition that they take back is more valuable than what they thought about us, who we are, you know. They probably think we’re just Indians, that’s it (laughs) but we’re not Indians, we’re Dene people, you know. (May 20, 2014)

4.2 A code of conduct for visitors

The community narrative highlights several important components of the Denesoline experience with visitation and respect. After identifying who visits Lutsel K’ee Denesoline territory, or the audience for their story of respect, participants discussed historical and contemporary cases of bad or disrespectful visitation, and ultimately explained how a respectful visitor should behave. From this long and detailed narrative that highlighted participant voices through direct quotations and individual stories, an accessible code of conduct has been developed (see Table 3). Using interpretation, this code summarizes the themes from the broader narrative, not only providing instruction for behaviour, but also providing the reason behind that instruction. This approach is educational, providing instruction
and information without trying to be too prescriptive to prevent visitor enjoyment (Payne & Dimanche, 1996; Malloy & Fennell, 1998). Each part of the code paraphrases the different components of the narrative, as incorporating direct quotes would not be an efficient or feasible way to quickly communicate community expectations.

Table 3. A Code of Conduct for Visitors

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>'This sacred land is our home. Respectful visitors welcome’</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>A code of conduct for visitors to the ancestral territory of the Lutsel K’e Dene First Nation</em></td>
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</table>

Welcome to the territory of the Lutsel K’e Dene First Nation! Our land is beautiful and our water is clean – and we are committed to keeping it that way. This set of guidelines has been developed to educate visitors about our expectations for respectful travel within our ancestral territory. Please – come visit and enjoy, and do so in a way that honours our land, water, animals, and community members. Here’s how:

**When travelling in our territory, come visit us in Lutsel K’e!**

Many elders and land users live in our community and have rich stories to share about Denesoline traditions and how to travel safely within our vast territory. We want to share this knowledge with visitors. It’s an excellent cross-cultural learning opportunity for us and for you. We would like to benefit in some capacity from people visiting our territory. Having visitors come to our community will help us to grow our economy through the provision of tourism goods and services that complement our cultural practices and way of life.

**Remember that our land is our home. Please ‘knock’ before entering, and we will welcome you.**

Our ancestral territory – our home – is like other homes that people love, grow up in, and feel connected to. Wherever visitors go within our traditional territory, they will be within our home. Please ‘knock’ before entering. Contact our Band Office or Wildlife Department in advance of visiting, and please ask permission, as you would expect of any visitor to your own home. This will show respect for Lutsel K’e Denesoline, and will help us support your safety. Being aware of the presence of visitors enables us to better plan, monitor, manage, and make decisions about our territory.

**We are the stewards of our land. We expect visitors to respect and share in the protection of the land, water, and animals.**

The land, water, and animals have provided the necessities for survival and sustenance for generations of Denesoline. Places like the Lady of the Falls have great healing power, promoting our well-being and curing disease and illness. Please honour the sacred and spiritual nature of our territory. We want to protect our land, water, and animals for our younger generations.
Respect the land, or the land will not respect you.

Be mindful of your behaviour, your attitude, and what you say while on the land. Taking the weather for granted, or outwardly commenting on beautiful weather, can trigger a sudden and drastic change. Travel with humility and respect to ensure safety and prevent getting wind bound or weathered in. Remember: water is a spirit; fish are a spirit; as is any element of the earth. They are all interwoven components of life and warrant our respect.

Pay respect to the land and water with tobacco or other offerings of gratitude.

Paying with spruce boughs, tea, rifle shells, or sugar – something valuable – is also appropriate. It is a tangible display of respect to the land and water, founded not on superstition, but a way of life. Our ancestors gave thanks in this way, and we were raised to do the same. Tobacco is from the earth and from the Creator, and we pay it back to them, and to our ancestors who were on the land before us. Showing respect in this way honours our culture and will help ensure good weather and safe travels on water and on land.

Respect our community’s vision for health and well-being.

We welcome visitors that respect our First Nation, our place in history and our territory, as well as our contemporary cultural values, rules, and regulations. We promote health and well-being by making Lutsel K’e a dry community. Visitors can help us maintain an alcohol-free community for the health and well-being of our children and future generations.

Take out what you bring in – please keep the land clean.

Keeping the land clean helps protect the environment. Leaving behind garbage or waste is a sign of disrespect to the land, water, animals, and our livelihoods. Although our territory is vast, it is still our home and we want to keep it clean. It is important that the land is free of litter in order to protect that space for animals and for future generations of Denesoline. Please be sure to safely dispose of or remove anything brought into our territory.

Hunting and trapping on our territory must respect our traditional knowledge, customs, and livelihoods.

Denesoline hunters and trappers are mindful of their harvesting practices, and understand that animals provide sustenance for survival. We show respect by learning and enjoying the knowledge and skills passed down to us by our elders and ancestors. Wasting meat, or leaving it behind, is avoided as it shows disrespect for the animals and for our land. Visitors are expected to respect our hunting and trapping culture and to remember that everything in our environment has a spirit and life behind it. All visitors who choose to hunt should do so only in the presence of a Lutsel K’e guide or monitor.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>Take the opportunity to learn from Denesoline guides.</strong></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Denesoline traditional knowledge is essential for survival on our territory. Lutsel K’e guides know the land and how the weather changes, and are willing to share this information to assist visitors. Visitors are encouraged to hire an experienced guide from Lutsel K’e to help ensure a safe journey and a meaningful learning experience rooted in our traditional knowledge and livelihood activities. By hiring a Lutsel K’e guide, visitors also support our local economy.</td>
</tr>
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<th><strong>Share your experiences with others to help us protect our land!</strong></th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Visitors are asked to respect our privacy by requesting the permission of community members before taking their photograph. We do encourage visitors to take stories and pictures from their experiences on our land and share these with friends and family. We want to protect our territory – our home – from harmful industries and practices so that we can preserve our way of life. Visitors can help by sharing experiences with others and raising awareness. Please visit the website <a href="http://www.landoftheancestors.ca">www.landoftheancestors.ca</a> to learn more about protecting our land.</td>
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Chapter 5
Discussion

Colonialism in Lutsel K’e is apparent not only in a historical context, as discussed in section 3.2, but also as a contemporary reality, contained within the stories shared by Denesoline participants. The legacy of colonialism and ongoing colonial processes were evident in many participant narratives, including: mining companies taking advantage of Denesoline territory with little to no community benefit, while also perpetuating racist stereotypes; visitors dropping into Lutsel K’e territory with either no awareness of or lack of respect for Denesoline place in that territory; and outsider interference in Denesoline land governance, like the Parks Canada representative that was put forth as the contact person for Thaidene Nene. The legacy of colonialism and dispossession remains a motivating factor for the community’s desire to negotiate a national park reserve in order to protect their homeland from external forces who are interested in taking and abusing that land (e.g. hydroelectricity (Ellis & LKDFN, 2013)). It is with an understanding of the historical and contemporary impacts of colonialism and how it underpins many of the challenges faced by Lutsel K’e Denesoline on a daily basis that this project was undertaken. This research study acknowledges that visitation and tourism can represent a powerful catalyst for positive change in terms of Denesoline empowerment and protection of territory, as is conceptualized in the hopeful tourism literature. It follows a participatory paradigm of research that is driven by collaborative and Indigenist paradigms to pursue Indigenous-driven research and further empower and benefit the community. It strives to celebrate and honour Denesoline voices and perspectives, to share the stories of community members in an effort to facilitate self-determination in the face of colonialism and its legacy, and to assert Denesoline autonomy over land and visitor management. In pursuing these objectives, this study can contribute to the literature on hopeful tourism, participatory research approaches, and self-determination through the development of a community, Indigenized code of conduct for visitors.

5.1 An application of hopeful tourism

‘Hope’ is a concept that stands in stark contrast to the fear, despair, and conflict that plague the world (Pritchard et al., 2012). The ‘despair’ and ‘conflict’ facing the Lutsel K’e Denesoline in this thesis’s narrative are related to colonialism and its effects, tourism and disrespectful visitation as an active process of colonialism, and the ongoing struggle for Denesoline land governance and stewardship. In spite of these challenges, community-controlled tourism and visitation, as realized through
community-managed tourism development and a community-developed code of conduct, may offer a beacon of hope - a resolution to the conflict. As Stephen Ellis explained, tourism can be a ‘double-edged sword’; and yet, in spite of its potential downfalls, participants generally expressed an interest in further developing a tourism industry in Lutsel K’ene and engaging more with visitors. Sam Boucher shared this sentiment during the WLEC data analysis workshop, saying ‘we [Lutsel K’ene] need more people coming [into the community]’. Other interview and workshop participants generally seemed to agree. Community-developed tourism and visitation, locally managed through mechanisms like an Indigenized code of conduct, seem to offer hope; whether that is as an opportunity to preserve culture and traditions, as a forum by which to protect Denesoline territory and share that importance with the rest of the world, or as a more sustainable economic alternative to mining that would not only create employment, but enable local control over that employment.

Hopeful tourism is a relatively new concept, introduced within the last several years and inspired by the critical turn in tourism studies (Pritchard et al., 2012; Nielsen & Wilson, 2012). As a result, literature on hopeful tourism is relatively limited and dominated by only a few authors. This study can therefore contribute content towards the newly emerging hopeful tourism literature, because it takes the theoretical concept of hopeful tourism and demonstrates practical application within an Indigenous community. The “values-led humanist approach based on partnership, reciprocity and ethics, which aims for co-created learning and which recognizes the power of sacred and indigenous knowledge” (Pritchard et al., 2011, p. 949) is congruent with the Indigenist and Indigenous-driven participatory nature of this study. As I will discuss in the following sections, the process and outcome of this collaborative study serve to empower Lutsel K’ene Denesoline through self-determination, while recognizing the objective power structures, like colonialism, that exist in both tourism and tourism research, and attempting to challenge those structures (Pritchard et al., 2011). Indeed, this research strives to be decolonial, co-creating knowledge and co-transforming self and others (Pritchard et al., 2011) in order to actively address the problems outlined by Lutsel K’ene Denesoline community members during the first research planning workshop.

And yet, in spite of the inspiring and transformative intentions of hopeful tourism, the concept is met with some criticism. Higgins-Desbiolles and Whyte’s (2013) were primarily concerned with the fact that Pritchard et al.’s hopeful tourism encouraged withdrawal from criticalness in an effort to instill hope in tourism scholars; in effect, people may strive for justice without always recognizing that their own privileges can actually perpetuate injustices. I appreciate Higgins-
Desbiolles and Whyte’s perspective, especially after encountering Li’s (2007) literature on the ‘will to improve’ and trusteeship. However, striving for greater justice and being conscious of one’s privileges, power, and positionality are not mutually exclusive. In fact, the hopeful tourism principles from Pritchard et al. (2011) actually advocated for recognizing privilege, critiquing the conventional ideologies and power within research, and understanding that social, cultural, and historical contexts influence knowledge. I argue that these principles do call for criticalness, and Pritchard et al. agreed by suggesting that hopeful tourism demands that we analyze the political ramifications of our role as tourism researchers, as well as the inherent unequal power dynamics in the research relationship. Through a decolonial and Indigenous-approach to research, this study strives for transformation, empowerment, and justice through tourism and visitation, while acknowledging the researcher’s position as an outsider and actively focusing on collaboration rather than intervention. I was conscious of my role as a non-Indigenous researcher and the colonial ‘will to improve’ that so many researchers embody when they intervene in the lives of others and assume they know what is best (Li, 2007). Instead, this research was built based on what the community thought was best and how they wanted to achieve that goal (as outlined in Chapter 3). Rather than reinforcing unequal power relations, this research was founded on a participatory methodology that was Indigenous-driven to demonstrate “care, commitment, trust, responsibility, respect, knowledge, and a vision of human possibilities”, fully engaging with Indigenous perspectives and voices to empower Lutsel K’e Denesoline and assert self-determination over territory and visitation (Pritchard et al., 2011, p. 953). Ultimately, the collaborative process of this study and the resulting code of conduct represent a ‘hopeful tourism’ approach, as developing tourism and visitation in the community and on Denesoline territory, while asserting Denesoline management over that territory and visitation, is an affirmation of Denesoline self-determination – a transformative and ‘hopeful’ anticipated outcome.

5.2 A ‘decolonized’ approach: Indigenous-driven and Indigenist methodological contribution

This study was undertaken from a decolonial perspective, which requires us as researchers to analyze the present through a lens of the ‘coloniality of power’ (Battell Lowman & Mayblin, 2011). Decolonialism understands that colonialism is not simply a thing of the past; it continues to impact Indigenous communities, like the Denesoline, today. Using this perspective, I grew to understand the impacts that colonialism continues to have in Lutsel K’e and how that influences the community. These impacts include: the economic dependence on mining, the inherent racism within the mining
industry, and the desire to establish a locally-managed economic alternative like tourism; the willingness to turn to tourism for economic purposes despite concerns about being ‘observed’ or ‘turning into Banff’; and the need to negotiate a national park reserve to protect Denesoline territory, in spite of distrust for the government and fears of dispossession and restricted access. The ongoing struggle for Denesoline governance of territory and visitation, as illustrated in the examples above, is a continuing symptom of colonialism. Unfortunately, colonial mentalities continue to thrive through processes like tourism and visitation, as part of an industry that often perpetuates an ‘othering’ mentality and a modern/pre-modern binary that is so central to colonialism (Brown, 2013; Palmer, 1994; Grimwood, et al., 2015). Given that participant narratives highlighted community member interest in tourism development (an industry that can enable colonialism rather than resist it), a mechanism like a community-developed code of conduct is important for educating visitors and challenging these preconceived colonial notions and tendencies to ‘other’, in effect transforming the industry into an opportunity for resistance and self-determination.

The decolonial lens was also applied to my role as a researcher, as I regularly reflected on my position as a non-Indigenous, middle-class, university educated female from Southern Ontario, entering the community to, arguably, ‘do research’. I started this project driven by a desire to help the community, to work towards Denesoline empowerment and self-determination; a hopeful tourism perspective. And yet, I am reminded of Li’s (2007) ‘will to improve’. Might I be acting as a sort of ‘trustee’, trying to ‘enhance [Denesoline] capacity for action and direct it” (p.5). While conscious of the colonial tendencies inherent in research, especially in Indigenous communities, I instead tried to pursue a collaborative research project driven by a participatory paradigm, inspired by community-based participatory research and Indigenist principles. This process was important in order to resist the ‘trustee’ persona and colonial tendencies of research, instead decolonizing the research process by allowing the community to drive the project and to determine what is best for them and how it can be achieved. In effect, this was an ‘Indigenous-driven’ project.

Nielsen and Wilson (2012) suggested that researchers who undertake an Indigenous-driven approach to research often hope to create meaningful change and self-determination through tourism. I argue that this was the driving motivation for this project, though my ‘hope’ was to facilitate change by working with the community rather than to ‘create’ it on my own. Lutsel K’e Denesoline community members determined the focus and objectives for this study, which led to the creation of a community-developed narrative and code of conduct that privileges Denesoline voices. The code of
conduct was created with community members, incorporating participant analysis and feedback, as a mechanism for asserting Denesoline control over traditional territory and visitation. Ultimately, this study tried to engage with Wilson’s (2007) Indigenist principles as much as possible, with some limitations. As a non-Indigenous researcher, it is difficult to know what Indigenous epistemology is lived in Lutsel K’e, but I tried to better understand through workshops, reporting, working with a local research coordinator, being immersed in the community, and approaching the project willing to learn, rather than as an expert (Wilson, 2007). Moreover, geographical distance made constant collaboration and direct interaction very challenging, so Denesoline involvement was not always achievable; however, this research project attempted to follow Indigenist, Indigenous-driven research principles as much as possible.

The strong focus on Denesoline involvement throughout this project is not only important to decolonizing the research process and for achieving the goals and research expectations outlined by community members at the outset, but it also addresses the literature gap that was identified by Nielsen and Wilson (2012) – that not enough researchers actively engage with and speak to Indigenous involvement in tourism research. I encourage future researchers to not only engage in collaborative, participatory research with Indigenous peoples, but to make the participatory process and Indigenous-driven research a key focus of future literature.

