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The Tourism Influence and the Single Story

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The Tourism Influence and the Single Story

ABSTRACT
A specific, narrow narrative – or single story – has been told time and time again about the Indigenous people of Canada, whether in popular media representations or in textbooks throughout the country. This has been the colonial story of Indigenous people, one that freezes culture and people in a particular time and space. The author of this paper examines images and visual representations of indigenous people and culture and argues that a specific image and representation has became a type of marketing tool and product of Canada’s tourism industry, leading to a certain expectation of the tourist/visitor experience. The wooden Indian is an example, symbolizing a single story, and playing up elements of the romanticism of the noble savage. But while this is one form of indigenous tourism, operated by non-indigenous people, the author argues that a second form of indigenous cultural tourism, one run by the Indigenous community itself, has taken an active role in taking control of the single story. The paper explores how this has changed the narrative, and has attempted to eliminate the colonial story that has abounded in popular imagination.

RÉSUMÉ
Un récit univoque des peuples autochtones du Canada a été raconté maintes fois, sur plusieurs tribunes, soit dans les représentations populaires médiatiques ou dans les manuels scolaires à travers le Canada. Ce récit univoque, c’est l’histoire coloniale de ces peuples, une histoire qui fige la culture et les hommes dans une époque et un lieu bien particuliers. Cet article analyse certaines de ces images et de ces représentations des Autochtones et de leur(s) culture(s) afin de montrer que leur représentation unifiée, univoque et bien spécifique est devenu un outil de marketing pour l’industrie touristique du Canada. L’indien de bois sculpté est un exemple qui joue sur les éléments idéalisés du « bon sauvage ». Bien que cette forme de tourisme existe chez les non-Autochtones, l’auteur postule qu’une seconde sorte de tourisme culturelle existe chez les communautés autochtones elles-mêmes, qui tentent de reprendre le contrôle de leur propre histoire et de ses représentations. Cet article apporte des considérations nouvelles sur la mutation de ce récit et sa prétention à éliminer l’empreinte de l’histoire coloniale telle que fixée dans l’imagination populaire depuis déjà un certain temps.

KEYWORDS
Aboriginal tourism
Background: The Danger of a Single Story

I recently watched a presentation by novelist Chimamanda Adichie, which was recorded in July 2009. The website describes the presentation as follows: “our lives, our cultures are composed of many overlapping stories...and warns that if we hear only a single story about another person or country, we risk a critical misunderstanding.” She mentions how there is a critical misunderstanding of Africa and the single story of Africa by western books, media, and that literature has created many images, such as: Africa portrayed as a country instead of a continent with many countries, poverty, wars, men are rapists, wild landscape, catastrophes and (still) very tribal. Through her experiences and sharing her own stories, Chimamanda Adichie presents the issues, and overall dangers, of telling, knowing, and hearing only one story of a people or country. She states: “So that is how to create a single story, show a people as one thing, as only one thing, over and over again, and that is what they become.” Furthermore, she says that “the single story creates stereotypes. And the problem with stereotypes is not that they are untrue, but they are incomplete. They make one story become the only story.” It is my view that a single story is an oppressive force that is initially influenced and created by colonial factors. This essay begins with you the reader, I encourage you to watch the video, but also think about some Canadian examples of its single story?

Chimamanda Adichie speaks primarily from her own Nigerian experience and perspective. Yet, it is amongst the multicultural and Indigenous groups in Canada that similar concerns and protest arise. This paper will demonstrate one example in which Indigenous people are becoming empowered and are efficiently defeating the single story and stereotypes of the colonial story. Within a few days of viewing Chimamanda Adichie’s presentation, I read the introductory chapter to John Steckley’s book, White Lies about the Inuit. Similar to Adichie’s account of the dangers of only knowing one story of a country or people, Steckley talks about the only story(ies) that people have come to associate with the Inuit. Steckley discusses the portrayal of Inuit people and their culture as being a three hundred year old construct

2 Description can be found at the link provided above. The description is located to the right side of the webpage page in “About this talk”.
3 ibid. quote at 9:29minute
4 ibid. quote at 13:14 minute
of Westernized romanticism and exoticization. He refers to this portrayal as white created myths of the Inuit (or as the book title suggests, white lies about the Inuit). Some examples of the ‘white lies’ that he debunks are: the igloo, elder abandonment on ice floats, female infanticide, blond Eskimo, and rubbing noses (Eskimo kissing).