5.2.1 Narrative – A story of resistance

Narrative inquiry was chosen as the methodology to guide data collection and analysis because of its congruence with Indigenous oral histories and epistemologies (Barton, 2004; Kendrick, Lyver & LKDFN, 2005; Grimwood, 2014). In terms of decolonizing the research approach, highlighting voices and narratives is important given their notion of plurality, which allows marginalized and silenced voices, as well as resistive narratives, to be heard (Noy, 2012). Denesoline narratives of resistance are not uncommon; for example, Terri’s story spoke about a time when the Chief refused to sign a document presented by a group of visiting white people and demanded that they leave the community. Stories of Denesoline resistance have also appeared in the news media, like the Dene-Inuit rejection of the Kiggavik uranium project (Nunatsiaq News, 2015). These are both clear narratives of Denesoline resistance to outsider interference, colonial intervention, and dispossession. I argue that this thesis represents another narrative of resistance, not only because it highlights micro-narratives like Terri’s, but also because of the broader research process and content. The process and outcome of this research represents a decolonized approach that counters conventional research.
practices, seeking to empower Denesoline community members by not only engaging with them throughout a participatory research process, but also by privileging Denesoline narrative epistemologies, voices, and perspectives. The community narrative and Indigenized code of conduct presented in this thesis challenge the colonial nature of visitation and tourism. It confronts the tendency to ‘other’ host destinations and force Indigenous Peoples and places into an anachronistic, pre-modern mold (Palmer, 1994; Grimwood, et al., 2015; Braun, 2002) by encouraging visitors to be informed and educated about Denesoline culture, traditions, and expectations in their territory. It is through a decolonization of the research process and an Indigenous-driven approach that this can be achieved.

5.3 Addressing visitor behaviour and visitor management

5.3.1 The theory of planned behaviour and codes of conduct

As Hrubes et al. (2001) learned in their study, the theory of planned behaviour could be a useful model to successfully predict visitor behaviour based on one’s values and beliefs. Ultimately, attitudes towards behaviour, subjective social norms, and perceptions of behavioural control are key determinants of intended behaviour (Hrubes et al., 2001). With that in mind, education and interpretation can be effective approaches for managing visitor behaviour, as information is an important foundation for one’s values and beliefs (Brown et al., 2010). The code of conduct produced in this study is presented as an efficient way to educate and inform, thus influencing visitor respect and responsibility. Effectiveness of the code does depend on the reason for behaviour – whether the visitor is motivated by malicious intent, or whether they are simply uninformed and uneducated (Moscardo, 1999; Manning, 2003); therefore, its success relies on a visitor’s desire to learn and do what is right (Oliver et al., 1985).

As Oliver et al. (1985) demonstrated in their article, interpersonal contact, along with the distribution of informational brochures, tends to illicit a greater frequency of respectful and responsible visitor behaviour; however, given that visitors to Denesoline lands may be travelling independently on the broader territory and experience little to no interpersonal contact with Denesoline peoples, including interpersonal contact may not be feasible. Instead, the community may need to depend on a physical document to communicate their expectations, which, according to Oliver et al., is still effective. It is important to note, however, that the participants in this study communicated a desire for visitors to stop into the community of Lutsel K’ee at some point during
their travels so that the Denesoline can reap economic benefit from the use of their land, but also to facilitate interpersonal contact; an important catalyst for encouraging responsible visitor behaviour, cross-cultural learning, and mutual respect.

5.3.2 Responsible and respectful visitation

As Brown (2013) suggested, the colonial impacts of tourism are generally compounded through a multiplier effect; the presence of a succession of tourists has more of an impact than an individual tourist visiting for one week. Responsible tourism is important in order to mitigate this effect; if tourists are conscious of their impacts and instead practice responsible types of tourism, respecting the host community rather than exploiting or consuming them as the ‘other’, then perhaps positive impacts will compound instead. This idea complements that of ‘reciprocal altruism’, in which non-kin co-operate in a way that there is “small cost to the giver and great benefit to the taker” (Trivers, 1971, p. 45; Plummer & Fennell, 2007). Ultimately, if visitors practice responsible and informed behaviour while in Denesoline territory, it is of small cost to them (some effort to become informed and to respect Denesoline expectations), but of great benefit to Denesoline inhabitants (can help with the protection of their land, shows respect for their ownership, and supports self-determination and autonomy).

Although Lutsel K’è sees a relatively small number of visitors when compared to larger, mass tourism destinations, the impact is still important to address. The use of the term ‘visitor’, rather than ‘tourist’, is intentional here, and throughout this thesis, because according to one participant, not all visitors are tourists. This was a change of perspective for me who, as a tourism student, entered this project focused on ‘tourists’, and mainly those who would be partaking in nature-based travel in Denesoline territory. As Hollinshead (2012) explained, this type of preconceived notion is a problem with many tourism researchers who “tend to become fast institutionalized into ways of seeing some aspects of the world and not seeing others” (p. 59). While working with community members, I was introduced to a new perspective that widened my understanding of tourism spaces. Denesoline territory is not simply a ‘tourist destination’, but an Indigenous homeland first and foremost, that welcomes a wide variety of visitors. Nonetheless, it is important to note that tourists do stand to play a more prominent role in Lutsel K’è visitation as the community may soon become a gateway to the proposed national park reserve, and there is wide-sweeping interest in economic diversification and tourism development. The fact remains that using the broader term of ‘visitor’ takes into account that there are government and mining officials, researchers, and people from other Indigenous
communities that visit Denesoline territory on a regular basis, and all of these visitors, including tourists, can significantly impact a community of 300 people.

Literature around the concept of responsible tourism was explored in Chapter 2; however, this study and the resulting code of conduct reflect on a broader concept – responsible *visitation*. Moscardo et al. (2013) recognized that an important issue with research on tourism impacts, especially through the use of surveys, is that participants in tourism-focused studies often only consider the ‘Archetypal Tourist’ (i.e. different culture or nationality, short time of visit, leisure-focused), and therefore ignore impacts associated with visitors that exist outside of this archetype. For this study, such an analysis would be severely lacking in scope given that tourism only represents a small portion of visitors. Instead, the focus is not purely on the tourist or tourism practices, but also on visitors like mining and government officials, researchers, and other Indigenous Peoples, that may remove themselves from ‘tourist’-based discussions on impact and ignore their moral and ethical obligations as visitors. It is important to communicate that the same community expectations apply to these visitors as well, since study participants made it clear that ‘there’s different kinds of visitors’ beyond the tourist, yet all of these visitors ‘need to know that we respect the land as the stewards of the land and they are expected to do so also’ (Anonymous Resident). An example of a visitor ignoring their moral obligation is the ten officials from De Beers that flew in and out of the community on the same day, quickly performing their business, and failing to contribute anything to the local economy. Perhaps it is because these mining officials do not perceive themselves as conventional ‘tourists’ and therefore do not feel that tourist responsibility expectations apply to them, or perhaps they are simply not aware that the community expects more engagement during their visit. Ultimately, being a responsible *visitor* still requires accountable and respectful relationships with physical, economic, social, and cultural environments, the practice of sustainability, and an effort to be accountable and ethical while visiting (Grimwood, in press b; Mihalic, 2014; Fennell, 2006). A code of conduct that is directed towards the ‘visitor’ can speak to this group, among others, and is more inclusive than if it was geared solely towards the ‘tourist’. The use of ‘responsible visitation’ is important for this study so as to ensure that responsibility is communicated to all visitors, not just the tourist; however, I also believe it is a concept that should be explored in the tourism literature moving forward, especially when looking at visitation on Indigenous lands in order to capture the broad range of types of visitors to Indigenous territory.

The focus on responsible visitation, rather than tourism, is fairly unique. Although the term ‘responsible visitation’ is somewhat present in academic literature, mainly used while defining
community-based tourism (Boonratana, 2010) or explaining the mission statement of a non-profit tourism organization (Baram, 2005), it is certainly not as prevalent as ‘responsible tourism’. The principles behind responsible tourism are still very important and applicable, but it is clear after speaking with community members that the ‘visitor’ is a complex and dynamic concept that includes, but also extends beyond, the ‘tourist’. Focusing too heavily on ‘responsible tourism’ as a term can alienate everyone else who falls under the ‘visitor’ classification, and lend the illusion that they are not as responsible for respectful behaviour as the tourist. There is still an expectation of responsible behaviour that is grounded in consciousness and morality (Fennell, 2008b); an expectation of engagement and good judgment (Jamal, 2004); and an expectation of critical self-reflection to understand one’s position as a visitor, of the privilege that entails and the impact on the visited community (Fennell, 2008b; Higgins-Desbiolles & Whyte, 2013). Ultimately, this research contributes to a shift in how responsibility is conceptualized in both tourism and tourism research.

After presenting this research at a recent conference, I received quite a bit of feedback around the use of ‘visitor’ rather than tourist. One audience member thought it was a really important distinction and more inclusive of others, like neighbouring Indigenous hunters. However, another audience member asked whether all of these ‘other’ visitors, like government and mining officials, researchers, and hunters, were actually just another type of tourist. This was a good point that I had not yet considered. The researchers and government/mining officials are, arguably, business tourists, while the Indigenous hunters are, arguably, recreation or subsistence tourists. Nonetheless, I explained that the term ‘visitor’ was chosen because it was used by members of the community (e.g. when the anonymous resident said to me that I was a visitor but not a tourist). Engaging with the language and terminology used by participants was important to ensure that the research used an Indigenous-driven and decolonized approach by privileging Denesoline perspectives (Wilson, 2007; de Oliveira, 2009). I also suggested that the community might have made that distinction because visitors like mining officials, fly into the community in the morning and fly out that afternoon, contributing nothing to the local economy, and therefore not acting as ‘tourists’. Again, the audience member made an excellent point: a lot of host communities often do not see local economic benefit from tourism in their community. Nonetheless, from the interview transcripts, it was clear that participants made a distinction between those that were visiting for touristic purposes and contributing to the community, versus those who were solely there for business and did not make an effort to engage with community members or contribute to the economy. I wanted to be sure that the
focus of the project, and the terminology that was used, engaged with Denesoline perspectives and understandings of the people visiting their community.

5.4 Code of conduct: A reaffirmation of self-determination through visitor management

The community narrative and code of conduct were presented in response to Wheeler’s (1993) critique that responsible tourism and visitation concepts are only public relations tools without any practical application. I argue that the process of developing the narrative and code of conduct, as well as its content, offers a meaningful and practical guideline for responsible visitation in Denesoline territory. Guided by literature that defines how to construct an effective code of conduct (e.g. Malloy & Fennell, 1998; Mason, 1994; Cole, 2007, etc.), the code was developed alongside community participant input and perspectives, sharing community member narratives through interpretation and a teleological structure to ensure an informative, culturally relevant, and context-specific document. Following Payne and Dimanche’s (1996) direction, the code is clear and comprehensive, providing guidance for all visitors in various situations; generally positive in tone rather than prohibitive; and, once finalized, the code will hopefully be published for dissemination. I argue that the code of conduct initiates a discourse of responsibility because it shares stories from Denesoline community members that are ends-driven, explaining why certain behaviour is expected as well as the anticipated outcomes. Through education and interpretation, the code answers the moral question of how visitors ought to behave on Denesoline territory, as they are given the information necessary to understand and pursue responsible and respectful travel.

It is important to note that, when too prescriptive, these kinds of visitor guidelines can suggest that “those who don’t act in the prescribed ethical manner are deemed to lack awareness and the opportunity to act responsibly. This is anti-political and also patronizing” (Butcher, 2014, p.22). However, the tone and content of this code do not intend to be patronizing or too prescriptive, but instead try to share information about Denesoline connection to the land, and why certain behaviour is respectful of Denesoline ways of being on the land. With a positive and educational tone, the code of conduct is meant to be a learning opportunity for visitors, as much as it is a guideline for respect. It shares the essences of the stories presented in the community narrative to generate a dialogue both within the community, as it celebrates Denesoline knowledges and encourages communication and respectful interaction in Lutsel K’e, as well as beyond the community, as it encourages the sharing of
knowledge outside of Lutsel K’e and encourages respectful and responsible travel for those in the broader territory.

Given that codes of conduct for Arctic tourists, like the one produced by the WWF International Arctic Programme, are predominantly focused on communicating prescribed behaviour without interpretation and are meant to apply broadly to the entire Arctic landscape, this code of conduct offers an interesting and potentially more effective alternative. It recognizes that the ‘Arctic’ is a vast heterogeneous space, and therefore it may not be appropriate to have a single code represent an entire region (Viken, 2013). Such a generalization represents a colonial mentality in that it ignores the heterogeneity and cultural diversity of the region, and it also represents a form of colonial intervention in that it assumes to know what is best or necessary for an Indigenous community, often with little or no collaboration (Li, 2007). Decolonizing the process meant active community involvement and an emic, context-specific approach, which were important to ensure that the resulting code was representative of the community and its territory and relevant to the lived experiences of the Lutsel K’e Dene First Nation (Blowfield, 1999; Cole, 2007). Although it might be more efficient to have one code representing an entire region, and knowing that it would be very time consuming and resource intensive to develop individual codes for each Indigenous group and their territory, this project represents more than just a set of guidelines for visitors. The code of conduct and sharing of a community narrative recognizes the value of Denesoline stories and experiences, and ultimately respects Denesoline ownership of their vast territory and right to self-determination – something that a generalized code of conduct for the entire Arctic region dismisses. It does this by pursuing research that complements and engages with Indigenous perspectives and epistemologies, by relying on oral narratives and following a teleological approach that supports an ends-driven, consequence-focused structure similar to that of narratives (Josselson, 2011; Daly, 2007; Barton, 2004; Malloy & Fennell, 1998). It encourages responsible and moral visitation by offering an ethical framework that is created by and relevant to the people who own the territory (Sheldon, Fesenmaier & Tribe, 2012), and in doing so, helps to assert Denesoline self-determination to control and manage their own territory and resources autonomously (Berman, Lyons & Falk, 1993; Corntassel & Bryce, 2012; de Oliveira, 2009). This decolonized research approach and outcome offers an alternative perspective on tourism, visitation, and Indigenous Peoples in Arctic regions that appreciates heterogeneity, Indigenous territorial rights, and acts of resistance against legacies of colonialism (Mason, 1997; Viken, 2013). Perhaps this project will inspire other communities to create their own code of conduct, sharing their stories and expectations for visitors to their territory.
5.4.1 The ‘local’ as empowering, not delimiting

Cameron (2012) argued that restricting the concept of Indigenous to the ‘local’ is a colonial way of thinking that is problematic, especially when it comes to recognizing Indigenous political claims. And yet, this project emphasizes the local, advocating for a community-driven, context specific code of conduct for visitors that is applicable only to Lutsel K’e Denesoline homeland. Like Cameron, I recognize that Indigenous knowledges are relevant on a broader scale, extending beyond the local, and that a group of people should not have their identity confined to one place or a way of being. Ultimately, I strongly believe that the focus on an emic, local approach to a code of conduct in this study does not intend to be confining, but rather empowering. By highlighting Lutsel K’e Denesoline voices and emphasizing Denesoline ownership of territory, the code of conduct is presented as a mechanism for self-determination, explicitly showing that the Denesoline are here, that this land is their home, and that they expect visitors to understand and respect that (Berman, Lyons & Falk, 1993; Corntassel & Bryce 2012). Rather than delegitimizing Denesoline claims to their territory, the local code of conduct tries to reinforce it. Although the code of conduct is specific to Lutsel K’e Denesoline territory, the processes followed and knowledges produced throughout this study are not limited to the ‘local’, but translatable on a broader scale. Many of the stories of respect shared by participants, such as removing litter, treating the land as someone else’s home, and respecting the land, water, and animals, are important principles no matter where you travel. As a result, other communities, towns, cities, or even countries could use a similar code, adapted to meet their own needs. In essence, the local focus of the code is not meant to confine the Lutsel K’e Denesoline to their place, but rather to reinforce their ownership of territory while recognizing that the narrative of respect is certainly applicable on a broader scale. A context-specific approach is also important given that Indigenous communities in Canada’s Arctic are heterogeneous, with varying cultural practices and values (Grimwood & Fennell, 2011); therefore, a broader approach may not appropriately capture the specific expectations of the Lutsel K’e Denesoline for their territory.

This approach is also important given the gap that was identified by Moscardo et al. (2013); that the tourism literature often ignores tourist responsibility all together, or simply refers to it on a broader, global scale. Little research has focused on the “specific responsibilities and obligations that tourists…have to the communities they visit” (p. 533). The content of this code of conduct, and the narrative that created it, addresses this gap in that the code clearly identifies ‘specific responsibilities and obligations’ that tourists have to the host community (Moscardo et al., 2013). In the case of Lutsel K’e, and according to the expectations of participating community members, visitors are
expected to be forthcoming about their presence, recognizing Denesoline ownership of the territory, and also ensuring that the community reaps some benefit for travellers using the land – even if they do not travel within the community itself. Additionally, Wearing and Wearing (2014) called for a more moral encounter, largely founded on a decolonizing shift away from Western power. They indicate “a need for what we call a ‘bottom-up’ community development and participation approach to moral encounters that can empower local communities” in tourism development (p. 131). This code of conduct, developed through a bottom-up and participatory approach, is representative not only of a mechanism to encourage a more moral encounter, but as a process that decolonizes and engages more thoroughly with Indigenous perspectives. As Corntassel and Bryce (2012) explained, efforts towards self-determination need to avoid focusing too heavily on rights and strategies, and instead focus on everyday decolonizing practices and reconnecting with one’s cultural practices and homeland. Although it can be argued that a code of conduct for visitors is, in fact, a strategy for self-determination, consider the process that developed it. The sharing of Denesoline stories about connections to the land and traditional practices is, in essence, an everyday effort towards self-determination, as it passes on important Denesoline knowledge in a culturally relevant way.

5.4.2 Developing an effective code

The literature for creating an effective code of conduct, as outlined in Chapter 2, provided a useful guide for this study. Payne and Dimanche’s (1996) advice was particularly helpful, outlining that a code should be clear, comprehensive, and positive in tone. The code of conduct was developed with these objectives in mind, in an attempt to provide an informative and easy-to-understand outline of expectations for visitor behaviour that offers guidance for a variety of ethical situations. A positive tone was used as much as possible, favouring education and interpretation over prohibitive instruction that may be perceived as ‘patronizing’ and take away from the experience (Butcher, 2014). A teleological approach, which is ends driven and utilizes interpretation to explain the reason for expected behaviour, also informed the development of the code of conduct. This is especially important since codes of conduct are voluntary, and as Sirakaya (1997) and Cole (2007) suggested, providing the reason for expected behaviour through an ends-driven approach can help to improve voluntary compliance. This thesis research resonates with Cole’s study, in which the author collaborated with stakeholders from an Indonesian village, as well as government officials and tour guides, to develop a context-specific, teleological code for visitors that was positive and action-oriented. Despite a collaborative and participatory process, Cole’s code of conduct was fairly
unsuccessful due to a lack of endorsement from government officials, and a failure of the Department of Tourism to uphold their commitment to print and distribute copies. The process to develop a code of conduct in this thesis was also participatory and collaborative, producing a teleological and context-specific code; however, collaboration was limited to Denesoline community members and past and present land managers. Unlike Cole, this study did not approach government or other tourism stakeholders during this process. Instead, it relied on the voices and perspectives of Denesoline participants in order to support decolonization, self-determination, and autonomy over visitation and territory.

The development of a code of conduct from a broader community narrative was a tricky process, and one that is not discussed in the literature. Trying to capture the intricacies of a lengthy and detailed narrative in a short, prescriptive list of expectations for visitors was highly challenging, as was writing a creative narrative with the end goal of a code of conduct in my mind. This study provides an interesting and insightful Indigenous-driven approach to code of conduct development that has not yet been discussed in the tourism literature, as it uses a narrative methodology that is congruent with Indigenous epistemologies and highlights Indigenous perspectives and voices by first developing a narrative – a decolonizing approach to research (de Oliveira, 2009). Furthermore, this study also contributes to the literature in that few studies highlight the actual development of a code of conduct (e.g. Cole, 2007) and few codes of conduct in the tourism industry are teleological in nature (Malloy & Fennell, 1998).

The code of conduct was developed based on the objectives outlined in the literature, as discussed previously; however, it is impossible to know yet whether this approach will truly be effective. Only after the code is published and distributed can we determine whether this particular approach, informed by the literature, was appropriate and effective. Cole’s (2007) study was a cautionary tale about how codes of conduct can fail. I do worry that once this thesis is completed, the community may not take ownership of the code of conduct and publish and disseminate it to visitors; however, every effort has been made to engage with the community throughout the process to coauthor the code of conduct, incorporating community feedback into the final draft. At the same time, community representatives have expressed excitement about the code and are interested in publishing it as a brochure and posting it on the Thaidene Nene National Park Reserve website. Therefore, although there is always the potential to encounter a challenge like Cole’s, if the community is willing to take ownership of the code of conduct (rather than a government
organization), and if we as researchers can support its publishing, it is possible to facilitate its successful dissemination. Through reporting, developing a brochure template to share and print, and sharing the code via academic literature, I can help facilitate the implementation and effective use of the code of conduct. It is important to remember, however, that the code of conduct is not meant as a panacea, but as part of a greater, integrated set of measures (Kuo, 2002). Therefore, perhaps the code can be adopted as part of a broader visitor management plan implemented for the national park reserve, such as a visitor orientation session or regulatory measures. As Mason (2005) indicated, a combination of regulation and education is often the most effective approach to visitor management.
Chapter 6
Conclusion

This research process was nothing short of a challenge, but even more importantly, it was life changing. Living in Lutsel K’e for five weeks pushed me further out of my comfort zone than I have ever been – and I am a stronger person for it. During my fieldwork experience, I failed horribly at making caribou stew (with an excessive amount of chili flakes added for ‘flavour’), learned how to make delicious fish stew and bannock through trial and error, sat in on a community meeting with a mining company, and camped beside the frozen Snowdrift River for my 25th birthday (a big change for someone who is not much of a camper!). Living on our own, Lauren and I had our fair share of crazy incidents. Several of these were a result of the oil stove in our home, a heating source that neither of us were used to but that we depended on for heat during the still-cold spring weather. One particularly prominent memory involves the time that we left our oil stove running without a fire (feeding in fuel that was not being combusted), leading to a panic that our house was now filled with toxic chemicals. Once we had the nerve to light the stove, the fire was so intense that we feared the house burning down. Fortunately, the worst that happened was some soot and cracked glass on the stove front, and despite the chaos of that evening, I now look back and laugh. I learned so much during the everyday experiences of living in Lutsel K’e. Being immersed in the community and getting to know some of the community members added a different, personal dimension to my perspective as a researcher. It made me more reflective and more aware of the feelings, perspectives, and everyday lives of Denesoline, which will make me a stronger, more perceptive and empathetic researcher. This experience also made me more conscious of being a visitor or tourist in other areas, and being respectful of travelling on Indigenous territory. I have been lucky to travel a lot in my life, and through most of those experiences, I was unaware of what land I was travelling on or the impact of my presence and behaviour on host communities. Moving forward, I will be more conscious of this and try to engage with community members in an effort to resist the colonial tendencies of tourists.

Every morning in Lutsel K’e, I woke up to a beautiful view of Great Slave Lake from my bedroom window. Every night, I fell asleep to the late-night sunset. I was lucky to be there, to see that everyday. I was even luckier to have the opportunity to meet with wonderful people in the community who graciously shared their stories and made me feel welcome. I was given a new perspective on Indigenous research and tourism that I would never have had if I had not lived in Lutsel K’e. While I
started this project under the assumption that visitors were unwelcome to Denesoline territory, I left with the understanding that visitors are welcome, as long as they are respectful. I left with a new appreciation for Denesoline livelihoods, the spiritual value of their land, and the need to protect and self-govern their territory. I left the community inspired to share that message through this thesis research and visitor code of conduct.

Guided by a participatory inquiry paradigm that followed community-based participatory research and Indigenist principles, this Indigenous-driven study shared a community narrative of respectful visitation to Lutsel K’e Denesoline territory. Synthesized from stories shared by interview and workshop participants, this narrative explored positive and negative experiences with visitors, as well as expectations for visitors. As a progressive narrative that explores progression towards a desired goal state, from conflict to resolution (Gergen & Gergen, 1986), this story explored who is visiting Lutsel K’e and why they visit, the conflicts associated with visitation, and the resolution and expected outcomes: an outward expression of expectations for visitors that encourages safe visitation, economic and community development, and autonomy and self-determination over territory and visitation. From this narrative, a code of conduct was developed that summarizes the community narrative in an accessible and user-friendly product. It seeks to inform visitors of expectations for behaviour, as well as explanations for why these expectations exist. It is important to note that this narrative represents only one community narrative, produced by a non-Denesoline student researcher from Southern Ontario. Many other narratives exist that would change depending on who was interviewed, what questions were asked, and who writes the final community narrative.

6.1 Social and scholarly contributions

6.1.1 Methodological contribution – ‘Indigenous-driven’ research

The first major contribution of this research was methodological in nature. Guided by community-based participatory research principles and an Indigenist paradigm, I argue that this study was ‘Indigenous-driven’ – a typology of Indigenous tourism research that is empowering, promoting self-determination and allowing Indigenous Peoples to speak for themselves and drive the research process (Nielsen & Wilson, 2012). This approach was fundamental to ethical, decolonized Indigenous research practice as it rejected the colonial tendencies of non-Indigenous researchers to do research on Indigenous Peoples, and instead recognized autonomy and capacity within Indigenous communities (Moodie, 2010). Yet, despite the abundance of Indigenous tourism literature on the
impacts of tourism, marketing and representation, Indigenous engagement, and benefits and challenges for Indigenous Peoples in tourism (to name a few areas of focus), very few authors have focused on the role of Indigenous Peoples within that research (Nielsen & Wilson, 2012). This thesis aimed to fill that gap by placing greater emphasis on the involvement of Lutsel K’ee Denesoline throughout the research process, focusing on the way that it was, arguably, ‘Indigenous-driven’. Engaging in a research partnership with the Denesoline was essential in order to ensure that the study was based on interests and concerns raised by community members, that the process engaged with Denesoline perspectives, that Denesoline voices are predominant and celebrated, and that outcomes would benefit the community first and foremost (Nielsen & Wilson, 2012). The role of the Denesoline in this study is important to highlight, because the collaborative and ‘Indigenous-driven’ nature of this study is essential to the outcome – a community-driven, Indigenized code of conduct for visitors that communicated Denesoline voices and perspectives, and asserted Denesoline ownership of territory. The collaborative methodology was essential to the process and outcomes of this study, and I suggest that Indigenous tourism research, and even Indigenous research more broadly, needs to place a stronger emphasis on the role of Indigenous Peoples within that research. An ‘Indigenous-driven’ approach that engages with Indigenist principles is also important in order to Indigenize tourism ethics and morality, which are predominantly Westernized, in order to develop an Indigenized code of conduct.

6.1.2 Practical contribution – A community-driven code of conduct

As mentioned in the previous contribution, this Indigenous-driven project sought to develop an Indigenized, community-developed code of conduct. The process of creating the code, as well as the code itself, represented a unique way for Indigenous communities to assert local governance and management over territory, and more specifically, visitation. By contributing to its development and taking ownership of the code of conduct, the community is now able to efficiently communicate to all visitors, whether that be tourists, government and mining officials, or researchers, that this is traditional Indigenous territory, and that ‘we are here’; we value this land, we use this land, and we expect that you respect that. In effect, the code is a mechanism for self-determination, an attribute that Berman, Lyons, and Falk (1993) discussed as one response to colonialism and its associated effects that have plagued Indigenous Peoples globally. This research argued that a community-developed code of conduct for visitor behaviour could exist as one measure of self-determination, as it shows that the community is taking ownership of managing their land and resources through a tangible,
explicit expression of their expectations for the protection and respectful use of that land. The code of conduct represents a reaffirmation of the right to their territory – an outward act of self-determination.

6.1.3 Theoretical contribution – Addressing visitor behaviour and autonomy over visitation

Not only does a code of conduct developed with the community exist as a mechanism for self-determination, but it also addresses the moral question of how visitors *ought to* behave when travelling on traditional Indigenous territory. It is a tool that can inform visitors of how to behave respectfully on the land and why that behaviour is expected, from the perspective of the community members who live there (Cole, 2007; Orams, 1996). Not only do codes of conduct advise appropriate behaviour while still encouraging a positive tourist experience through education and knowledge sharing, but also their design and implementation by communities and other stakeholders may serve as a mechanism for taking ownership and control of local tourism resources (Cole, 2007; Kuo, 2002). This is especially important given that Indigenous territory can be vast, and settled Indigenous communities can be geographically distant from the rest of their territory. Therefore, this study not only addressed a unique kind of ‘Indigenous tourism’ that may not involve direct interpersonal interaction between Indigenous Peoples and visitors, but it also introduced an efficient way by which to inform these visitors of Indigenous presence and respectful, moral, and responsible behaviour. Furthermore, the ‘Indigenous-driven’ methodology discussed above aims to ‘Indigenize’ tourism ethics to create a document that outlines moral and ethical expectations in a context that is relevant to the Indigenous owners of that space.

6.2 Limitations of research and future opportunities for research

This research project was met with some limitations, a few of which I discussed through my personal reflections in Chapter 3. For example, although this project was guided by community-based participatory research and Indigenist research paradigms, it was challenging to maintain a participatory framework throughout the entire process. CBPR specifies the need for an equal research partnership (Israel et al., 2005), while the Indigenist paradigm requires working as a team under the guidance of a knowledge keeper (Wilson, 2007). Because of limited resources, I could only stay in Lutsel K’e for a restricted period of time. As a result, the majority of the data analysis and writing took place at home, and geographical distance from the community made it difficult to directly engage with knowledge keepers or maintain an equal partnership throughout the process. Although I
tried to overcome this limitation to some extent (i.e. by holding the analysis workshop with the WLEC before leaving Lutsel K’e, and communicating with community members through research reports), a more efficient and effective way of maintaining regular communication to enable a more consistent partnership needs to be explored. Perhaps, as a researcher, it would be beneficial to stay in the community throughout the entire analysis process and through the start of the writing process, in order to work more collaboratively with community members.

With the limitations to communication and collaboration came limitations for the community narrative and code of conduct. The geographical distance between Lutsel K’e and I, as well as the expectation for sole authorship of a Master’s thesis, meant that I was responsible for authoring the majority of the narrative and the code of conduct. It can be argued, then, that the community narrative and code of conduct may not be fully representative of the community’s perspectives, knowledges, and epistemologies if community members were not participating equally in the authoring process; that perhaps this project is not truly ‘Indigenist’ or ‘Indigenous-driven’. Again, attempts were made to overcome this limitation by ensuring that the majority of the project (research design, data collection, and analysis) were as participatory as possible; that the research project was designed to benefit the community and to privilege Denesoline voices, while feedback was welcomed and incorporated into the code of conduct (Wilson, 2007; Israel et al., 2005). Also, by limiting the creative liberties taken by the researcher, and instead honouring participant voices through lengthy direct quotations, the community narrative attempts to accurately represent a Denesoline narrative. Of course, this process is not perfectly participatory, and perhaps future research can explore how to engage with Indigenous community members more throughout the writing stage as co-authors. The challenge with this would be having enough resources (i.e. time and money) to stay in the community and to pay for accommodations and honorarium for participation.

An important part of developing an effective code of conduct, and maintaining its credibility, is to implement, monitor, and report the results of the code moving forward – a process that is frequently neglected (Genot, 1995; Mason & Mowforth, 1996). As a result, a key area for future research could be to follow up on the code once it is developed. Reflecting on the challenges faced by Cole (2007), it would be important to look at whether the code is published and endorsed, how and by who; how Lutsel K’e community members, visitors, and other stakeholders perceive the code, and whether any changes need to be made so it can be more effective; and the role of the code in visitor management, especially if the national park reserve negotiations are successful and more independent
travellers visit the region. From these results, future research can explore how the process and outcome of this thesis, as well as information regarding implementation and monitoring, can be applied to other Indigenous communities in order to develop their own community-specific code of conduct for visitor behaviour.

It may also be interesting to explore how an emic, community-specific code of conduct (i.e. the code for Lutsel K’e) compares to a broader, generalized code of conduct (i.e. WWF Code for Arctic Visitors). Does an interpretation-based, teleological code that outlines the narratives of community members and educates visitors about a specific region offer a more effective visitor management tool than a deontological code of conduct that applies to a far broader scale? What if the broader code of conduct used a teleological, interpretation approach? The tourism ethics literature, especially that pertaining to visitor codes of conduct, could use more empirical material to support or negate the need for a community-developed, emic code of conduct.

Finally, now that a code of conduct for visitors has been established for Lutsel K’e, it may be exciting to explore whether expectations for behaviour can be applied in reverse, looking instead at visitor expectations of hosts. Participant narratives highlighted an interest in tourism development and more visitation to the territory as long as it benefits the Denesoline. With that being said, it is important to consider the Denesoline’s responsibility as host to visitors, and their ethical and moral obligations to visitors. What do visitors (e.g. tourists, government and mining officials, researchers) expect when they visit Lutsel K’e? What has their experience been in the past? What would improve their experience? Tourism ethics, and codes of conduct more specifically, apply to all aspects of the tourism industry – tourism operators, workers, and tourists, in an effort to encourage behaviour that exceeds the expectations of the law (Malloy & Fennell, 1998). This thesis explored only one component of the industry (i.e. visitors), and so future research could address the other components in an effort to paint a more thorough picture of tourism ethics in Lutsel K’e.