Steckley examines and challenges the four reasons of why ‘white lies’ exist and persist: Canadian ignorance of aboriginal people (via the education system); conservative/additive nature of introductory textbooks; repetitions and the hyperreal; and lastly colonialism. Steckley states that repetition gives credibility to a story, because if you hear a stated claim often enough, you come to believe it. In explaining how a white lie becomes a common belief or idea of Inuit culture, Steckley states: “when myths are perceived as more real than concrete evidence-based construction of reality in a culture, they are called hyperreal.” For example, the belief that Inuit abandon their elders when ‘times got tough’ is a hyperreal creation. Steckley explains that this myth is hyperreal, because “the often repeated textbook tales of Inuit elder abandonment magnified the presence of the practice. They made it appear more frequent, ‘more real’ to students than it actually was.”

Thus, Steckley and Adichie share a similar view about the influence or construct of the single story. A last point to mention is that of colonialism, because it is key to knowing how the single story or ‘white lies’ are created, presented, and oppress people and their culture. Steckley states that “colonialism refers not just to societies reaching out to grab and control the lands and bodies of people from other societies. It also refers to grabbing and controlling the story of these lands and peoples.”

This essay will challenge the notions of the single story or hyperreal constructs that have existed in Canada. The cultural diversity in Canada is something to take pride in, but the voices and stories of cultural groups are often silenced by the single story often captured in media sources or textbooks. The single story, the colonial story of Indigenous people in Canada, has been told and told again, yet with each telling of the story, Indigenous resistance is there. The First Nations and Inuit have resisted the colonial story, not quite in a unified national sense, but within their local community and their family. For example, I grew up surrounded by many stories of my family and community history, which gave me the strong sense of ‘who I am’ and ‘where I

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5 Steckley, John L. “Chapter One: Imagining the Inuit” in White Lies About the Inuit. Toronto, University of Toronto Press Inc. 2009. p. 8
6 Steckley, pp.24-29
7 Ibid., p.26
8 Steckley, p.26
9 Ibid., p.28
belong’; I know from such stories that my identity is not of the single story origin. However, the single story of Indigenous people in most textbooks or the media is an unfair portrayal of the people, culture, and history. The need for a counter balance, or an overwhelming surge, is felt amongst efforts of Indigenous voices to get rid of the single story. Chimamanda Adichie maintains that going beyond just hearing the single story and listening to another voice, another story is something of value. She states, “many stories matter. Stories have been used to dispossess and to malign. But stories can also be used to empower, and to humanize. Stories can break the dignity of a people. But stories can also repair that broken dignity.”

Introduction

John Steckley and Chimamanda Adichie maintain that the single story has portrayed erroneous interpretations of a country, culture and people; however, the concern of this essay is of the images and what the imagination produces as a result of the single story being told over and over again. I believe that the images are just as powerful as the story itself. The images solidify the colonial story, and freeze the culture and people in a particular time and space. Images and visual representations can be stereotypical, incomplete, colonial, and romanticized just as much as the single story and the ‘white lies’ have told, and are still telling. This essay will examine images and visual representations of Indigenous people and culture in Canada. These images and representations have become a type of marketing tool and product of Canada’s tourism industry, thus having become an expectation of the tourist/visitor experience. For example, I argue that the wooden Indian is a product of tourism and symbolizes the single story (and image) of First Nations people in Canada. The wooden Indian keeps the Indigenous people and culture frozen in a particular time and space, furthermore, plays with the romanticism of the noble savage.

The wooden Indian stands very tall, wearing a head dress and clothed in tribal attire, he has a bow and/or arrow in one hand, the other hand is in a saluting position giving the effect that the Indian is looking out to the horizon. The wooden Indian is the greeter and is usually standing outside of trading posts, gift/souvenir shops, information centres, or gas stations primarily along the trans-Canada highway. The wooden Indian is a celebrity and has become an iconic image of the summer ‘family’

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10 Adichie video, quote at 17:41 minute
vacation, as kids with their ice cream, young couples, old couples, city-slickers, take the time to have a photo with the wooden Indian.