This Master’s thesis touched on an important topic that is not very prevalent in the literature; specifically, a code of conduct for visitors to Arctic destinations that was developed collaboratively with a particular Indigenous community through participant narratives. As a result, this thesis initiated several important discussions about the impact of colonialism on Indigenous Peoples in Arctic Canada, and how tourism and visitation can perpetuate contemporary colonialism, as well as the ongoing struggle for Denesoline governance and management of their own territory. In recognition of these challenges, this thesis offered a potential solution by taking a decolonized approach to research,
working collaboratively with the Denesoline to listen to their stories, synthesize a community narrative, and create an Indigenized code of conduct for visitors that asserts territorial ownership and presence, as well as a desire to actively manage that space. This study highlighted the importance of an Indigenous-driven approach to research that is founded on the community’s research interests, and ultimately seeks to benefit the community in their effort to resist colonialism and engage in self-determination. Participant narratives indicated an interest in future tourism development in Denesoline territory. This thesis acknowledged this interest, and in turn, seeks to inform future visitors through detailed instruction that this sacred land is our home, and respectful visitors are welcome.
Appendices

Appendix A

UNIVERSITY OF WATERLOO
OFFICE OF RESEARCH ETHICS

Notification of Ethics Clearance of Application to Conduct Research with Human Participants

Principal/Co-Investigator: Bryan Grimwood
Student Investigator: Ali Holmes
Student Investigator: Lauren King
Collaborator: Gita Ljubicic

Department: Recreation & Leisure Studies
Department: Recreation & Leisure Studies
Department: Environment & Resource Studies
Department: Carleton University

ORE File #: 19666

Project Title: Picturing the Thelon River: Restoring Denesoline relations en route to the headwaters

This certificate provides confirmation that the above project has been reviewed in accordance with the University of Waterloo's Guidelines for Research with Human Participants and the Tri-Council Policy Statement: Ethical Conduct for Research Involving Humans. This project has received ethics clearance through a University of Waterloo Research Ethics Committee.

Note 1: This ethics clearance is valid for one year from the date shown on the certificate and is renewable annually. Renewal is through completion and ethics clearance of the Annual Progress Report for Continuing Research (ORE Form 105).

Note 2: This project must be conducted according to the application description and revised materials for which ethics clearance have been granted. All subsequent modifications to the project also must receive prior ethics clearance (i.e., Request for Ethics Clearance of a Modification, ORE Form 104) through a University of Waterloo Research Ethics Committee and must not begin until notification has been received by the investigators.

Note 3: Researchers must submit a Progress Report on Continuing Human Research Projects (ORE Form 105) annually for all ongoing research projects or on the completion of the project. The Office of Research Ethics sends the ORE Form 105 for a project to the Principal Investigator or Faculty Supervisor for completion. If ethics clearance of an ongoing project is not renewed and consequently expires, the Office of Research Ethics may be obliged to notify Research Finance for their action in accordance with university and funding agency regulations.

Note 4: Any unanticipated event involving a participant that adversely affected the participant(s) must be reported immediately (i.e., within 1 business day of becoming aware of the event) to the ORE using ORE Form 106. Any unanticipated or unintentional changes which may impact the research protocol must be reported within seven days of the deviation to the ORE using ORE form 107.

Maureen Nunnenkemper, PhD
Chief Ethics Officer
OR
Julie Jozsa, MPH
Senior Manager, Research Ethics
OR
Sacha Geer, PhD
Manager, Research Ethics

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Northwest Territories Scientific Research Licence

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Inuvik, Northwest Territories

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Affiliation: University of Waterloo

Funding: Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council

Team Members: Ally Holmes; Lauren King; Lutsel K'e Research Coordinator; Gita Ljubicic; Mike Tollis

Title: Picturing the Thelon River: Restoring Denesoline relations en route to the headwaters

Objectives: To work collaboratively with the Lutsel K'e Dene First Nation to reveal and restore Denesoline relationships to the Thelon River watershed.

Dates of data collection: April 9, 2014 to June 30, 2014.

Location: Lutsel K'e and Whitefish Lake.

Licence No. 15437 expires on December 31, 2014
Issued in the Town of Inuvik on March 14, 2014

* original signed *

Pippa Seccombe-Hett
Director, Aurora Research Institute
Instructions for Multi-Year Research

The NWT Scientific Research Licence is issued for one calendar year, and expires December 31 of the issuing year. Your research licence application was reviewed by community organizations under the perspective of multiple years of research activity.

Please note that the attached licence should not be considered a multi-year licence. Licences still have to be renewed annually, however, through a simplified process.

Licence renewal is not guaranteed, and may be slowed by lack of reporting and feedback to communities, concerns over researcher conduct, or in some cases significant changes in a community reality.

Kindly retain this letter with your licence, to guide you through renewal. Below are important points to be remembered:

1. October 31 of the issuing year is the deadline for submission of your simplified research licence renewal application. Instructions on how to complete the simplified application will be available through the Aurora Research Institute's online system (www.nwtresearch.com/polar).
2. Upon renewal, you will be prompted to update your contact information, confirm or expand locations, confirm your methodology and research time period.
3. Prior to the above submission, a 200-words summary report of field activities has to be submitted online, including preliminary findings if any. Extensions on summary submissions may be granted for research being conducted late in the calendar year.
4. A new complete application may be required, if significant changes in your research prompt new potential concerns or impacts. Some examples are: new research area involving community organizations that have not previously reviewed your application; new methodology or investigative field, raising new potential impacts; new time period, in potential conflict with local communities' traditional activities.

Please contact our office by phone at (867) 777-3298 ext. 231 or email at licence@nwtresearch.com if you would like more information, or if there are questions about changes in your research in future years.

Thank you and best wishes for a successful study!

Sincerely,

Jonathon Michel,
Manager, Scientific Services
March 14, 2014

Notification of Multi-Year Research

I would like to inform you that Scientific Research Licence No. 15437 has been issued to:

Dr. Bryan S.R. Grimwood
University of Waterloo
200 University Avenue
Waterloo, ON
N2L 3G1 Canada
Phone: (519)888-4567 x 32612
Fax: (519) 746-6776
Email: bgrimwood@uwatloo.ca

to conduct the following study:

Picturing the Thelon River: Restoring Denesoline relations en route to the headwaters (Application No. 2658)

This is year 1 of a 2 year project.

Please contact the researcher if you would like more information.

SUMMARY OF RESEARCH

This licence has been issued for the scientific research application No.2658.

The purpose of this research is to work collaboratively with the Lutsel K’e Dene First Nation to reveal and restore Denesoline relationships to the Thelon River watershed. The study involves three objectives: 1) to foster and celebrate Denesoline cultural livelihoods by recording, experiencing, and exchanging local and traditional knowledge associated with the Thelon; 2) to synthesize, analyze, and interpret Thelon related policies, archives, and media productions for meaningful use within the community context of Lutsel K’e; and, 3) to engage in a knowledge exchange land camp where research materials will be interpreted and plans for future collaborative research will be made.

The study will include three research modules involving participants from Lutsel K’e. These modules will contribute in different ways to achieving the study objectives and the research priorities identified at the December 2013 research planning workshop.

1. Interviews
The interviews used in this study will be focused life-story interviews. The goal of this interview method is to enable each participant to tell his or her story in relation to the Thelon River, and the connections he or she has with other people and the environment. It is a type of interview that encourages a conversational and story-telling style where the participant sets the pace and the interviewer listens, clarifies, probes, and raises topics which need to be covered in the interview that have not arisen spontaneously in the course of the conversation.

Two sets of interviews involving different participants will take place between April and June 2014. The first set will document Denesoline knowledge and stories about the Thelon River. Between 20 and 30 Lutsel K’e Dene will be recruited as participants. Participants may include elders, land users, or youth with stories to tell about the Thelon based on their direct experience or their knowledge passed down to them by ancestors. The second set of interviews will document Denesoline perspectives on behaviors and best practices of visitors/tourists to the Thelon River. Between 10 - 15 Lutsel K’e Dene First Nation (LKDFFN) representatives involved in land use planning, management, and decision-making will be recruited as participants. For both sets of interviews, potential participants will be identified by the Lutsel K’e Research Coordinator (LRC) and/or the Wildlife Land and Environment Committee (WLEC), and subsequently contacted by telephone by a member of the research team and invited to participate. Information and recruitment posters
with research team contact information will also be displayed at strategic locations around the community (e.g., community hall, Co-op, Council Office). Interviews will last 60 – 90 minutes, be audio recorded (but only with participant permission), and be carried out by the LRC and a Waterloo graduate student.

2. Community Workshops

The community workshops will be interactive and participatory events that emphasize knowledge exchange and celebration. Information derived from the interviews will be shared with workshop participants and used to prompt additional discussion, stories, or talking circles relating to the Thelon River. Participants will also be invited to analyze and/or interpret the knowledge derived from the interviews. Workshops will, therefore, be a forum for reporting results and sharing the authority of interpreting research.

A total of three workshops are anticipated: one with the WLEC, and two with a combination of elder and youth representatives. These will occur in May or June 2014 and be facilitated by the LRC and a Waterloo graduate student. Each workshop will last 90 – 120 minutes. Potential elder and youth participants will be identified by the LRC and subsequently contacted by telephone by a member of the research team and invited to participate.

3. Knowledge Exchange Land Camp

The third research module involving Lutsel K‘e participants is a six-day knowledge exchange land camp, at Whitefish Lake (62° 37’ 53” N, 106° 56’ 01” W), one of the Thelon’s headwater lakes. The research land camp was proposed by the WLEC as an opportunity for Dene youth to directly experience local and traditional knowledge under the guidance of Dene land users and be involved in research activities. To the WLEC, the land camp is ideal for learning about Denesoline relationships to the Thelon, and for communicating knowledge between generations and across cultures.

The proposed camp will involve six to eight participants—including youth and land users from Lutsel K‘e, and members of the research team. The group will travel Denesoline trails to Whitefish Lake via snowmobile, carrying food, camping equipment, and other supplies upon towed sleds. Ethnographic methods of participant observation, photography, film, and participant mapping will be used to document Denesoline land use and knowledge experienced during the land camp. The camp will also be a base for sharing and co-interpreting knowledge derived from the interviews and community workshops in Lutsel K‘e, and from previous Thelon River research with Inuit and tourists. Knowledge will also be integrated into action items for designing future collaborative research that brings together Dene and Inuit to celebrate and maintain distinctive cultural livelihoods within the Thelon watershed.

The research will build on Denesoline traditions of use and occupancy of the Thelon watershed. Documenting Denesoline knowledge will enhance local understandings of, and relationships to, this sacred place in contexts of Arctic change. The headwaters land camp planned will add an experiential dimension to the research whereby Denesoline land users and youth may exchange knowledge and practice cultural skills. According to the WLEC, benefits associated with documenting and experiencing this knowledge include: greater intergenerational and intercultural awareness of Dene territory and livelihoods; improved protection of traditional lands; culturally meaningful land use alternatives to resource extraction; and tourism service opportunities. These outcomes will enhance understanding of the Thelon as Denesoline homeland, prompting further awareness that the Canadian north is much more than a resource frontier.

Results of this study will be communicated to diverse audiences based on respective interests and with the permission of LKDFN research partners. Review and reporting activities within Lutsel K‘e will be ongoing, while activities designed for other Thelon stakeholders and academia will begin in 2015 and continue beyond the funding period.

Within Lutsel K‘e: The study prioritizes community partnerships to facilitate knowledge co-creation and use. Research will be communicated through: community workshops in which knowledge derived from research activities is shared and co-interpreted; reports following each research visit; a headwaters land camp for knowledge exchange and integration into future research planning; a community celebration of stories, photographs, and video following the headwaters land camp; a research reporting visit by the Applicant in August 2015.

Thelon Stakeholders: In collaboration with LKDFN research partners, research may be made accessible to a broader community of Thelon stakeholders, including: other Indigenous inhabitants, territorial and federal government agencies, co-management boards, environmental NGO’s, tourism operators, and tourists. Reporting activities could include developing a website and final research report that summarize project outcomes and invite stakeholder involvement in future related research. The nature of this reporting will be determined in April 2014.

Academia: In collaboration with LKDFN research partners, research will be presented at national and international academic conferences and in academic journal articles. Research outcomes may also be integrated into undergraduate and graduate teaching modules at the University of Waterloo and Carleton University.
The fieldwork for this study will be conducted from April 9, 2014 to June 30, 2014.

Sincerely,

____________________________
Jonathon Michel,
Manager, Scientific Services

DISTRIBUTION
Akaitcho Territory Government
Lutsel K'e Dene First Nation
Appendix C

This Agreement dated for reference this 20 of June, 2014

BETWEEN

<Lutsel K’e Dene First Nation>,
("the First Nation")

-and-

<University of Waterloo>,
("Researcher"),

WHEREAS the First Nation is desirous of fostering and promoting research with respect to their culture and traditional territory,

AND WHEREAS Researcher is interested in collaboration with the First Nation in conducting research in the traditional territory,

AND WHEREAS Researcher and the First Nation understand the general nature of the Research Project,

THEREFORE THE PARTIES AGREE AS FOLLOWS:

Part I - Definitions

1. The “Research Project” (“the Project”) is that Project set out in Schedule “A” to this Agreement.

2. The term “Research Team”, where the circumstances require, is deemed to include any person who works with or reports to the Principal Investigator with respect to the Project, whether for monetary gain or otherwise. Schedule “B” identifies Research Team members, and their respective roles and responsibilities with respect to the Project, as of the Effective Date.

3. “Disseminate” means to send, transmit, or otherwise share or exchange intellectual property, as defined herein, with a person or persons who are not members of the First Nation.

4. “Effective date” means the date on which this Agreement is executed by both the First Nation and Researcher.

5. “Intellectual property” means the information gathered by the Research Team as a result of undertaking the three research modules involving participants from Lutsel K’e as outlined in Schedule “A”, and whether stored in handwritten form, text, sketches, paintings, video, photographic, or electronic format, or any similar medium.

6. “Storage” means that state whereby information has been converted from an oral or visual state to a medium or media whereby it can be disseminated, and includes, but is not
limited to such media as text, sketches, paintings, video, photographic, or electronic format, or any similar medium.

Part II - General Terms and Conditions

Project Period

7. This Agreement shall be deemed to come into force on the Effective Date, and shall terminate on the 31st day of December 2018, unless extended or otherwise terminated as provided herein ("the Project Period").

Cooperation and Collaboration

8. The First Nation and Researcher agree that, to the greatest degree possible, they shall endeavour to cooperate and collaborate in the execution of matters arising and ancillary to this Agreement.

Relationship between the First Nation and Researcher

9. Nothing contained in this Agreement shall create an agency or employment relationship between the First Nation and Researcher, and Researcher shall in all respects be without authority or power to bind the First Nation or otherwise render the First Nation liable to third parties-at-law, just as the First Nation will be without authority or power to bind the Researcher.

10. The First Nation may, in its sole discretion, choose to provide funding or other support to Researcher in conducting the Project; and nothing in the offer of the First Nation and/or the acceptance of the funding or other support by Researcher abrogates the terms as set out in this Agreement, and for further clarity, does not affect the relationship of the First Nation and Researcher as set out in this Agreement.

Indemnification by Researcher

11. Each party (the First Nation and the Researcher) shall indemnify and save harmless the other party, its officers, employees, servants and agents against all losses, claims, damages or expenses relating to any injuries, disease, illness, disability or death to persons in performance of the Agreement or damage to property, caused by the willful or negligent act or omission of agents or personnel involved in the performance of this Agreement. Neither party shall be liable to the other party for any indirect, consequential or special damages arising from performance of this Agreement.

Obligations on Termination

12. The obligations of Researcher with respect to dissemination in Part III of this Agreement survive termination of this Agreement.

Extension of Agreement

13. This Agreement may be extended with the written consent of the parties.
Amendment of Agreement

14. This Agreement may be amended with the written consent of the parties.

Progress Reports

15. Researcher will use various means to report to the First Nation during the Project Period, and/or at any time that a request is made by the First Nation. Reporting will include: written summary reports within 90 days after completion of research modules described in Schedule “A”; community workshops in which knowledge derived from research activities is shared and co-interpreted (i.e., research module 2 in Schedule “A”); a community celebration of stories, photographs, or video following the knowledge exchange land camp (i.e., research module 3 in Schedule “A”); a summative final written report and community presentation during the summer or autumn of 2015.

16. Researcher will provide reports to the First Nation as set out in Clause 15, and with the consent of the First Nation, when Researcher deems it necessary.

Part III - Intellectual Property

Intellectual Property: Collection

17. Prior to commencing the Project, the Researcher will submit to the First Nation an outline of all major aspects of the Project, along with a timeline for completion of each step in the Project.

18. Prior to conducting interviews with members of the First Nation, the Researcher will ensure that the appropriate consent forms have been obtained from each person. The Researcher will use consent forms approved by the University of Waterloo Research Ethics Board (ORE File #19666) and share these with the First Nation prior to commencing the Project.

19. Each member of the First Nation involved in an interview as part of the Project will receive from the Researcher a copy of his/her interview transcript, and have the opportunity to make alterations, additions, or adjustments to this transcript.

Intellectual Property: Storage

20. All information gathered during the Project, in whatever form, is and remains the sole property of the First Nation, and no storage of, dissemination of, or other use of the information is permitted, except as provided herein except with prior permission of the First Nation. The Researcher may use data collected during this project for the purposes of the Project and any resultant publications or presentations. Following the Project Period, the Researcher will store data securely for a period of ten (10) years, and the First Nation will store data securely for an indefinite period in the Lutsel K’e traditional knowledge archives.

21. Researcher is given a limited licence to use, maintain, store, duplicate, and utilize the information secured during this Project for the purpose of maintaining continuity of the Project.
during the Project Period. Should Researcher wish to use the information secured during this Project for projects or research beyond the scope of this Project, prior permission will be sought from the First Nation. Should the First Nation wish to use the data collected as part of this Project in subsequent projects, they will seek written permission from the participants and communicate their intention in writing to the Researcher.

**Intellectual Property: Dissemination**

22. Information collected under this Project may only be disseminated on consent of the First Nation. This research agreement serves as permission to report on results collected as part of this Project; however, research results shared outside of the First Nation community at conferences and in academic journals will be discussed with the Manager of the Lutsel K’e Wildlife, Land, and Environment Committee, or his/her designate. In addition:

22.1. The First Nation and the Researcher agree that it is part of the Researcher’s function and policies to disseminate information and to make it available for the purpose of scholarship.

22.2 At any time during the term of this Agreement, the Researcher will provide the First Nation with a draft copy of any proposed publication or disclosure of Research Results for its review at least sixty (60) days before submission for publication or disclosure. Upon the First Nation’s written request, which shall be received by the Researcher within the same sixty (60) day period, the Researcher will:

(a) delete any Confidential Information of the First Nation from the proposed publication or disclosure; or
(b) collaborate with the First Nation on making revisions that are mutually agreed upon and maintain the intellectual integrity of the proposed publication or disclosure; or

(c) delay publication, subject to Section 22.3, up to a maximum of sixty (60) additional days for the purposes of filing for intellectual property protection on terms and conditions to be negotiated and agreed upon by the First Nation, the research participants, and the Researcher.

22.3. Notwithstanding Subsection 22.2(c), the Researcher retains the right to have any student thesis reviewed and defended without delay for the sole purpose of academic evaluation in accordance with the Researcher’s established procedures. The Researcher will, in consultation with the student and the First Nation, determine if such a publication delay as set forth in Subsection 22.2(c) will be provided. The First Nation may request that a thesis defense be held in camera and that the members of the thesis examination board, including the external examiner(s), be required to sign a non-disclosure agreement. The Researcher shall determine in its sole discretion if such request shall be granted.

23. Where the Researcher has interviewed an individual with respect to this Project, and intends to use that person’s name in any form of dissemination, as herein defined, Researcher will ensure that the consent of the individual for the use and/or dissemination of the information has been obtained in writing.

**First Nation Policies**

24. Researcher agrees to abide by the applicable First Nation policy(s), which policy(s) may be amended from time to time during the term of this Agreement at the sole discretion of the
First Nation. Where a policy is deemed to be applicable to this Project, it will be explained to the Researcher on, before, or during execution of this Agreement.

Part IV - Termination of Agreement

25. Without prejudice to any other rights, the First Nation may terminate this Agreement where Researcher fails to comply with the terms and conditions of this Agreement. In the event that the First Nation or Researcher terminates this Agreement, or at the end of the Project Period, the Researcher will, in accordance with Section 20, return all intellectual property materials to the First Nation, which materials will include, but not be limited to any and all video, audio, imaging, photographs, animations, written materials, computer disks and/or text collected or prepared for the purposes of the research Project.

26. The First Nation may terminate this Project without cause at any time, without penalty, by giving written notice to Researcher of its desire to terminate. Thirty (30) days after the receipt of the written notice as stipulated in this part, this Project will be considered at an end.

27. The Researcher may terminate this Project without cause at any time, without penalty, by giving written notice to the First Nation of its desire to terminate. Thirty (30) days after the receipt of the written notice as stipulated in this part, this Project will be considered at an end.

28. The Researcher and First Nation agree that this research project is a partnership based on respect. Inherent is an understanding that this research project is of mutual benefit to both parties. Before terminating the project, attempts will be made to communicate about and remedy any problems or conflicts that may occur.

Part V - Notice

29. All communications in writing between the parties shall be deemed to have been received by the addressee if delivered to the First Nation, or to Researcher, or if sent by mail, e-mail or fax, addressed as follows:

On behalf of the First Nation: 
Wildlife, Lands, and Environment Manager
Lutsel K'e Dene First Nation
Lutsel K'e, NT X0E 1A0
Tel: (867) 370-3197
Fax: (867) 370-3143
Email: lkdflnlands@gmail.com

On behalf of the Researcher:
Bryan Grimwood
Department of Recreation and Leisure Studies
University of Waterloo
200 University Avenue West
Waterloo, ON, Canada N2L 3G1
Tel: (519) 888-4567, x. 32612
Fax: (519) 746-6776
Email: bgrimwood@uwaterloo.ca

Research Agreement – Akaitcho Dene First Nations
30. Questions or requests for clarification about any aspect of this Agreement may be directed to the First Nation or Researcher via the contact information listed in Section 29.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF the parties have hereunto set their hands and seals on the day and year first above written.

SIGNED, SEALED AND DELIVERED

in the presence of:

as to the signature of (SAO/Band Manager):

[Signature]

Print Name

as to the signature of (First Nation Staff):

[Signature]

Print Name

as to the signature of (Principal Researcher):

[Signature]

Print Name

as to the signature of (Vice-President, University Research or designate):

[Signature]

Print Name

Research Agreement – Akaitcho Dene First Nations
Schedule “A”

Research Project Title: Picturing the Thelon River – Restor(y)ing Denesoline relations en route to the headwaters

Principal Investigator: Bryan S. R. Grimwood, Ph.D.
Department of Recreation and Leisure Studies
University of Waterloo
200 University Avenue West
Waterloo, ON, Canada N2L 3G1
(519) 888-4567 x.32612
bgrimwood@uwaterloo.ca

Funding Organization: Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada

Funding Period: 2013 – 2015

Licensing and Approvals: a) Office of Research Ethics, University of Waterloo
ORE File 19666
b) Aurora Research Institute
Scientific Research License No. 15437

Project Description:

The purpose of this research is to work collaboratively with the Lutsel K’e Dene First Nation to reveal and restore Denesoline relationships to the Thelon River watershed. The study involves three objectives: 1) to foster and celebrate Denesoline cultural livelihoods by recording, experiencing, and exchanging local and traditional knowledge associated with the Thelon; 2) to synthesize, analyze, and interpret Thelon related policies, archives, and media productions for meaningful use within the community context of Lutsel K’e; and, 3) to engage in a knowledge exchange land camp where research materials will be interpreted and plans for future collaborative research will be made.

The content and procedures for this study emerged through consultations between the Principal Investigator and representatives of the Lutsel K’e Dene First Nations. The study will include three research modules involving participants from Lutsel K’e. These modules will contribute in different ways to achieving the study objectives and the research priorities identified at a December 2013 research-planning workshop.

1. Interviews The interviews used in this study will be focused life-story interviews. The goal of this interview method is to enable each participant to tell his or her story in relation to the Thelon River, and the connections he or she has with other people and the environment. It is a type of interview that encourages a conversational and story-telling style where the participant sets the pace and the interviewer listens, clarifies, probes, and raises topics which need to be covered in the interview that have not arisen spontaneously in the course of the conversation.

Two sets of interviews involving different participants will take place between April 2014 and

Research Agreement – Akaitcho Dene First Nations
June 2014. The first set will document Denesoline knowledge and stories about the Thelon River. Between 20 and 30 Lutsel K’e Dene will be recruited as participants. Participants may include elders, land users, or youth with stories to tell about the Thelon based on their direct experience or their knowledge passed down to them by ancestors. The second set of interviews will document Denesoline perspectives on behaviors and best practices of visitors/tourists to the Thelon River. Between 10 - 15 Lutsel K’e Dene First Nation (LKDFN) representatives involved in land use planning, management, and decision-making will be recruited as participants. For both sets of interviews, potential participants will be identified by the Lutsel K’e Research Coordinator (LRC) and/or the Wildlife Land and Environment Committee (WLEC), and subsequently contacted by telephone or in person by a member of the Research Team and invited to participate. Information and recruitment posters with Research Team contact information will also be displayed at strategic locations around the community (e.g., community hall, Co-op, Council Office). Interviews will last 60 – 90 minutes, be audio recorded (but only with participant permission), and be carried out by the LRC and student members of the Research Team.

2. Community Workshops The community workshops will be interactive and participatory events that emphasize knowledge exchange and celebration. Information derived from the interviews will be shared with workshop participants and used to prompt additional discussion, stories, or talking circles relating to the Thelon River. Participants will also be invited to analyze and/or interpret the knowledge derived from the interviews. Workshops will, therefore, be a forum for reporting results and sharing the authority of interpreting research.

A total of three workshops are anticipated: one with the WLEC, and two with a combination of elder and youth representatives. These will occur in May 2014 or June 2014 and be facilitated by the LRC and student members of the Research Team. Each workshop will last 90 – 120 minutes. Potential elder and youth participants will be identified by the LRC and subsequently contacted by telephone or in person by a member of the Research Team and invited to participate.

3. Knowledge Exchange Land Camp The third research module involving Lutsel K’e participants is a six-day knowledge exchange land camp, at Whitefish Lake (62° 37’ 53” N, 106° 56’ 01” W), one of the Thelon’s headwater lakes. The research land camp was proposed by the WLEC as an opportunity for Dene youth to directly experience local and traditional knowledge under the guidance of Dene land users and be involved in research activities. To the WLEC, the land camp is ideal for learning about Denesoline relationships to the Thelon, and for communicating knowledge between generations and across cultures.

The proposed camp will involve six to eight participants—including youth and land users from Lutsel K’e, and members of the Research Team. The group will travel Denesoline trails to Whitefish Lake via snowmobile, carrying food, camping equipment, and other supplies upon towed sleds. Ethnographic methods of participant observation, photography, film, and participant mapping will be used to document Denesoline land use and knowledge experienced during the land camp. The camp will also be a base for sharing and co-interpreting knowledge derived from the interviews and community workshops in Lutsel K’e, and from previous Thelon River research with Inuit and tourists. Knowledge will also be integrated into action items for designing future collaborative research that brings together Dene and Inuit to celebrate and maintain distinctive cultural livelihoods within the Thelon watershed.

Research Agreement – Akaitcho Dene First Nations
The research will build on Denesoline traditions of use and occupancy of the Thelon watershed. Documenting Denesoline knowledge will enhance local understandings of, and relationships to, this sacred place in contexts of Arctic change. The headwaters land camp planned will add an experiential dimension to the research whereby Denesoline land users and youth may exchange knowledge and practice cultural skills. According to the WLEC, benefits associated with documenting and experiencing this knowledge include: greater intergenerational and intercultural awareness of Dene territory and livelihoods; improved protection of traditional lands; culturally meaningful land use alternatives to resource extraction; and tourism service opportunities. These outcomes will enhance understanding of the Thelon as Denesoline homeland, prompting further awareness that the Canadian north is much more than a resource frontier.

Results of this study will be communicated to diverse audiences based on respective interests and with the permission of LKDFN research partners. Review and reporting activities within Lutsel K'ee will be ongoing, while activities designed for other Thelon stakeholders and academia will begin in 2015 and continue beyond the funding period.

Within Lutsel K’ee: The study prioritizes community partnerships to facilitate knowledge co-creation and use. Research will be communicated through: community workshops in which knowledge derived from research activities is shared and co-interpreted; reports following each research visit; a headwaters land camp for knowledge exchange and integration into future research planning; a community celebration of stories, photographs, and video following the headwaters land camp; a research reporting visit by the Applicant in the summer of autumn of 2015.

Thelon Stakeholders: In collaboration with LKDFN research partners, research may be made accessible to a broader community of Thelon stakeholders, including: other Indigenous inhabitants, territorial and federal government agencies, co-management boards, environmental NGO’s, tourism operators, and tourists. Reporting activities could include developing a website and final research report that summarize project outcomes and invite stakeholder involvement in future related research.

Academia: In collaboration with LKDFN research partners, research will be presented at national and international academic conferences and in academic journal articles. Research outcomes may also be integrated into undergraduate and graduate teaching modules at the University of Waterloo and Carleton University.
## Schedule “B”

**Roles and Responsibilities of Research Team Members**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Organization</th>
<th>Role</th>
<th>Responsibilities</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bryan Grimwood</td>
<td>University of Waterloo</td>
<td>Principal Investigator</td>
<td>To provide leadership within the research team. Responsibilities entail: fostering partnerships and communication between university researchers and Lutsel K’e; submitting UWaterloo research ethics and Aurora Research Institute research licensing applications; supervising and training two master’s students; training the LRC in proposed research methods; providing direct support to all project phases; making multiple visits to Lutsel K’e; integrating knowledge into future funding applications; co-authoring conference presentations and journal articles.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gita Ljubicevic</td>
<td>Carleton University</td>
<td>Co-Investigator</td>
<td>To support the research team and graduate students in carrying out collaborative research within a northern Aboriginal community context. Responsibilities include: maintaining consistent lines of communication with the Applicant; visiting Lutsel K’e at least once during the Project Period; if appropriate, serving on graduate student committees; co-authoring conference presentations and journal articles.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mike Tollis</td>
<td>Lutsel K’e Wildlife, Environment, and Land Department</td>
<td>Designated LKDFN Representative and Research Partner</td>
<td>To oversee research to ensure community priorities, interests, and voices are central to all project phases. Responsibilities include: participating in a research-planning workshop; supporting the research team via ongoing communication, in-kind contributions, and community familiarization; project decision-making in partnership with the Principal Investigator; providing feedback on dissemination materials prior to distribution and publication; co-authoring conference presentations and journal articles, if desired.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Terry Enoke</td>
<td>Lutsel K’e Dene First Nation</td>
<td>Lutsel K’e Research Coordinator</td>
<td>To provide local leadership within Lutsel K’e for the research team. Responsibilities include: maintaining consistent lines of communication with the Principal Investigator and Research Assistants; liaising between research team and Lutsel K’e research participants; supporting fieldwork (e.g., interpretation, data collection and analysis, land camp experience) and reporting research activities to the LKDFN; co-authoring conference presentations and journal articles, if desired.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lauren King</td>
<td>University of Waterloo</td>
<td>Research Assistant and Graduate Student</td>
<td>To support and implement research modules identified in Schedule “A”. Responsibilities include: participating in a research-planning workshop; maintaining consistent lines of</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Allison Holmes</td>
<td>University of Waterloo</td>
<td>Research Assistant and Graduate Student</td>
<td>To support and implement research modules identified in Schedule “A”. Responsibilities include: participating in a research-planning workshop; maintaining consistent lines of communication with all members of the Research Team; supporting fieldwork (e.g., data collection and analysis) and reporting research activities to the LKDFN; distributing to individual research participants his/her interview for transcript; co-authoring conference presentations and journal articles.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Picturing the

THELON RIVER

Restor(y)ing Denesoline relations en route to the headwaters

RESULTS FROM THE RESEARCH PLANNING WORKSHOP IN LUTSHEL K’E, NT
Lutsel K’e Dene First Nation Council Chambers, December 05 - 06, 2013

BACKGROUND

Picturing the Thelon River is a research project that engages different knowledges of the Thelon River watershed in Arctic Canada to cultivate enhanced understanding of, and responsible relationships to, a sacred place within the context of social-ecological change. It is a community-based and participatory project emphasizing collaborative research relationships between northern Aboriginal communities, river tourists, and university researchers. Bryan Grimwood, an Assistant Professor at the University of Waterloo, Ontario, coordinates the project.

The initial phase of study (2008-2011) involved working with canoeists and Inuit residents of Qamani’tuq (Baker Lake, Nunavut) to document knowledge about the Thelon, and to share this knowledge within and between groups. The second phase (2012) involved sharing outcomes of the initial study with representatives of the Lutsel K’e Dene First Nation (LKDFN). In November 2012, Bryan Grimwood visited Lutsel K’e to meet community representatives, including the Wildlife, Lands, and Environment Committee (WLEC). These meetings generated interest in developing a third project phase that focused on Dene knowledge, uses, and relationships associated with the Thelon River. After his visit, Bryan Grimwood maintained regular contact with WLEC Manager Mike Tollis while preparing a funding proposal to support this research with Lutsel K’e.

Gita Ljubicic, an Associate Professor at Carleton University with extensive experience working with northern communities, was also involved in preparing
the proposal. In June 2013, this new, third component of the Thelon River study was awarded two years of funding (2013-2015) from the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada (SSHRC). As written in the proposal, the purpose of the research is to work with the community of Lutsel K'è in responding to contexts of Arctic change by revealing and restoring Denesoline relationships with the Thelon River watershed. The project is based on three objectives:

1. To foster and celebrate Denesoline cultural livelihoods by recording, experiencing, and exchanging local and traditional knowledge associated with the Thelon River watershed;

2. To synthesize, analyze, and interpret Thelon River watershed policies, archives, and media productions for meaningful use within the community context of Lutsel K'è;

3. To plan and pilot a knowledge exchange land camp that will: a) involve collaborations between Dene, Inuit, university researchers, and other Thelon stakeholders; and b) become the basis for future collaborative research.