The objective of this essay is to examine and bring to question the role of Canadian tourism, tourist attractions, and tourist sites. Speaking from a general observation, tourism and tourist sites appear to validate and celebrate certain national myths and national identity, as most tourist sites are Canadian historic sites. In regards to those observations, I question: what has the function been of Canadian tourism within Indigenous communities and culture? This essay will focus on two forms of Indigenous cultural tourism, as one tells the single story (colonization or cultural appropriation) and the other allows for community voices to tell their own stories (decolonization or cultural empowerment).

The first form of indigenous cultural tourism that this essay discusses is tourism operations and products as it has been done by non-Indigenous people (i.e. other Canadians, whites, institutions, museums, etc.), thus creating a ‘tourist attraction’ or tourist site based on the notion and images from the single story – the colonial story. The second form of Indigenous cultural tourism is the rise of Indigenous communities and people becoming very active in tourist industry by opening their own operations and businesses, thus taking control of the single story and eliminating the colonial story. The second form is the story which empowers and repairs the broken spirit of a culture and people, who have been long time victims of the single story. Indigenous (or Aboriginal) cultural tourism done by the Indigenous people, allows for a new voice to tell the story and/or a completely new story to be told. Therefore, I pose another question: how does the direct involvement of Indigenous people change the single story, change notions of cultural appropriation, and change the images or representations?

To answer the questions regarding tourism functions and Indigenous involvement, the essay is divided into four sections, which are titled: the single story image, the (curious) tourist gaze, alternative tourism, and telling a new story. The first section is about the theory behind the single story and the images it produces. The the single story is understood as a Canadian-national myth for a national identity and symbols. The second section discusses the production of stereotypical images and symbols that have come to represent the Indigenous culture and people in Canada. Furthermore, this section examines the tourist gaze and how the tourist (in the past) expected to see real images from the single story that they were told. The sometimes still ongoing use of Indigenous culture and people as marketing tools of Canadian
tourism will be discussed. The third section examines Indigenous owned and operated tourism businesses which have allowed for community growth and development, cultural preservation, and cultural empowerment to voice their story. The last section tells a story about the importance of culture and the land, as the ultimate goal of this essay is to share a story that repairs a broken spirit and empowers ones culture.

The Single Story Image

This section will propose a definition of the single story image. I will examine the constructed concept of a ‘national identity’; it seems to be one of those myths or stories that we are lead to believe. However, as the section will demonstrate, particular groups, such as the Indigenous people, are not fairly treated or represented though this national identity. The concept of having a Canadian national identity is one of the greatest constructed myths that Canada (whether it be the society in general, or the different level of governments, people, media, etc.) has continued to reconstruct and reinforce over time.

The idea of a unified Canada is one of high scepticism, but more specifically it is the creation of a singular identity (i.e. the single story) that the scepticism arises. Eva Mackey, in her book The House of Difference states that “Nation-building is a dual process, entailing the management of populations and the creation of a national identity.”

Coming from an Indigenous perspective I find this statement to be interesting because it was during the nation building of Canada, Indigenous populations were highly managed and regulated by the government under numerous pieces of federal legislation, and it was this legislation (i.e. Indian Act as one example) that governed the identity of Indigenous peoples and to an extent still does to this day. Furthermore, it seems that the social sciences and popular culture continue to have a large influence on the creation and portrayal of images, and shaping a particular identity, regarding Indigenous peoples throughout North America. In addition, the myth of a singular or homogenous Canadian identity is a particular concept in which Indigenous people have been countless victims and dealt with the negative outcomes for centuries. The array of cultures and races that comprise the mosaic of Canada is

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so complex that it is immensely difficult to determine a consensual ideology of a national identity.

The power of myths and story-telling has always been very influential towards cultural identity in Canada, long before European contact and the imposition of western ideologies. For example, First Nations people have utilized oral traditions of trickster and creation stories to explain the origin of their people, rules of conduct, systems of governance and the formation of landscapes. Aboriginal people view mythologies not just as stories, but as their livelihood as well. In the book, *National Dreams: Myth, Memory, and Canadian History*, Daniel Francis mentions the idea that Canada’s history has shaped and influences the construction of myths and narratives. He argues that history has the specific function of creating ideas and beliefs that Canadians have a shared experience. Francis states: “…one function of history, [is] to provide a rationale for the civic ideology. History explains where our institutions and values come from. Out of this shared experience of the past is supposed to emerge a national identity.”