Figure 1. The Thelon River Watershed

WORKSHOP OBJECTIVES

An important first step in phase three of Picturing the Thelon was for university researchers and community representatives to communicate and work together on planning and initiating the research. Accordingly, Bryan Grimwood and two University of Waterloo graduate students, Lauren King and Ally Holmes, visited Lutsel K'è for five days in December 2013. The main purpose of their visit was to participate in and facilitate a research planning workshop with members of the WLEC
and other LKDFN representatives. The workshop occurred in the Council Chambers on Thursday, December 05 and Friday, December 06 from 10:00 AM – 4:30 PM each day. Objectives of the workshop were to:

1. Develop a solid foundation for future work together by building relationships between the community of Lutsel K’ee and university researchers;
2. Collaborate on clarifying expectations, priorities, and timelines about the research project and associated land camp, including the various roles to be played by community and university researchers; and
3. Generate feelings of excitement about the Picturing the Thelon River research project.

The remainder of this report summarizes the results of the workshop.

WORKSHOP OVERVIEW

Day 1 (December 05, 2013)

Morning

Introductions were made informally as workshop participants arrived and were offered coffee, tea, and snacks. Gita Ljubicic was unable to travel to the community so a conference call set up was used to include her in the first part of the workshop. Sam Boucher opened the meeting with a prayer. This was followed by more formal introductions. Each participant was asked to introduce him/herself and describe a personal experience associated with the Thelon River or with research. Gita Ljubicic described her background working on collaborative research projects with Inuit communities in Nunavut, and explained that her role in this project would be to provide support and guidance when necessary. Bryan Grimwood presented a broad overview of the research project Picturing the Thelon River. This included information and photographs from work carried out with river tourists (commercially guided canoeists) and Inuit from Qamanituaq (Baker Lake, Nunavut). Next, Bryan introduced the current project entitled RESTORing Denesoline relations en route to the headwaters, and reviewed his previous consultation visit to Lutsel K’ee (November 2012), regular communications with Mike Tollis over the past year, and the development of a successful SSHRC research grant. In this overview, Bryan emphasized the collaborative dimensions of the research and that the substance and processes the project could be adapted based on community input received during this workshop. The workshop agenda was then introduced and Bryan’s role as workshop facilitator discussed. It was identified that the graduate students, Lauren and Ally, were involved in order to make introductions, learn, observe, and take notes and photographs.

The morning concluded with an activity based on the question: “What would you like people to know about the Thelon River?” Workshop participants were invited to consider this question for a few minutes and write down individual responses on a note pad. Participants then shared their responses with the entire group, explaining and elaborating on details when appropriate. All responses were recorded on chart paper to create a compiled list of responses from the group. The list of responses was posted on a wall for future reference.

Afternoon

The afternoon session began around 1:30 pm. Coffee, tea, and snacks were made available as people returned from the lunch break. The second half of the day was organized into two interactive brainstorming activities. The first activity was designed to identify community perspectives on what counts as responsible and respectful research. It focused on the question: “What is needed for a research project to be considered ‘good’ or ‘respectful’ research?” Individual participants responded to this question by writing down key words or short phrases on cue cards. Participants then shared their ideas with the group by posting their cue card responses on a white board. Cue cards containing similar ideas were grouped together by the participants. A discussion of key issues, concerns, and themes followed and Bryan made additional notes on the white board to highlight these in relation to the contents of the cue cards. The afternoon break provided an opportunity to synthesize and re-organize cue cards and notes into a framework for doing “good research that can help being a dene on the land”.

Picturing the Thelon River: Lutsel K’ee Research Planning Workshop December 2013 Report, p. 3
The other afternoon activity was designed to identify research priorities with respect to the Thelon River. It focused on the question: "What are your main priorities for the Thelon River research project?" A second sub-question was: "What would you like to know more about in relation to the Thelon River?" This activity began with another cue card exercise. Participants responded to the questions by writing down key words or short phrases. These individual responses were shared with the group and posted on the white board. Next, participants were each given 10 blue stickers and asked to attach these to the cue cards containing content that they deemed most important. If a participant felt that a cue card was especially important, he/she could attach more than one blue sticker to it. At the end of the exercise, cue cards with the most number of blue stickers represented the main research priorities. The opportunity was taken to synthesize cue cards into thematic categories and discuss these with the group. By the end of the afternoon, the workshop participants had identified seven interrelated research priorities for the Thelon River project:

1. Future orientations: youth connections
2. Play a leading role in Thelon governance and management
3. Land camp experience
4. Dene connections with Inuit
5. Changes observed and responses to them
6. Thelon stories
7. Identifying and understanding different ways of using the Thelon.

Day 2 (December 06, 2013)

Morning

The second day of the workshop began with informal conversations over coffee, tea, and snacks. Once everyone settled in, Bryan reviewed the outcomes of Day 1 and invited participants to identify and discuss research methods that might be useful to addressing the research priorities. Herman Catholique joined the morning discussion and shared a story about the Thelon that was told to him by his grandfather.

The next part of the morning focused on the headwaters land camp component of the research project. Working in small groups of two to four people, and provided with coloured markers, pens, and chart paper, participants were asked to draw what the land camp experience might look at. The intention here was for participants to communicate different expectations and clarify the who, what, where, when, why, and how of the land camp experience. Participants used the drawing exercise to create and discuss their visions together, and then shared these with the larger group by describing the details contained within their drawings.

Mike Tollis graciously organized a lunch to be brought in for all workshop participants. Just after noon, we enjoyed delicious stew, fresh bannock, and jello desert.

Afternoon

After lunch, there was a clear sense from all participants that the workshop had generated important information about working together on a locally relevant research project about the Thelon River. To bring the workshop to a close, the group spent the afternoon discussing ‘next steps’ for moving forward. This involved clarifying expectations about community research protocols, reporting to the community, and authorship of academic publications. Discussions also focused on: how workshop participants wanted to contribute to the project as it moves forward; when members of the university research team should return to Lutsel K’e; timelines for carrying out different aspects of the research; what outcomes or products (other than academic publications) from the research the community wants to see; opportunities for securing additional funding to support the headwaters land camp; community ownership over knowledge generated, data collected, and how the community is represented; and how best to maintain open lines of communication. It was agreed upon that an important next step was for Bryan to develop this workshop report, along with a plan and timeline for carrying out the research, which would be forwarded to the workshop participants for review prior to submitting a research license application to the Aurora Research Institute.
WORKSHOP OUTCOMES

Several key outcomes emerged from the two-day workshop. These are summarized below and organized under subheadings that relate to the various activity and discussion topics of the workshop.

1. What should people know about the Thelon River?

Workshop participants identified several responses to the question “What would you like people to know about the Thelon River?” Notes taken to record these responses are shown on the left-hand sidebar. Participants emphasized that Dene stories about the Thelon River must be communicated within and beyond Lutsel K’ee. These stories involve both historical and contemporary relationships to the Thelon, and relate to: ancestors; sacred animals like caribou, muskoxen, and white fox; how the Thelon Wildlife Sanctuary came to be; place names and traditional uses; respecting the land while travelling; and the role of Lutsel K’ee Dene and Baker Lake Inuit as primary stewards of the entire river. Telling Dene stories of the Thelon was identified as a way to teach young Dene and visitors about protecting the river environment (inclusive of animals, caribou calving grounds and migration routes, ancestors, drinking water, artifacts like spearheads and caches) from resource exploration and exploitation.

2. What does ‘good’ or ‘respectful’ research look like?

Participants’ individual responses to this question were recorded on cue cards and grouped into initial themes on a white board. Additional notes were made to reflect information and ideas expressed in followup discussion. Figure 2 shows the initial result of this exercise.
Emerging from the cue card exercise and discussion of ‘good’ and ‘respectful’ research was a framework for doing “research that can help being a Dene on the land” (see Figure 3). Seven components of the framework were identified by grouping cue cards that contained similar content (see Table 1).

![Diagram of framework for research that can help being a Dene on the land]

**Table 1. Framework components described using verbatim content of cue cards.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Component</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Collaboration</strong></td>
<td>Team work; communication; working with elders; youth; WLEQ: traditional knowledge; become friends; collaborate in data collection, analysis, publication, etc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Learning Together</strong></td>
<td>Learning from each other: learning (youth, elders, community, researchers, students); teaching and learning traditional knowledge; return T.K. back to schools for our young ones for next generation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Review and Reporting</strong></td>
<td>Transparency (e.g., open communication); ongoing reporting; intensive review and reporting (different ways of reporting - radio station, going to schools, festivals, public meetings); include everything before published; accurately convey TK relationship (teaching, activities, and stories and how to protect them)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Respect</strong></td>
<td>Respect different knowledge; respect change movement (pathways and migration); good researchers are allowed back; community-driven outcomes reflect a positive relationship between the researcher and the community; listening to stories and listening for stories; honesty</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Local Protocols and Ownership</strong></td>
<td>Follow local research protocols; local ownership of research and knowledge outcomes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>On-the-Land Observations; Being There</strong></td>
<td>Animals - what type saws in the area during different seasons; what type of vegetation grows in the Thelon area; balancing scientific knowledge and traditional knowledge; understanding landscape features (trees, wildlife, streams)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Benefits to the Community</strong></td>
<td>Tangibly, possibly long-term benefits; meaningful partnerships with knowledge holders; useful data or information for LEQ; using local knowledge; help protect the T.K.; training for community members; taking advantage of knowledge and capacity that comes from the community</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Picturing the Thelon River: Lutsel K’e Research Planning Workshop December 2013 Report, p. 6
3. What are the main priorities for the Thelon River research project?

Workshop participants used the second cue card activity to identify and rank research priorities and desired learning outcomes. Images in the left sidebar illustrate how content on cue cards was ranked by participants using blue stickers. The more blue stickers a cue card received, the higher the priority. The images also shows broader priority themes that emerged when cue cards with similar foci were grouped together. The seven priority themes resulting from the activity and subsequent discussion are summarized as follows:

1. **Future orientations: youth connections**
   - The study must be future oriented. It can help to inform and teach young people about the sacred significance and national recognition of the Thelon, and how to mitigate against real and potential impacts.

2. **Play a leading role in Thelon governance and management**
   - The study should promote local understanding of management issues (e.g., user information, monitoring) and support Lutsel K'ee’s involvement in Thelon River governance.

3. **Land camp experience**
   - The study should encourage Dene of all ages to return to the Thelon with their families. It can promote trips to different sites and in different seasons.

4. **Dene connections with Inuit**
   - The study, and specifically the land camp experience, can be a bridge between Dene and Inuit, and their respective representatives and governments.

5. **Changes observed and responses to them**
   - The study can enable enhanced knowledge of changes that have occurred, or are occurring, within the Thelon (e.g., with respect to impacts of climate change and mining on water, wildlife, or plants), and how Lutsel K’ee has responded, or is responding, to these changes.

6. **Thelon stories**
   - The study should emphasize stories about Dene relationships to the Thelon River and encourage these stories to be told and heard within Lutsel K’ee.

7. **Identifying and understanding different ways of using the Thelon**
   - The study can enable enhanced knowledge of different uses, and potential uses, of the Thelon River.
4. Imagining the headwaters land camp

The drawing exercise proved to be a fun, interactive, and creative way for participants to express their ideas and expectations about the land camp experience. Four illustrative maps were generated. These are shown on the right hand side of the page. Upon completion, each group explained the content of their map to the other workshop participants. The photograph above shows Joseph Catholique presenting the map that he was involved in creating.

Overall, a number of similar and different expectations for the land camp were identified. Participants agreed that Whitefish Lake was an ideal location for a land camp in early spring (March 2015). This location and time would be ideal for traveling by snowmobile and sled, and require various supplies including tents (for sleeping, meeting, cooking), cooking stoves, axe, chainsaw, GPS, and extra snowmobile parts. It was agreed that the focus of the land camp should be teaching and learning, telling stories, and respecting the land and water. The idea of paying people to go to the land camp was discouraged. The clearest difference in expectations related to the number of people who would attend the land camp. In an ideal scenario, the camp would be accessible to families, people of all ages (elders, youth, children), hunters/land users, and researchers. This would present different logistical and financial challenges than a smaller land camp involving six to eight people, which is what the current funding is able to support.
5. Moving Forward

The final component of the workshop was a discussion about strategies for moving forward with the research project and continuing to work together within a university and community research team. Key highlights from this discussion are organized into ‘desired outcomes’ and ‘next steps’.

a. Desired Outcomes

- A land camp experience that celebrates and teaches about Denesoline traditional knowledge and supports LKDFN involvement in co-managing the Thelon
- The study continues to focus on building relationships between university researchers and the LKDFN
- The LKDFN retains ownership of information collected during the study
- Academic papers resulting from the study are reviewed by LKDFN representatives prior to publication
- The role of LKDFN representatives in co-authoring academic publications shall be worked out at a later date
- Resources developed to support school curriculum (e.g., a book directed toward children and/or youth)
- Promotional materials developed for circulation within and beyond Lutsel K’ee
  - E.g., Information pamphlets, website, or video
- Facebook group or youth blog devoted to communicating research and land camp experience
- Community event that celebrates the land camp, Thelon stories, and participants’ research contribution
- Documentary film telling the story of the headwaters land camp (need to think of what scale of film)
- Ongoing reporting after each phase of the research, followed by a final summary report presented by university researchers in the community

b. Next Steps

- Work with Mike Tollis to maintain open lines of communication between university researchers and LKDFN
- January 2014: prepare this research planning workshop report and develop a concise research plan for community review
- Winter 2014: submit application for ARI research license and UW research ethics clearance; work with WLEC to identify a Lutsel K’ee research coordinator to assist with study; work with WLEC to develop a formal research agreement
- Spring/Summer 2014: Begin documenting Denesoline knowledge and stories associated with the Thelon River
- Look for additional funding to support a more extensive land camp than current resources will allow
  - LKDFN representatives will explore within their networks (e.g., Nature conservancy, mining companies, Native Communications Society)
  - UW researchers will explore within their networks (e.g., other SSHRC grants)
- Spring 2015: Knowledge exchange land camp at the headwaters of the Thelon River (Whitefish Lake)
LIST OF PARTICIPANTS

We are grateful for the knowledge, stories, and openness that each of the workshop participants brought to this meeting.

Jake Basil
LKDFN Wildlife, Lands, and Environment Committee

Sam Boucher
LKDFN Wildlife, Lands, and Environment Committee

Herman Catholique
LKDFN Member

Joseph Catholique
LKDFN Wildlife, Lands, and Environment Committee

Roy Desjardins
LKDFN Wildlife, Lands, and Environment Committee

Gloria Enzoe
LKDFN Staff

Terri Enzoe
LKDFN Wildlife, Lands, and Environment Committee

Ron Fatt
LKDFN Wildlife, Lands, and Environment Committee

Bryan Grimwood
University of Waterloo
(Project coordinator and workshop facilitator)

Allison Holmes
University of Waterloo
(Workshop logistical support)

Lauren King
University of Waterloo
(Workshop logistical support)

Gita Ljubicic
Carleton University
(Project liaison and logistical support)

Sunrise Lockhart
LKDFN Staff

Stephanie Poole
LKDFN Staff

Mike Toillis
Manager, LKDFN Wildfield, Lands, and Environment Committee
(Workshop coordinator, facilitator, and logistical support)

Thank you also to those that attended the elders information session on the evening of
Wednesday, December 05, 2013 at the LKDFN Council Chambers:

Alfred Abel,
August Catholique
Eddie Catholique
Joe U. Catholique
John Catholique
Vicky Desjardins
August Enzoe
Mary Fatt
Eduard Prince
Ernest Boucher
Alec Rabesca
Marcel Basil

Thanks also to Henry Catholique for providing translation at the elders’ meeting, the LKDFN for allowing us to meet in the Council Chambers, and the Lutsel K’ee Co-op for providing comfortable accommodation. Finally, we are grateful to SSHRC for the funding that supported this workshop.

Report prepared by Bryan Grimwood, January 2014

Questions or comments about this report?

Bryan Grimwood
Department of Recreation and Leisure Studies
University of Waterloo
200 University Avenue, Waterloo, ON N2L 3G1
bgirimwood@uwaterloo.ca
Phone: (519) 888-4567 x 32612

Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada
Conseil de recherches en sciences humaines du Canada

Picturing the Thelon River: Lutsel K’ee Research Planning Workshop December 2013 Report, p. 10
Dear Lutsel K’e Dene First Nation representative:

This letter is an invitation to participate in the study, *Picturing the Thelon River: Restoring Denesoline relations on route to the headwaters*. This is a collaborative study involving university researchers and the Lutsel K’ee Dene First Nation Wildlife, Lands, and Environment Committee. Dr. Bryan Grimwood, an Assistant Professor in the Department of Recreation and Leisure Studies at the University of Waterloo, is the project coordinator. We would like to provide you with more information about this project and what your involvement would entail if you decide to take part.

*Picturing the Thelon River* is an extended case study that engages different communities of the Thelon River watershed in Arctic Canada to cultivate deeper understandings of, and responsible relationships to, a sacred place within the context of social-ecological change. This study involves working collaboratively with the Dene residents of Lutsel K’ee to reveal and restore Denesoline relationships to the Thelon River watershed, primarily through a) documenting local and traditional knowledge, and b) exchanging knowledge between multiple Thelon River stakeholders.

Participation in this study is voluntary. Your participation would involve taking part in a 60-90 minute face-to-face interview with a Lutsel K’ee researcher and a University of Waterloo researcher. The interview is to take place in agreed upon location and will focus on your perspectives of visitor behaviour and best practices with respect to the Thelon River watershed. You may decline to answer any of the interview questions if you so wish. Further, you may decide to withdraw from this study at any time without any negative consequences by advising the researchers. With your permission, the interview will be audio recorded to facilitate collection of information, and later transcribed for analysis. Shortly after the interview has been completed, you will be given a copy of the transcript to provide you an opportunity to confirm the accuracy of our conversation and to add or clarify any points that you wish. All information you provide is considered completely confidential. However, you may choose whether or not you want to be acknowledged for your contributions by name in any research publications, reports, or presentations resulting from this study. This means that you can decide if your name is to be associated with the direct quotations from your interview and reported in resulting publications. Data collected during this study will be retained and secured in a password-protected file for 10 years, and will be stored indefinitely within the Oral History Archive in Lutsel K’ee. Accordingly, only researchers associated with this project, or members of the Lutsel K’ee Dene First Nation, will control access to the data. There are no known or anticipated risks to you as a participant in this study. As an acknowledgement of your contributions, a university researcher will present you with an honorarium of $50.00 CAN at the end of your interview.

If you have any questions regarding this study, or would like additional information to assist you in reaching a decision about participation, please contact Bryan Grimwood at (519) 888-4567 ext. 32612 or by email at bgrimwood@uwaterloo.ca. You can also contact Lutsel K’ee Research Coordinator, (insert name) at (insert telephone number) or email (insert email address).

This study has received a research license from the Aurora Research Institute (No. 15437) and has been reviewed and received ethics clearance through a University of Waterloo Research Ethics Committee. However, the final decision about participation is yours. If you have any comments or concerns resulting from your participation in this study, you may contact Dr. Maureen Nummelin, in the Office of Research Ethics at 1-519-888-4567, Ext. 36005 or maureen.nummelin@uwaterloo.ca.

It is our hope that the outcomes of this collaborative project will help foster Denesoline knowledge about the Thelon River watershed and promote knowledge exchange, while aiding in the planning of future research with Dene, Inuit, university researchers, and possibly other Thelon stakeholders.

We look forward to the possibility of your participation and thank you in advance for your assistance in this project.

Yours Sincerely,

Bryan Grimwood
Lauren King
Ally Holmes
LKDFN Wildlife, Lands, and Environment Committee
PARTICIPANT CONSENT FORM

By signing this consent form, you are not waiving your legal rights or releasing the investigator(s) or involved institution(s) from their legal and professional responsibilities.

I have read the information presented in the information letter about a study being conducted by University of Waterloo researchers in collaboration with the Lutsel K'e Dene First Nation. I have had the opportunity to ask any questions related to this study, have received satisfactory answers to my questions, and have been provided with any additional study details requested.

I am aware that I have the option of allowing my interview to be audio recorded to ensure an accurate recording of my responses.

I am also aware that excerpts from the interview may be included in research publications, graduate theses, reports, presentations, or other media (e.g., a project website). I understand that I will choose whether or not I am identified by name for my contributions.

I have been informed that I may withdraw my consent at any time without penalty by advising the researchers. Should I withdraw, I may decide at that time whether the information I have provided can continue to be used for the research or if the information is to be destroyed.

I understand that I will receive an honorarium of $50.00 at the end of the interview. I have been informed that a University of Waterloo researcher will present this acknowledgement to me.

This project has been reviewed by, and received ethics clearance through a University of Waterloo Research Ethics Committee. I have been informed that if I have any comments or concerns resulting from my participation in this study, I may contact the Director, Office of Research Ethics at 519-888-4567 ext. 36005.

This project has also been reviewed by the Aurora Research Institute and has been granted a Scientific Research Licence (No. 15437).

With full knowledge of all foregoing, I consent, of my own free will, to participate in an interview:

☐ Yes
☐ No

I consent to the recording of my interview and the reproduction of my responses for research purposes:

☐ Yes
☐ No

In the publication of study results and sharing this information with others:

☐ I want to be credited by name for the contributions that I have made (information will be attributed to me).

☐ I DO NOT want to be credited by name, but general acknowledgment can be provided (e.g., "Anonymous resident Lutsel K’e, NT.")
Participant’s Name: ____________________________ (Please Print)

Participant’s Signature: ____________________________ Date: ____________

Verbal consent, check here: □

Parent (guardian) Name if under 16: ____________________________ (Please Print)

Parent (guardian) signature: ____________________________ Date: ____________

Witness Name: ____________________________ (Please print)

Witness Signature: ____________________________ Date: ____________

Researcher Consent:

I have fully explained the procedures of the study to the above participant and will respect the terms of this consent form.

Researcher’s Name: ____________________________

Researcher’s Signature: ____________________________ Date: ____________

If you have any questions or concerns about your participation in the study, you may contact:

Bryan Grimwood (Principal Investigator)
Department of Recreation and Leisure Studies
University of Waterloo
200 University Avenue, Waterloo, ON N2L 3G1
TEL: (519) 888-4587 x. 32612
FAX: (519) 746-6776
bgrimwood@uwaterloo.ca
DATA COLLECTION SCRIPTS

Picturing the Thelon River: Retracing Denesoline Relations en Route to the Headwaters

Note: The data collection methods used in this study are designed to encourage a reflective, narrative, and dialogical style where participants set the pace of the discussion and the researchers listen, clarify, probe, and possibly bring up topics relating to study objectives that have not arisen spontaneously in the course of the conversation. As such, the scripts below are best considered ‘conversational guides’ and meant only to provide a sense of what may be discussed in the respective data collection phases.

INTERVIEWS: PERSPECTIVES ON VISITOR BEHAVIOUR

Briefing: “Thank you for choosing to participate in this interview. As we discussed earlier, this interview focuses on your perspectives on the behaviour and best practices of visitors/tourists to the Thelon River watershed. We will start with a general question about your views/knowledge of Thelon River visitors and then use more detailed prompts to clarify elements of the stories you share with us. Please remember that you do not have to answer any questions that you don’t want to, and we can stop at any time.”

• The interview starts by asking participants to narrate an outline of their life, paying special attention to the stories they know and/or were told about visitors to the Thelon River, and how these influence (or are influenced by) being Dene, community, identity, and health and well-being

• Prompts will invite the participant to expand on ideas, topics, themes, or to elaborate and provide detail wherever possible and appropriate as it relates to the stories/knowledge shared (e.g., descriptions of settings, characters, events, circumstances, lessons to be learned/communicated)

• Prompts will also be used to invite participants to speak about:
  ○ Stories relating to positive and negative encounters with visitors;
  ○ Stories relating to positive and negative impacts (social, ecological, cultural) caused by visitors;
  ○ Stories with illustrative and specific examples of appropriate visitor behaviour;
  ○ Stories relating to what Dene want visitors to know and/or do while travelling the Thelon River (e.g., “If you met a visitor, what would you want him/her to know about the Lutsel K’e Dene and their relationship to the Thelon River? What suggestions might you give them for travelling responsibly within the Thelon River watershed?”)
  ○ Stories relating to the different ways visitors use the Thelon.

• If and when possible, participants will be invited to use personal photographs or other cultural symbols/objects associated with the Thelon as talking points (note: these photos/objects will remain in the sole possession of participants and, at this time, are not to be included as research data);

• If and when possible, participants will be invited to use topographical maps to identify routes and places discussed in their stories.

Debriefing: “Well, those are all the questions we have for you today. Thank you for your participation and telling us about your perspectives on Thelon River visitor behaviour. If you would like, we can return to you your interview transcript when it’s ready. This will give you the chance to elaborate on and clarify details from the information you’ve contributed. Thank you.”
Appendix G

Date ________________

Dear Lutsel K'e resident:

This letter is an invitation to participate in the study, *Picturing the Thelon River: Restoring Denesoline relations en route to the headwaters*. This is a collaborative study involving university researchers and the Lutsel K'e Dene First Nation Wildlife, Lands, and Environment Committee. Dr. Bryan Grimwood, an Assistant Professor in the Department of Recreation and Leisure Studies at the University of Waterloo, is the project coordinator. We would like to provide you with more information about this project and what your involvement would entail if you decide to take part.

*Picturing the Thelon River* is an extended case study that engages different knowledge of the Thelon River watershed in Arctic Canada to cultivate deeper understandings of, and responsible relationships to, a sacred place within the context of social-ecological change. This study involves working collaboratively with the Dene residents of Lutsel K'e to reveal and restore Denesoline relationships to the Thelon River watershed, primarily through a) documenting local and traditional knowledge, and b) exchanging knowledge between multiple Thelon River stakeholders.

Participation in this study is voluntary. Your participation would involve taking part in a 90 – 120 minute interactive and participatory workshop focused on exchanging, interpreting, and celebrating Denesoline knowledge in relation to the Thelon River watershed. A Lutsel K'e Research Coordinator (LRC) and a University Waterloo Researcher will facilitate this workshop. Within the workshop, information derived from previous aspects of this study involving Lutsel K'e Dene will be shared and used to prompt additional discussion, stories, or talking circles relating to the Thelon River watershed. Participants will be invited to analyze and/or interpret the knowledge derived from the interviews. An acknowledgement of your contributions, a university researcher will present you with an honorarium of $50.00 CAN at the end of your interview.

There are no known or anticipated risks to your participation in this workshop. You may decline answering any questions or participating in any activities without penalty. Further, you may decide to withdraw from this study at any time without any negative consequences by advising the researchers. The workshop will be audio recorded, and sometimes photography and video will be used to document particular features or details that may be helpful in communicating the process and outcomes of the workshop. All information that you and other workshop participants provide is considered completely confidential. However, you may choose whether or not you want to be acknowledged for your contributions by name in any research publications, reports, or presentations resulting from this study. This means that you can decide if your name is to be associated with direct quotations taken from your workshop contributions and reported in resulting publications. Data collected during this study, including photos and video, will be retained and secured in a password-protected file for 10 years, and will be stored indefinitely within the Oral History Archive in Lutsel K'e. Accordingly, only researchers associated with this project, or members of the Lutsel K'e Dene First Nation, will control access to the knowledge you provide.

If you have any questions regarding this study, or would like additional information to assist you in reaching a decision about participation, please contact Bryan Grimwood at (519) 888-4567 ext. 32612 or by email at bgrimwood@uwaterloo.ca. You can also contact Lutsel K'e Research Coordinator, (insert name) at [insert telephone number] or email [insert email address]. Regular research reports, including a summary of the workshop, will be distributed to the LKDFN Wildlife, Lands, and Environment Committee.

This study has received a research license from the Aurora Research Institute (insert license number) and has been reviewed and received ethics clearance through a University of Waterloo Research Ethics Committee. However, the final decision about participation is yours. If you have any comments or concerns resulting from your participation in this study, you may contact Dr. Maureen Nummelin in the Office of Research Ethics at 1-519-888-4567, Ext. 36005 or maureen.nummelin@uwaterloo.ca.
It our hope that the outcomes of this collaborative project will help foster Denesoline knowledge about the Thelon River watershed and promote knowledge exchange, while aiding in the planning of future research with Dene, Inuit, university researchers, and possibly other Thelon stakeholders.

We look forward to the possibility of your participation and thank you in advance for your assistance in this project.

Yours Sincerely,

Bryan Grimwood
____________________ (Insert Name of Lutsel K'ee research coordinator)

Lauren King
Ally Holmes
LKDFN Wildlife, Lands, and Environment Committee
PARTICIPANT CONSENT FORM

By signing this consent form, you are not waiving your legal rights or releasing the investigator(s) or involved institution(s) from their legal and professional responsibilities.

I have read the information presented in the information letter about a study being conducted by University of Waterloo researchers in collaboration with the Lutsel K' e Dene First Nation. I have had the opportunity to ask any questions related to this study, have received satisfactory answers to my questions, and have been provided with any additional study details requested.

I am aware that the workshop will be audio recorded to ensure an accurate recording of my responses.

I am also aware that excerpts from the workshop may be included in research publications, graduate theses, reports, presentations, or other media (e.g., a project website). I understand that I will choose whether or not I am identified by name for my contributions.

I have been informed that I may withdraw my consent at any time without penalty by advising the researchers. Should I withdraw, I may decide at that time whether the information I have provided can continue to be used for the research or if the information is to be destroyed.

I understand that I will receive an honorarium of $50.00 at the end of the workshop. I have been informed that a University of Waterloo researcher will present this acknowledgement to me.

This project has been reviewed by, and received ethics clearance through a University of Waterloo Research Ethics Committee. I have been informed that if I have any comments or concerns resulting from my participation in this study, I may contact the Director, Office of Research Ethics at 519-888-4567 ext. 36005.

This project has also been reviewed by the Aurora Research Institute and has been granted a Scientific Research Licence (insert licence number).

With full knowledge of all foregoing, I consent, of my own free will, to participate in a research workshop:

☐ Yes

☐ No

I consent to the recording of the workshop and the reproduction of my responses for research purposes:

☐ Yes

☐ No

In the publication of study results and sharing this information with others:

☐ I want to be credited by name for the contributions that I have made (information will be attributed to me).

☐ I DO NOT want to be credited by name, but general acknowledgment can be provided (e.g., "Anonymous resident Lutsel K'e, NT."
Participant’s Name: __________________________________________________________________________ (Please Print)
Participant’s Signature: _____________________________________________________________________ Date: ______________
Verbal consent, check here: ☐

Parent (guardian) Name if under 16: __________________________________________________________________________ (Please Print)
Parent (guardian) signature: _____________________________________________________________________ Date: ______________

Witness Name: __________________________________________________________________________ (Please Print)
Witness Signature: _____________________________________________________________________ Date: ______________

Researcher Consent:

I have fully explained the procedures of the study to the above participant and will respect the terms of this consent form.

Researcher’s Name: __________________________________________________________________________
Researcher’s Signature: _____________________________________________________________________ Date: ______________

If you have any questions or concerns about your participation in the study, you may contact:

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Planning for Community Workshop with WLEC – Tuesday, May 20’14 (1:30-3:30pm)

Expected attendees: Terri Enzor, Sam Boucher, Ron Fatt, Roy Desjarlais, Mike Tollis, Joseph Catholique, Lauren King, Ally Holmes

Supplies: Pads of paper (x6), markers/pens, recorder, consent forms (x6), camera

Purpose: To generate discussion around interview material – community-based analysis of data. Encourage discussion around common ideas, ask for elaboration/interpretation, additional stories that can supplement data.