In a similar view, the editors of *Hidden in Plain Sight* suggest that the context of history has been based on unifying purposes and intentions. It is stated that: “History is also the story that tells us who we are, where we come from, what we did, and why we did what we did, and sometimes, too, it tries to tell us where we are going. History defines us and makes us human.”

In general, power and history with heritage and story-telling are to an extent inseparable, especially as tools for creating national myths. Just shortly after the passage about the value of history the editors comment about this power. They state:

> We must not forget that not all stories are given equal time. Not all stories are heard and acknowledged. We cannot separate history from power. There was a time in history when only those with the ability to write could document events. It is still a fact that those who have power are able to write their version of the story and have it accepted as ‘truth’.

Without a doubt, that is still the case. I believe that Canada as a young nation is constantly in search of national narratives, symbols and myths that embody or express what it is to be Canadian. I argue that myths or narratives often told in Canadian

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14 Ibid. p.6
History classes, for example, are not necessarily false nor are they necessarily true; a majority are half truths (one-sided) and the rest are particularly chosen to portray a certain image, exude a certain character, and conclude a certain identity.

If the end goal of setting up policies, institutions, constructing and controlling images is to achieve a single ‘Canadian story’ for the purpose of a Canadian identity, what exactly is that identity? The identity is the outcome of the history plus power equation. For example, part of the answer rests within the international representation of Canada, in particular the Canadian Heritage Sites on the World Heritage List and the ‘Canada’ exhibit at Epcot Park in Walt Disney World. Looking at the visual representation that has been put forth by Canada’s government departments and corporations in these two examples, you get a sense of which narratives are highly valued, and in the end construct a social identity of what it is to be Canadian. In addition, these examples also construct a representation of what Indigenous culture is in Canada, both heritage sites and Epcot place a great emphasis on the western Indigenous cultural groups (i.e. West Coast art and Prairie traditional hunting grounds). Therefore, with having one dominant Indigenous group represented, what about the hundreds of other groups, it seems that at an international level they become invisible nations. As the book *Hidden in Plain Sight* suggests the full recognition of the contributions by Indigenous people is often not told or fully represented and until Canada (as a whole) embraces the contributions of Indigenous people the history and identity of a nation is not yet complete.

The political agenda of nation-building is about (hyperreal) myths, narratives, or symbols and reassuring their survival, so that they can continue to inform our beliefs of a national identity and story. The main concern is the history and power equation, whoever has the power has the authority to tell as much histories, and portray images in any method of representation they do please. It is without a doubt that Canada prides itself with its cultural diversity, cultural mosaic, and multiculturalism. Why is it that media, museums, art galleries, tourism, and policies continue to strive for a singular Canadian story and identity?

**The (Curious) Tourist Gaze**

This section discusses the production of stereotypical images and symbols that have come to represent the Indigenous culture and people in Canada. Furthermore, this section examines the tourist gaze and how the expectations (or desires) from the tourist gaze support the national myths. The tourist gaze has created and kept in
memory numerous ‘national myths’, which continuously become romanticized and symbolized. However, one myth that has been confronted by great degrees of romanticism, exoticism, and tourism is the Indigenous people and their culture. It seems that Canada’s national myths have been and are being produced as commodities and products within the realm of tourism. The tourism industry caters to national ideas, images or myths, therefore enforcing elements of the single story (or identity). Tourism, tourist sites and attractions are another example that illustrates John Steckley’s view on repetition and hyperreal. Such tourism creates (or supports the notion of) creating a common image; a common narrative; a common memory, that produces a common representation of an identity. It is this production of a common ‘threading’ and a production of myth that has brought successful business of tourism.

A large part of my scepticism of a Canadian-national story and identity is concerned with the treatment of Indigenous people and the numerous occasions that the Canadian government did wrong. The fact is that the Canadian government and the early colonial powers sought to regulate, manage by law or force, and assimilate the population of Indigenous people into the ‘civilized’- Canadian society. Furthermore, those European influences and ideologies desired to regulate the identity of Indigenous people into obliteration (i.e. kill the Indian, save the child). In another case, the social sciences with their intense study and documentation lead to a romanticized, exotic ‘Indian’ image. These examples lead to a further belief; a belief that the ‘Indian’ was vanishing. For example, the photograph projects by Edward Curtis were done with the intention to capture the vanishing Indian, to capture a society and culture before it vanished completely.