Activity 1: Defining Visitor (5-10 min.)
- Have each member write what a ‘visitor’ is to them. What constitutes a visitor? What type of things might they be doing here?
- Share as a group to establish a working definition for ‘visitor’

Activity 2: Discussion/Analysis of Data (80 min. total) – discuss common ideas from interviews

1) Respecting the land (30min)– almost all of the interviews discuss respecting the land in some way (esp. not littering!) – if you don’t respect the land, it won’t respect you
   a. Why is respecting the land such a major theme?
      i. Terri mentioned protecting for younger generation
      ii. Didn’t hear many examples of ‘bad visitors’. Also told most visitors are respectful. Is this true?
   b. Pay the land – I’m hearing to pay with tobacco, but other alternatives work as well (shells, bread, spruce boughs, sugar, etc.)
      i. Why are these particular materials chosen? Brandon mentioned these materials are of this earth, important to pay to people here before
      ii. Why is this important? – Are there stories to explain why? (superstition? offering to ancestors?)
      iii. How does one know where to do this? (point out on map)
      iv. What is the purpose? – Herman mentioned asking for things (safe travel, good weather). Terri mentioned safe passage.
   c. Being silent in certain areas – Gloria mentioned silence when crossing the big lake
      i. Is this a common practice?
      ii. Why is this important? Are there stories associated with this?
      iii. How does one know where to be silent? – e.g. graveyards/other spiritual grounds
   d. Respect for animals – Herman’s story about visitors saying ‘they are good for ten caribou’
      i. Sign of disrespect, shouldn’t speak that way about things that are living. 1. How do you show respect? Why is it important? Stories?
      ii. Joseph mentioned non-resident hunters getting tags/fishing licenses – is this okay? What should they know when coming for those purposes? Are visitors coming for these purposes an important issue for the community?
      iii. Harvesting only what you need
e. Alcohol on the land? Several participants mentioned not drinking on the water/in a boat, but is on the land okay?
   i. Gloria – okay to enjoy yourself, but blasting music/excessive alcohol a problem?
f. Photographing, reporting on artifacts – leaving in place! (GPS coordinates)

2) Visitors as welcome to community and lands (30 min) (e.g. Joe’s story about Ray)
   a. Overall seems to be a common sentiment – do you agree? Why or why not?
      i. Several participants discussed economic potential through tourism – want more tourists?
      ii. Concerns about losing culture (e.g. Herman’s transcript) – Pete and Steve mentioned potential for tourism to encourage young people to practice traditional knowledge/activities? Cultural preservation?
   b. The reason I am here as a visitor is with the intention of helping protect the lands. Are visitors an important part of this? (e.g. experience land, go home and advocate protection)
      i. Pete mentioned visitors writing journals, writing books, etc. – sharing that info?
   c. Some concerns – one participant mentioned purposely avoiding visitors, uncomfortable with ‘being observed’. Also some concerns about too many visitors. Gloria mentioned ‘becoming Banff’ – want to share culture, but not become a ‘scheduled event’. Is this a common concern, especially with potential for more visitors with the proposed national park? Why or why not?
   d. Elder shared story about Inuit sneaking up on the Dene, but not talking to them or saying hi (therefore important to initiate interaction/communication?). Gloria mentioned visitors should be friendly, smiling, etc. Sometimes people will invite you in for tea. Want to know you get home safe if you travel the lands. Are these common sentiments? Why?
   e. Steve mentioned most visitors don’t come through the community now (e.g. canoeists).
      Is it important visitors come through the community before going out on the lands?
      i. Steve Ellis discussed potential gateway community, orientation to visitors prior to entering park – opportunity to share knowledge to encourage respectful behaviour/economic potential? Important to talk to elders?
   f. Terri, Brandon, and Sweetgrass talked about seeing visitors while with Ni Hat’ ni – is it expected that visitors will connect with you and fill out survey or is it optional?
      i. Why is it important for them to do so?
   g. Important to show respect to the community – sending a letter ahead of time to band office/WLEC re. arrival?
      i. ‘Knock before you come in; in someone’s home’ – Steve Ellis/Gloria; asking permission from community to use lands (e.g. before hunting, fishing) – is this important? Why?
   h. I was told in one interview that people are coming with no knowledge of Dene. For example, in the community, no one knocks on doors except RCMP. Do you agree this is a problem? What kind of things should they know?
      i. Act as if you’re visiting a foreign country – a friendly one
3) Importance of safety (20 min) – I’m hearing a lot of emphasis on safe travel
   a. Being prepared – having enough wood, supplies – weather can change quickly. Is this important for visitors to understand before coming?
   b. Safe travel requires a lot of knowledge – where there is open water, cliffs, graveyards, where to pay the land, etc. (problem with depending on GPS)
      i. How can visitors know this?
      ii. Thoughts on having a guide? (e.g. Jerry’s transcript- ‘you have to have a guide’; Herman- people travelling with natives come back alive, those travelling without often don’t come back)
         1. Important for at least first time travelling? Why?
         2. How do you get a guide (Gloria said write letter to WLEC/band)?
      iii. Being aware of characteristics of each season – ice thickness, animals (e.g. bears coming out of hibernation) – how can people know this? What is important to know?

Potential Activity 3 (time permitting)

- Look at Dene laws on ‘Kache’ brochure – explain that potential outcome of this project is a code of conduct for visitors. Aware that the Dene Laws already exist, but interpretation/attaching stories to them is important. Thoughts?
  o Are all of these laws important? Are there things missing?
Appendix I

PICTURING THE THELON RIVER
RESTOR(Y)ING DENESOLINE RELATIONS EN ROUTE TO THE HEADWATERS

Report on spring 2014 research activities in Lutsel K’e, NT

This report highlights activities associated with a Thelon River research project and carried out in Lutsel K’e during April, May, and June 2014. These activities are part of a two-year project called Picturing the Thelon River: Restor(y)ing Denesoline Relations on Route to the Headwaters, which was designed by the Lutsel K’e Wildlife, Lands, and Environment Committee (WLEC) and researchers at the University of Waterloo and Carleton University. Two Waterloo graduate students, Lauren King and Ally Holmes, and the Lutsel K’e Research Coordinator, Terri Enzoe, coordinated the activities. The participatory nature of the project allowed for several Lutsel K’e residents and representatives to assist with the research in different ways.
PROJECT BACKGROUND

Picturing the Thelon River is a research project that engages different knowledge of the Thelon River watershed in Arctic Canada to cultivate enhanced understanding of, and responsible relationships to, a sacred place within the context of social-ecological change. It is a community-based and participatory project emphasizing collaborative research relationships between northern Aboriginal communities, river tourists, and university researchers.

Between 2008 and 2011, research was carried out with Inuit residents of Baker Lake, Nunavut, and Thelon River canoe tourists. The current project with Lutsel K’ee evolved from meetings in November 2012 and December 2013 involving the WLEC and University of Waterloo researchers. The purpose of the research is to work with the community of Lutsel K’ee in responding to contexts of Arctic change by revealing and restoring Denesoline relationships with the Thelon River watershed. The project is based on three objectives:

1. To foster and celebrate Denesoline cultural livelihoods by recording, experiencing, and exchanging local and traditional knowledge associated with the Thelon River watershed;

2. To synthesize, analyze, and interpret Thelon River watershed policies, archives, and media productions for meaningful use within the community context of Lutsel K’ee;

3. To plan and pilot a knowledge exchange land camp that will: a) involve collaborations between Dene, Inuit, university researchers, and other Thelon stakeholders; and b) become the basis for future collaborative research.

In June 2014, a research agreement between the LKDFN and the University of Waterloo was formalized to define the terms and conditions of the collaborative research. The agreement also describes the interview, workshop, and land camp research methods that make up the project.

Research carried out in Spring 2014 focused on the first project objective noted above. In particular, two research components involving interviews and workshops with Lutsel K’ee residents were prioritized. These activities are described in detail below.

COMPONENT 1: THELON STORIES

Researchers — Lauren King and Terri Enzoe

‘Life-story’ interviews were carried out with 25 Lutsel K’ee community members, including Elders, land users, and youth. For this style of interview, the people interviewed were invited to decide what stories to share and tell based on their direct experience with the Thelon River or based on knowledge passed down to them by their ancestors. Interviews began with general conversations about participants’ relationships with, and stories about, the Thelon. More specific attention was also given to the stories that:

- participants want future generations to know about;
- highlight social and ecological changes within the Thelon watershed;
- were deemed important for Denesoline youth to know; demonstrate Denesoline occupancy and involvement in governance and management of the Thelon;
- and involve interactions with other groups, including Inuit.

All interviews were audio-recorded and transcribed, and these materials are now stored in the Lutsel K’ee community archive for future community access and use.

Overall, the interviews revealed how Denesoline knowledge, use, and connection associated with the Thelon are sensitive and adapting to various historical and contemporary changes. The following excerpts are examples of the kinds of stories told during interviews:

1. Florence Catholique described circumstances associated with the development of the Thelon Wildlife Sanctuary Management Plan: “Lutsel K’ee took the position that nothing can happen in the Thelon without our involvement. So we sort of imposed ourselves on the government
[of Northwest Territories] and said we want to go through a process with the Baker Lake people. And we had a big gathering [in the Sanctuary] and we talked about the management plan and how we could work together. The agreement to work together is there. The ideology of how, why, and who is all the same. The only factor that’s not there is…the money. In their piece [Baker Lake Inuit] they have the money; it’s not an issue. In this case, it’s the Territories government. So that management plan is sitting there.” (May 07, 2014)

2. Damien Kailek recalled his experience on the 2011 Nature Conservancy canoe trip down the Thelon River: “Best two weeks of my life. You know the best part of it was just being on the river and paddling down, and seeing everything. You know, it really gave me a good understanding of what we have out there. And it’s definitely worth fighting for, worth keeping, and just being untouched, you know. Just leaving it the way it is.” (April 29, 2014)

After all interviews were carried out, Lauren and Terri facilitated a community workshop with Elders, land users, and youth. The workshop occurred on June 16, 2014 at the Healing Centre’s tent. The workshop’s purpose was to collaborate with community representatives to begin interpreting the stories told during interviews and to share new stories that shed light on past and current relationships with the Thelon. Several points were emphasized in the workshop, including:

- The types and number of animals are changing;
- Elders have warned of major changes within the Thelon basin, including flooding;
- Animals have spirits and Dene have the ability to communicate with them;
- Mines are affecting the health of caribou and people, as well as water quality;
- The land has the power to heal people and make them stronger;
- The land and water needs protection;
- Lutsel K’e must continue to work with Baker Lake Inuit to protect the Thelon.

In addition to contributing to the Lutsel K’ee community archives, the Thelon stories documented in this research component are to be used in community celebrations and presentations at the school and community hall. The stories will also be incorporated into an upcoming land camp at Whitefish Lake (March/April 2015) as a means for exchanging knowledge between generations (e.g., Elders/land users and youth) and cultures (e.g., Dene and University of Waterloo researchers). They will also serve as a basis by which to plan for future land camps and research involving Dene and Inuit.
COMPONENT 2: VISITOR BEHAVIOUR

Researchers – Ally Holmes and Terri Enzoe

Twelve individuals participated in interviews that focused on ‘life stories’ relating to experiences with visitors to the Thelon River watershed and other traditional Denesoline lands. Because the focus of these interviews related to LKDFN involvement in managing the Thelon River watershed, participants involved in this aspect of the study included past and present members of the WLEC, members of Ni Hat’ni Dene, as well as land users, Elders, and youth. Each participant was invited to tell stories about positive and negative encounters with, and impacts of, visitors. Similar to the Thelon Stories component, audio-recorded and transcribed interviews are now stored in the Lutsel K’ee community archive for future community access and use. They will also be used in future research activities, including the headwaters land camp, community presentations, and academic publications.

Overall, participants’ stories of visitor behaviour emphasized the importance of protecting and respecting the land. Different categories of visitors were identified, including Aboriginal hunters from outside of Lutsel K’ee, boaters and canoeists, and government and mining officials. Participants described specific examples of appropriate visitor behaviour while travelling and/or using LKDFN traditional lands, and discussed the information/knowledge people required prior to travelling on the land or visiting the community.

The following excerpts are meant to provide a sample of the kinds of stories told during the interviews:

1. Joseph Catholique emphasized the importance of respect, safety, and learning from community members, stating that visitors should “stop on by and say where you’re going and how you’re going” before travelling on the land. Joseph described his experience on the land and the Thelon River, and expressed a willingness to share his knowledge of respectful and safe behaviour with visitors because “if you don’t know what you’re doing... if you don’t have enough of respect for the river... it’ll just give you a big blowing snow.” (April 28, 2014)

2. Gloria Enzoe described the LKDFN territory as a beautiful place for “guests to get away from everyday city life.” Nevertheless, it is important that visitors realize they’re “coming to somebody else’s home and that regardless of where you go within our traditional territory, it’s our home... and we want the land respected and we want the animals respected and the water respected.” (May 08, 2014)

3. As another participant described: “The Thelon is a sacred place, and I would prefer it if Lutsel K’ee and Baker Lake were the gateways to the Thelon so that we can make sure [visitors] have our advice going forward. And it’s not to say that we want to limit anyone’s access or experience, but I think it’s to enhance it and to make it more safe... [and] so that they’re contributing some money to our economy.” (May 14, 2014)

On May 20, 2014, Ally and Terri facilitated a workshop with members of the WLEC to begin analyzing and interpreting the stories told during interviews. Stories and themes from the interviews were shared with the committee to allow further discussion and elaboration. For example, workshop participants shared their perspectives on respecting the land, why this is so important, and how it is accomplished (e.g., by paying the land, being silent in certain areas, respecting animals and archaeological artefacts). Participants also considered the extent to which visitors are welcome to Lutsel K’ee and on Denesoline lands, the potential economic contribution that tourism might have on the community, and the idea that people who visit and experience the land can help protect it by raising awareness within their home communities. Issues such as visitor monitoring, visitor safety, and enhancing opportunities for local guides were also discussed.

From the information provided during the interviews and WLEC workshop, a next step is to generate a code of conduct for visitors to Lutsel K’ee and LKDFN lands. This will highlight community expectations of visitor behaviour by synthesizing the stories told by interview and workshop participants. Consistent input from the LKDFN representatives will be an important part
of drafting this code of conduct so as to ensure community voices, perspectives, and participation remain at the centre of this study component.

NEXT STEPS
Over the next several months, the research team will be working with the WLEC to plan a land camp at Whitefish Lake. The land camp will occur in late March or early April 2015, and involve a small group of land users and youth from Lutsel K'ee and two members of the research team. The land camp will focus on celebrating, experiencing, and teaching about Denesoline traditional knowledge. Participants will also explore ways that future land camps can support LKDFN involvement in co-managing the Thelon with Inuit.

With input and feedback from LKDFN representatives, the research team is also working to synthesize the stories documented during spring research. Anticipated outcomes of this process will include: academic conference presentations and publications reviewed and possibly co-authored by LKDFN representatives; a community event that celebrates the knowledge and research contributions of Lutsel K'ee residents; resources designed to support school curriculum (e.g., a children's book about the Thelon); and information materials and resources developed for circulation within and beyond Lutsel K'ee (e.g., a code of conduct for visitors to Denesoline lands).

MOVIE NIGHT
On May 20th at the Lutsel K'ee arena, the research team organized a screening of the film The Spirit of the Thelon for an audience of approximately 30 people. Starring in the movie are: Noel Drybone, Marlene Michelle, Aileen Drybone, Joseph Catholique, and two Inuit from Baker Lake, Roy Avaala and Jason Putirrinaqtaq. The film traces this group's journey by canoe from Lutsel K'ee to Baker Lake in 1999. A copy of the film was left for community use and access at the WLEC office.

SCHOOL PRESENTATION
The research team organized two school presentations, one on May 20 and one on May 21. Students were engaged in listening to stories told by Herman Catholique about the Thelon and caribou migration. They also heard from Damien Kallek about his participation in the 2011 Nature Conservancy canoe trip along the Thelon. After hearing these stories, several students drew pictures of what they believe the Thelon looks like and identified with the reasons why protecting the Thelon is important to the LKDFN.

HIDE TANNING
During her stay in Lutsel K'ee, PhD student Lauren King was invited to participate in the moose hide tanning culture camp that took place at Gap (river) between Stark Lake and GSL from June 6th to 15th. Under the guidance of Elders, adults, and youth, Lauren learned how to flesh, scrap, and stretch moose, caribou, and muskrat hides. It was a memorable, hands-on learning experience of a traditional Dene craft. Thank you!!
THANK YOU TO ALL THOSE CONTRIBUTING KNOWLEDGE, STORIES AND EXPERTISE TO THIS PROJECT!!

Research Component 1: Thelon Stories

Interview Participants:
- Joe Lockhart
- Herman Catholique
- Eddy Drybone
- Joe V. Catholique
- Madeline Catholique
- Dillon Enzoe
- Lockhart
- Morning Star Silas

- Damien Kailek
- Joseph Catholique
- August Enzoe
- Fred Marlowe
- Pierre Marlowe
- Ron Fatt
- JB Rabesca
- Shonto Catholique

- Madeline Drybone
- Florence Catholique
- Eddie Catholique
- Ernest Boucher
- Terri Enzoe
- Alfred Lockhart James
- Madeleine Marlowe

One participant wishes to remain anonymous

Community Workshop Participants
- Kyle Enzoe
- Irene Catholique
- Dillon Enzoe

- Terri Enzoe
- Joseph Catholique
- Sweetgrass Casaway

- Morning Star Silas
- Eddie Drybone
- Jasmine Catholique

Research Component 2: Visitor Behaviour

Interview Participants:
- Joseph Catholique
- Jerry Lockhart
- Damien Kailek
- Brandon Michel

- Terri Enzoe
- Herman Catholique
- Gloria Enzoe
- Two participants wish to remain anonymous

- Pete Enzoe
- Steve Ellis
- Sweetgrass Casaway

WLEC Workshop Participants:
- Terri Enzoe
- Sam Boucher

- Joseph Catholique
- Mike Tollis

- Ron Fatt

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TERRI ENZOE, LUTSEL K‘E RESEARCH COORDINATOR

MIKE TOLLIS, LKDFN WILDLIFE MANAGER

LUTSEL K‘E BAND COUNCIL

AGATHA LABOUCAN, LKDFN BAND MANAGER

BRIAN GREEN, LUTSEL K‘E COOP

STEVE ELLIS AND STEPHANIE POOLE

Thank you also to those involved in the movie night and school presentations, and that invited Lauren to participate at the hide tanning culture camp. We are grateful to SSHRC for funding this research. Photos used in this report by Bryan Grimwood, Lauren King, or Ally Holmes

Questions or comments about this report?

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