I believe that realm of tourism has portrayed Indigenous culture as ideas of romanticism and myth. Also, tourists have demonstrated similar ideals as Edward Curtis had, such as the desire and curiosity for the ‘vanishing’ Indian or noble savage. I think it has to do with seeing a people as they were before the European arrival, seeing the Indigenous in their primitive state or seeing the wooden Indian that comes to life. Maureen Littlejohn states:

Aboriginal cultural tourism in Canada has had the potential to preserve tradition, strengthen identity, create economic opportunities and introduce non-native people to native culture, both historic and contemporary. Alternatively, it might have
reinforced stereotypes and pushed indigenous people to fabricate experiences to meet tourists’ expectations.15

Furthermore, John Urry states:

...the mass tourist travels in guided groups and finds pleasure in inauthentic contrived attractions, gullibly enjoying pseudo-events and disregarding the ‘real world outside. As a result tourist entrepreneurs and the indigenous populations are induced to produce ever more extravagant displays for the gullible observer who is thereby further removed from the local people16 (Urry, 7).

It is my personal belief that when it comes to tourism and tourist attractions there no longer exists an authentic experience it is now a compilation of past prejudices, representations, and imaginative desires.

One of the large problems with the tourist expectations and hyperreal ideas is that it gives this notion that all Indigenous people and groups are one and the same. Influences of media (Television, Movies, Walt Disney, pop culture imagery, etc) has created and instilled a set image of whom an Indigenous person is, what they look like, and how they act. It is images like the wooden Indian or cultural items in souvenir gift shops that are of concern. Images or tourist sites that are controlled by non-Indigenous have become a part of the common memory, and it is this memory that most people seek when visiting Indigenous cultural sites. They seek it because it brings a sense of the past. However, the effect of the tourist expectation on the community, levels of government and society in general, is the creation of a pan-Indigenous. Indigenous groups and cultures are very distinct and unique to the region where they are located, for example Mik’maq and Inuit cultures or Mohawk and Ojibwe. The tourist does not seem to grasp that notion of cultural differentiations. John Urry offers a better description of this: “People’s basic motivation for consumption is not therefore simply materialistic. It is rather that they seek to experience ‘in reality’ the pleasurable dramas they have already experienced in their imagination”17 I hope the remainder of this essay challenges those notions, by allowing another voice to tell the story.

16 Urry, John. Selection from The Tourist Gaze. p.7
17 Urry, p.13
AlterNATIVE Tourism

In this section, I examine Indigenous owned and operated tourism businesses which have allowed for community growth and development, cultural preservation, and cultural empowerment to voice their story. This section describes a movement of Indigenous control of Indigenous cultural tourism, therefore, taking the control and becoming empowered to share their Indigenous voice and stories. In a way it still keeps with the single story, but allows for Indigenous voices to reveal their history, narratives, and identities. It is developing and incorporating others into the single story, as alterNATIVE tourism is still operating in that framework of appealing to the tourist gaze. This third section is from an Indigenous perspective that reclaims the place of Indigenous identity, thus in a sense re-writing history to incorporate Indigenous concepts of identity. This third point of discussion is primarily on the resurgence of Indigenous identity, to put aside the historical aspects of the harsh colonial agenda of assimilating their identity, and focus on how the ‘Indian’ can offer further interpretations and contributions to the construction of a national identity.

The editors of Tourism and Indigenous Peoples, state that Indigenous (cultural) tourism “refers to tourism activity in which indigenous people are directly involved either through control and/ or by having their culture serve as the essence of the attraction.”\(^{18}\) In addition, they describe that the involvement of Indigenous people can bridge notions of ignorance and can be a cross-cultural education experience:

As non-Indigenous people observe and experience indigenous cultures, their understanding and appreciation of Indigenous positions on major issues improve. Visitors to Indigenous communities return to their own community and disseminate their new knowledge. Increased understanding results in changed attitudes and behaviours that lead, in turn, to a more just and equitable relationships between indigenous and non-indigenous peoples.\(^ {19}\)

To describe examples of indigenous cultural tourism in Canada by Indigenous people and communities, I will use four categorizations of cultural sites. According to Valda Blundell, the types of tourist attractions that represent Indigenous cultures are: 1) Fixed Sites, 2) Commercial Art and Craft Outlets, 3) Events, and 4) Tours and Live-in Experiences.\(^ {20}\) Fixed Sites are attractions at specific locales such as museums and


\(^{19}\) Butler, Richard and Tom Hinch. 1996. p.5

interpretive-heritage centres that are open throughout the year. Examples of such sites are: Glooscap Heritage Centre, Woodland Cultural Centre, and the Head-Smashed-in-Buffalo Jump. The second categorization (commercial art and craft outlets) are attractions such as souvenir shops, stores, galleries, and trading posts that sell/ trade Aboriginal goods, crafts, and various arts. Examples of such sites are: the vendors market at the Canadian Aboriginal Festival, and the Whetung Ojibwe Centre. The third type (i.e. events) are attractions such as festivals, fairs, powwows, and stampedes as part of multicultural celebrations. Examples of such attractions are: Canadian Aboriginal Festival, Planet Indigenous, local community Treaty Days with powwow, and Manito-ahbee International Festival. The fourth attractions are experiences that offer self-guided tours or Aboriginal operated/ guided tours. Examples of such attractions are: The Great Spirit Circle Trail and Aboriginal Experiences at Victoria Island in Ottawa. For additional information regarding tour experiences, visit the Aboriginal Tourism website and their particular webpage on the “Significant 28”

The alterNATIVE tourism is the control of cultural tourism by the culture and people it represents. This method omits the middle-man, omits the oppressor and colonizer; but more importantly it allows for their culture and people to reclaim their identity, representation, and their place in society; “those who have power are able to write their version of the story and have it accepted as truth”, which I suggest that alterNATIVE tourism is currently doing.

Telling a ‘New’ Story

I titled this section, telling a ‘new’ story, because the single story is outcasted and allows for new thought to be considered, new images to be formed, and new ideas to carry on. As a final point I want to shed light on the topic of traditional knowledge, and how that knowledge is within the Indigenous cultural landscape. Canada’s designated heritage sites (as identified by UNESCO’s World Heritage List) and cultural landscapes have become ideal sites of tourism and tourist destinations. Within this section, I want to suggest that an Indigenous cultural landscape goes beyond the scope of traditional hunting grounds, burial sites, or tribal meeting sites. If you look at the sites/ landscapes on the World Heritage List that depict a sense of Indigenous

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21 http://www.aboriginaltourism.ca/significant.php
culture, those sites appear to be frozen in time and space\textsuperscript{22}. In her book, Johnston agrees that places on the World Heritage List have acted as a destination for tourists to consider. She states:

World Heritage sites are prime attractors of tourists and often boost visitation rates. But impoverished local communities bear the costs of such tourism. As such, national tourism receipts tallying benefits are deceiving. The World Heritage regime caters to nation state economic interests and therefore can shelter few Indigenous people. Countries want marketable samples of heritage, not integral systems bridging sacred knowledge and governance. Today, we prioritize the sacred as if it can be toyed with.\textsuperscript{23}

However, I would like to add another view to the discussion, by turning away from such ideas of Indigenous cultural or heritage landscapes as being objects or property that are marketable and/or frozen in a particular time. I want to add an Indigenous perspective and propose that Indigenous cultural landscapes are living landscapes; I want to argue that these landscapes are as much alive as the people that occupy the landscape, and that the landscape is not frozen in time or space. There needs to be more done to educate and present an interpretation of a cultural landscape from an Indigenous perspective. If it does get accomplished, it brings hope to expand the spectrum of understanding what a cultural landscape and cultural tourism could be, thus opening the floor to other interpretations and representations.

An Indigenous cultural landscape as living landscapes is a personal claim which emphasizes that these landscapes are as much alive as the people and ‘beings’ that occupy them. It is a complex web and framework of thoughts known as traditional knowledge. Traditional knowledge holds the key to understanding the Indigenous perspective of a cultural landscape. As a particular example, place names demonstrate the strong relationship between culture and place. Indigenous cultural landscapes are living landscapes, because it is a place where traditional knowledge is contained and where it is practiced. It is through traditional knowledge, place names, and other intangible values (i.e. language) explain the relation between the people and landscape that proves to be influential towards an identity and vibrant story.

\textsuperscript{22} Some examples of a First Nation representation on Canada’s World Heritage Sites list, are: Head-Smashed-In-Buffalo-Jump, SGang Gwaay (totem pole site in British Columbia), Writing-in-Stone Park, and the Waterton-International Peace Park.

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